









THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
*AND AFTER*

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*A MONTHLY REVIEW*

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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# THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCXXIX—JULY 1904

## *OUR PITIABLE MILITARY SITUATION*

THE eight signatories of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers have no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception of their Report by the public, presuming, of course, that the utterances of the Press may be taken as indicative thereof. The record of their work is in four Blue-books. The first gives, in seventy-eight pages, the two Royal Warrants creating the Commission, the Majority Report (with two schedules), a short memorandum by Lord Grenfell, a long memorandum of twenty-six pages by Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp, two minority reports contributed by three of the Commissioners, and two short appendices. The second and third books give the minutes of evidence, which comprise no fewer than 24,150 questions and answers; the fourth gives 275 pages of close reading in the form of appendices. In these appendices are not only returns showing numbers, cost, &c., but among them is a huge amount of evidence given in writing by societies existing among the Auxiliary Forces; by witnesses who had appeared before the Commission, and who desired to amplify their verbal evidence; and, finally, a summary of answers to a circular of questions.

sent to the commanding officer of each Militia and Volunteer unit. It is practically a third volume of evidence.' And within forty-eight hours the verdict is pronounced, and it is almost, but not quite, unanimously one of condemnation.

But the jury were only human beings; and, therefore, real judicial consideration of the evidence on which the Report is based was obviously out of the question in this short time; so it necessarily follows that the adverse judgment must have been arrived at on some grounds quite different from the evidence on which the Commissioners formed their opinions. And with the condemnation came an amount of 'drubbing' the Commissioners that reminds me of the old advice: 'If you have a bad case, don't reply to your opponent's arguments, but abuse him.'

A few specimens, taken from some of the London daily papers, and all written, be it remembered, almost immediately after the four volumes came into the hands of the respective writers, and before there was time to do more than give the very hastiest glance over this enormous mass of evidence, are illustrative of the spirit of this condemnation. 'A more inadequate document of its kind has rarely been published.' 'Its [the Commission's] head was turned from the beginning by the spectacle of a Cabinet bowing before Lord Esher's triumvirate.' 'The Report reads like the crudest production of the most sensational journalist of the Jingo school.' The Report is an 'impudent document,' and the Commissioners were guilty of a 'sublime piece of audacity.' The Commissioners 'did not know very clearly what they were about.' The Commission was not 'very strongly constituted,' and when, a week later, Mr. Arnold-Forster stated in the House of Commons that the Government did not intend to endorse the recommendation of the Commission so far as adopting conscription, we read of the 'absurd conscription scheme'—a Commission of 'military officers and theorists.' 'To say that it [the Report] has fallen flat would be to put the case very mildly. As a matter of fact, it has met with contemptuous and almost unqualified condemnation.' Evidently it is on some very tender toe that the Commission has trodden; and to the injured toe a clue is found in the allegation that the Commission has acted *ultra vires*, and has inquired into and reported on matters not included in the terms of reference. And we run the quarry to ground in the first paragraph of the leading article of the *Times*, which paper, with one or two others, has kept aloof from the shouting crowd. 'The Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, whatever may be thought of its specific proposals, is bound to derive an historical importance from the fact that it is the first official document of the kind to enunciate and endorse the principle of compulsory military service.'

Yes, it is the recommendation of the adoption of the principle

that it is the bounden duty of every able-bodied male adult to take part efficiently, if called on to do so, in the defence of hearth and homes, that has aroused this outburst of anger and abuse; and the wrath exhibited is sure to be intensified by the cool, merciless, unemotional, and logical process adopted by the Commission in laying bare and open to the public gaze the actual and pitiable situation in which we stand as regards the defence of our homes at the present time.

And even if this charge, *ultra vires*, were maintainable, as I hold it is not, surely the Commission deserves gratitude, not condemnation, for telling us what it believes to be the plain truth, and for endeavouring to awaken the country to the fact that we are, as regards defence of our homes, living in a fools' paradise. If the Commissioners are wrong, and our paradise is one not for fools only, surely it will not be a very difficult task for some of their opponents to explain to us the errors and fallacies underlying the assertions of the Commissioners. But, before doing this, there is some work for them; they will have to go carefully through the evidence on which the conclusions that irritate them are based, and they will have to produce in support of their case evidence as worthy of respect as that given by the competent witnesses called before the Commission. The opinions formed by the Commissioners are not mere theoretical fancies of their own; they are derived from the evidence brought before them, and which they have considered judicially. It is regrettable that a very high-class London paper should write of the Commissioners: 'Unfortunately, they were too much enamoured of their hobby to make any serious contributions towards the solution of the problem presented to them . . . the Government have lost no time in declaring that they will have nothing to do with the scheme. It would have been unfortunate if the fantastic notion had been treated with any sort of indulgence.' Why it should be supposed that with the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, the Earl of Derby, Lord Grenfell, and their colleagues, compulsory service for home defence is a 'hobby' is incomprehensible; characterising universal service for home defence, which not one of the dissentient members regards as totally out of the question, as a 'fantastic notion,' indicates, on the part of the writer, the possession of an amount of confidence in his own opinion that few soldiers or sailors who have studied the subject possess. Had the Report been of a milk-and-water, colourless character, it would soon have been consigned to the limbo of ephemeral Blue-books, and no one would have troubled himself to read the evidence; but when the eight signatories, known not to be fools, are held up to sneers and ridicule on the one hand, and the *Times*, on the other hand, affirms that the Report is of 'historical importance,' these eight men are bound to receive their reward, in the certainty that



such a peculiar reception is certain to draw to the Report and the evidence the attention of all thinking men.

The Commissioners were directed to 'inquire into the organisation, numbers, and terms of service of our Militia and Volunteer Forces; and to report whether any, and, if any, what, changes are required in order to secure that these forces shall be maintained in a condition of military efficiency and at an adequate strength.' The Commissioners commenced their inquiry, it may be presumed, with impartial minds; but as they were directed to report how to secure the maintenance of these forces in an efficient condition and in adequate strength, it was only after ascertaining the functions those forces would have to fulfil that the inquiry could be further extended. The Garde Nationale in France was thoroughly efficient in 1870-71 if it knew enough to be able to defend its own localities; for the Garde Mobile, intended to form part of the mobile army, a much higher standard of efficiency was necessary. A very small staff and but little equipment were needed for the one; a highly trained and complete staff and much impedimenta were the necessary requirements for the other. Similarly as regards the officers and non-commissioned officers; whilst the Garde Mobile must be complete in these, and it was only good, well-trained soldiers that could be leaders, their local influence and position might go very far to counterbalance professional deficiencies in the Garde Nationale in local defence. Had I had the honour of being one of the Commissioners, I should have joined most firmly with my colleagues in demanding this preliminary information respecting the functions, for there would have recurred to my mind a lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution by Lieut.-Colonel Eustace Balfour on the 28th of November, 1895, when he spoke as follows:

'Volunteering is, in two respects, similar to the labours of the Israelites in their efforts to make bricks without straw. The clay we have of good quality and in sufficient abundance; but we lack time to harden it, and money to spend on the more modern appliances for its manufacture. With the financial side of the question I am not to-day concerned, I therefore put that aside; but for the rest we all know what would be the result if a bricklayer's apprentice were to set himself to erect a structure of half-burnt bricks. Not only would that structure present all the failures of ignorance, but the bricks would be twisted out of shape, and would have to be remoulded before they could again advance in the process of manufacture.'

In the course of the discussion that followed, I protested, as a retired soldier-civilian, as I did later on in an article in this Review, against the walls for the defence of my own locality being constructed of bricks of this kind. But Lord Wolseley, who presided at the lecture and had just become Commander-in-Chief, made, in his summing-up, a remarkable statement. 'We must remember what

that force is composed of. We must remember that a very large proportion of the officers in it cannot devote themselves day by day, or even for some hours during specified weeks in the winter, to learn what we would like to teach them. *We have to take them as they are. As practical men, if we cannot have a whole loaf we must be contented to take half. If a man has a gap in his fence and cannot afford to have an iron gate, he must be prepared to put up with a wooden one. That is the way in which we must look at the Volunteer force.*

The italics are my own, as elsewhere in this article. We poor civilians are to be content with walls of half-burnt bricks and gates of wood. Against this exasperating theory I protested strongly in the article referred to, and I do so now again. About the same time Lord Lansdowne, the then Secretary of State for War, stated that 'he was informed on the best authority that there never was a time when the Volunteer force, in point of discipline and efficiency, stood higher than at present.' But this is beside the mark, for mere better than bad is not necessarily good. The Commissioners were appointed to inquire into efficiency and numbers; it might be possible that the other forms of defence in this country are so strong and trustworthy that walls of 'half-burnt bricks' and 'gates of wood' would do very well, as being ornamental rather than for actual use; it might be, on the other hand, that owing to the progress of modern warfare, the altered conditions of sea warfare, and the huge expansion of the Empire in the last five years, 'half-burnt bricks' and 'gates of wood,' even in the places assigned them, would be about of as little value to us inhabitants of the British Isles as the Noah's ark in the children's nursery would have been to Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet in the days of the Flood. So the Commissioners were bound to ascertain at the very outset the functions of the forces. If an owner hands over a racing colt for training, the trainer is not likely to bring him out a winner if he is left in doubt as to whether the owner intends to run the colt for a six-furlong race, or the Derby, or the Grand National.

Naturally, therefore, the Commissioners commenced with an inquiry at the War Office as to the views held there on the subject. In response they received a document, a memorandum headed: 'The Organisation of the Auxiliary Forces considered in relation to the Military Defence of the Empire.' Lieut.-General Sir W. Nicholson, the then Director-General of Military Intelligence and Mobilisation, was careful, however, to explain that it was an authoritative expression of the present views (19th of May, 1903) of the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State only—i.e., Earl Roberts and Mr. Brodrick. They then tried to ascertain the views held at the Admiralty on the subject of invasion, inasmuch as in the War Office memorandum the Auxiliary Forces were reckoned on in the defence. This information the Admiralty declined to give, but suggested application to the Committee of Imperial Defence. So in a dignified letter of the 26th

of May, signed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Commission asked the Committee of Defence, of which the Duke of Devonshire was chairman, two questions :

1. To arrive at a conclusion as to what should be the strength of the Auxiliary Forces, it is necessary to have an approximate idea of the strength of the invading force which the land forces may be called on to meet. What do the Committee of Defence consider to be the maximum and minimum limits between which the strength of the invading force would probably be fixed ?

2. Is it contemplated that the duty of meeting the invading force should fall mainly on the Auxiliary Forces ? In other words, is the Royal Commission justified in believing that the contingency may arise in which the number of fighting units of the Regular Army left in the country will be very small ?

These are questions of a kind which would enter into many an operation of war, and which would need to be answered before arriving at a decision not only on the conduct of the operations, but also on the number and kind of the forces to be employed. At the time of sending in the questions two or three witnesses only besides Sir W. Nicholson had been under examination ; but nearly a month elapsed before any reply was received from the Duke of Devonshire, who then, in a memorandum, calmly informed the Duke of Norfolk that ' the reference to the Royal Commission was not intended to cover an inquiry into the numbers of either Regular or Auxiliary Forces which should be maintained for Home Defence or for other services ' ; and yet the terms of reference distinctly state that the Commission is to ascertain what changes may be necessary to maintain these forces, not merely in a condition of military efficiency, but also at an *adequate strength*. Mr. Akers-Douglas, the Minister who signed the Royal Warrant, specifies ' adequate strength ' as one of the two necessary conditions of the Forces, one of the two objects to be aimed at. Just two months later, the Duke of Devonshire, another Minister, says that the consideration of adequacy does not enter into their work. But by this time the Commission, which had been working hard, had been collecting most valuable opinions on this same question of adequacy.

The Duke of Devonshire recommended, however, that the numbers given in the present mobilisation scheme of the War Office should be accepted, and, he added, ' it may be assumed that if these forces should be required to resist an invasion, it might be after a considerable portion of the Regular Troops might have left the country.' When this communication was received, the Commission had entered on the investigation of other branches of the inquiry, so, apparently, the numbers given in the mobilisation scheme were not at once asked for ; but shortly before the autumnal adjournment there came from the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee a letter and a memorandum, dated the 22nd of July, both of a most remarkable character. It must be borne in mind that the scope of the inquiry

by the Commission was laid down in a Royal Warrant, in which the King himself speaks, first gives greeting to each individual member, and then specifies the task they have to carry out, and in one clause says: 'Our further will and pleasure is that you do, with as little delay as possible, report to Us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any three or more of you, your opinion upon the matters herein submitted for your consideration.' The warrant is signed 'By his Majesty's command. A. Akers-Douglas.' The letter of the 22nd of July gives as the object in sending the memorandum the 'defining more clearly the scope of the inquiries to be undertaken, by the Commission and the Committee respectively. The memorandum warns the Commission that the War Office memorandum originally furnished to it is 'not to be taken by it as authoritative'; and then follow passages which must be given *in extenso*:

It appears to the Committee of Imperial Defence that it would be most unfortunate if the Royal Commission should, with necessarily imperfect opportunities of examining the question, incorporate into its Report an expression of opinion as to the liability to invasion or as to the strength of the force which should be maintained for the defence of the United Kingdom or for the other purposes referred to, which may afterwards be found to be at variance with the deliberate and authoritative decision of the Committee of Imperial Defence, whose special function it has been to examine these questions with a full command of all the sources of information at the disposal both of the Admiralty and of the War Office.

It appears to the Committee of Imperial Defence that the main object for which the Royal Commission was appointed was to advise his Majesty's Government and Parliament, not as to the strength at which the Militia and Volunteers should be maintained in the country, but how the establishment of Militia and Volunteers could be maintained at full efficiency, and at the strength which may be eventually decided by his Majesty's Government and Parliament, on the advice of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to be necessary. It is therefore suggested that the present Mobilisation Scheme should be taken as the basis on which the Royal Commission should consider this question, as the principles which they lay down must necessarily be applicable equally to an establishment which may vary within reasonable limits on either side of the existing one.

The Commission at once asked the Committee for a copy of the scheme, and in reply were refused the copy, but were told it would be sufficient if the figures were taken at 100,000 Militia and 200,000 Volunteers.

What a strange state of affairs is here revealed! The chairman of the Defence Committee, in his individual capacity, undertakes to tell the chairman of a Royal Commission what its duties were, or, rather, were not, although the King himself has defined them. Then the Committee further lectures the Commission as to the scope of their respective inquiries, proceeds to make recommendations for omissions from the Report, and finally puts to it the conundrum how to maintain the establishment of the Forces at full efficiency and at the unknown quantity, *x*—namely, the strength which at some

future time is to be determined by the Government and Parliament. Surely the proper course for the Defence Committee to have taken was, instead of lecturing the Commission on its duties, to have obtained from the King a modification of the duties his Majesty had thought fit to impose on it.

The Commission held on its own way in accordance with the instructions of his Majesty as conveyed to it in the Royal Warrant, and has produced in the Report and in the evidence published with it matter of the highest national value, matter worthy of close and very grave consideration.

The first section of the Report should be printed simply as a broadsheet and be distributed all over the country, in slums and in palatial residences alike, in the smallest agricultural hamlet and the busiest mercantile city. The Commission does not argue; it gives only plain facts.

Each of the five great Powers of Europe has abandoned the once prevalent idea that war is the exclusive business of a limited class, and has subjected its male population to a thorough training, either naval or military. Accordingly, each of these nations is to-day ready to employ in war the greater part of its able-bodied male population between certain ages, under the guidance of a specially trained body of officers and non-commissioned officers. . . . Each of the great States has also, with a view to war, so organised its material resources, and in particular its means of communication, that they may be fully utilised for naval and military purposes from the very beginning of hostilities. . . . In a war against any of them Great Britain would be in one respect at a grave disadvantage. For while her antagonist by previous organisation would be enabled to devote to the struggle the greater part of its resources both in men and in material, Great Britain would not at the beginning have at her disposal more than a fraction of her population, and her material resources could be very imperfectly applied.'

And now as to invasion.

'The perfection of the means of communication, and in foreign countries, of the control of the State over them, is such that the concentration of a large force at any port or ports is practicable within a very short time; *what was formerly a matter of weeks is now an affair of days, possibly even of hours.*'

And then, after speaking of the corresponding development and changed conditions of naval warfare, the Report continues:

'Naval warfare is always more concentrated and decisive than land warfare, and the effect of the developments just described is to intensify these characteristics, while, at the same time, the want of experience with the new instruments renders it difficult to predict the issue of a naval conflict. More is staked on a sea fight than ever,

yet it is harder than ever to foresee the results which the destructive force of modern weapons may produce.' . . . *'It is impossible for us to shut our eyes to the fact that the next naval war in which this country may be engaged will be on both sides a great experiment.'*

In the next section, the 'scope of the inquiry,' the Commission, quoting the figures furnished on the one hand by the War Office as required for home defence 330,000 (including 150,000 mobile troops), and, on the other, the 300,000 given by the Imperial Defence Committee, points out, with pitiless logic, that these numbers are irreconcilable either with reliance solely on the Navy for protection against invasion, or against a small raid. 'An effective force—in other words, an army—of the strength proposed to us, can be required only to meet an invasion. Either invasion is possible or it is not. If not, no military force is required for home defence, and our inquiry could hardly serve any practical purpose. But if invasion is possible, it can be undertaken only by one of the great European Powers, which possess forces highly trained and ready to move in large numbers at the shortest notice.'

And then they proceed to give their interpretation of the meaning of the words in the King's command, 'the condition of military efficiency' in the Auxiliary Forces.

'The Militia exist chiefly, and the Volunteers solely, for the purpose of resisting a possible invasion of the United Kingdom, which would be attempted only by a first-rate army. This purpose will not be fulfilled merely by a brave or creditable, but unsuccessful, resistance; it requires the defeat of the enemy. *The standard of efficiency to be aimed at it is therefore not a matter of opinion; the conditions of war and of the battlefield must be met, and no lower standard can be laid down.'*

The Commission had, in the absence of more authoritative information, to construct for itself the foundation on which to base its inquiry as to the standard of efficiency, and as to the numbers of the Auxiliary Forces required to carry out their functions; and on the expert evidence laid before them they came to the conclusion that under certain circumstances it was quite possible that the function that these forces would have to fulfil would be the meeting and crushing an invading hostile force of 150,000 picked men, fully and admirably staffed, trained to the highest point of efficiency for acting in close country, led by officers and non-commissioned officers of high individual capacity in all ranks, and, I may add on my own account, possessing from highest to lowest a thorough knowledge of the country, obtained by previous close study of our own Ordnance maps, of which, we may be sure, the invaders would bring with them an ample supply, and on which doubtless they had previously carried out an infinite variety of war games.

It seems to be generally overlooked that no Continental Power

would strike a blow on land in this country without having first prepared a weapon absolutely reliable for the purpose, and that the special preparation of the force, as regards individual efficiency, can be carried on quietly and without observation, in the normal training which each officer, non-commissioned officer, and private undergoes in foreign armies. The same rule holds good with regard to the preparation of any naval and sea transport that might be required for an invasion. Under the well-thought-out and perfect systems that prevail on the Continent, the only order required for changing from complete passivity to action, immediate and at full power, is 'Go ahead'; everyone at once takes his allotted place in the huge human machine, and the whole machine at once starts working, smoothly, rapidly, and without any special effort. When I hear of time available to make preparations to meet a threatened invasion, the bit of information I once picked up from a subaltern in the German army recurs to my mind. 'I have received and returned,' he said, 'the Red-Book specifying my work on the order to mobilise; I go to Metz to bring up the Reservists, and in the book I have been informed of the railway stations at which we shall stop during the journey, and the number of cups of coffee that will be ready for us at certain places.' And that implies a good deal more—namely, that some one or other, possibly a civilian at some small station, knows now that he also must be ready, on the word 'Mobilise,' to supply the definitively prescribed number of cups of coffee.

The Commissioners then set to work to ascertain the present condition of the Auxiliary Forces, the distance they are below this necessary standard of efficiency, and the possibility of their ever reaching it; and after a searching inquiry, eight out of the twelve found themselves compelled eventually to arrive at the conclusion embodied in the final paragraph of the Report, and which has aroused such a tempest of unreasoning condemnation: the conclusion that 'Your Majesty's Militia and Volunteer forces have not at present either the strength or the military efficiency required to enable them to fulfil the functions for which they exist; that their military efficiency would be much increased by the adoption of the measures set forth in the fourth section of this report, which would make them valuable auxiliaries to the regular Army; but that a home defence army capable, in the absence of the whole or the greater portion of the regular forces, of protecting this country against invasion *can be raised and maintained only on the principle that it is the duty of every citizen of military age and sound physique to be trained for the national defence, and to take part in it should emergency arise.*'

And although three of the Commissioners furnish other reports, all three recommend compulsory service of some kind or other. Sir Ralph Knox would fix the quota for both Militia and Volunteers, and if this were not furnished for the year, the whole quota next year

should be furnished as Militia from all men in their twenty-first year, and thenceforward for Militia only, the schemes of Volunteer Service ceasing to exist.

Colonels Satterthwaite and Dalmahoy, both Volunteer officers, recommend the principle of compulsion, but not universal service. They say :

The principle of compulsion having been accepted, we think that every effort should be made to raise the necessary troops by voluntary means, but that the man who neglects his opportunity of learning the work necessary to enable him to take his part in the defence of the country in his earlier years, should be liable to compulsion at the age of twenty.

I presume that, by an oversight, the words 'in his earlier years' are misplaced, and are intended to follow the word 'learning.' Then comes :

To attain this [what?] every male inhabitant who is not a member of one of the Forces of the Crown, should, on a certain date in the year following his twentieth birthday, be required to attend and register his name and address. If exempted from any of the *causes allowed by law*, he would then lodge his exemption certificate. If not, he would either :

1. Be allotted to the Militia or Volunteers, according to any deficiency there might be in the units comprised in the Command of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief; or

2. Be warned to attend for training and service on proclamation of great emergency; or

3. Be discharged as physically unfit.

Voluntary enlistment should not commence in either Force before the age of eighteen, and the medical inspection of the Volunteers should be much stricter than at present.

It seems, therefore, that the only difference between the majority and the minority of the Commission is that, whereas the former desire to make us secure at once, the latter wish to postpone the process until the efficacy of less strong measures has been tried.

I defer for the present the consideration of the views put forward to the Commission by the witnesses with great experience of high command in modern war; and the first impression I receive from the views expressed by many other of the witnesses is that there is a general belief that, like as the sun was stayed in the heavens for the benefit of the chosen people, so the world is for an indefinite period to stop rotating until the measures recommended in the minority reports for the improvement of the Auxiliary Forces for the defence of the British Isles have had time, not, be it noted, to bring about the desired result, but until we shall be able to ascertain whether they would do so at all. The idea seems prevalent that we are in a sort of millennium, with any amount of time for sluggish snail-pace improvement. The minority reports, and the recommendations for which the majority of the Commissioners, much against their will and their sound appreciation of the facts of the matter, find place in their report,



are suitable for an imaginary world, but not for the tempestuous actual world in which our lot is cast.

In this our world, great nations stand permanently armed to the teeth, and ready to 'let slip the dogs of war.' As Major Ross, in his *Representative Government and War*, points out, a nation that determines to hold or gain the upper hand lies in wait till the favourable moment comes, the moment when it possesses some marked superiority or advantage over its rival, and then it either converts some little insult or fancied grievance into a *casus belli*, or in the absence of these it creates a *casus belli*, and plunges forthwith into the struggle. Just now 'l'entente cordiale,' whilst of comfort and benefit to the present, has a blinding effect on us as to the future, and has an obliterating effect on the remembrance of the history of the past. And yet how rapidly change the feelings of nations to each other! The memories of that dark year 1900 seem quite blotted out. Engaged in a stupendous struggle oversea, we were absolutely defenceless at home. I went about among the camps of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, and found an almost hopeless absence of knowledge of soldiering. A recently promoted general officer whom I congratulated on his advancement, replied, 'I am very glad, but I want to be taught general's work.' I reported to the civil and military authorities that, in my opinion, 50,000 highly trained regular troops of any hostile foreign Power could walk from one end of England to the other, as I still believe they could have done. A syndicate of journalists invited me to write a series of articles on the invasion of England: in my reply I told them that for me to do so would be the act of a 'traitor'; and to emphasise this I informed them of the fact, of which they till then, like all not behind the scenes, were in complete ignorance, that we had only between thirty and forty field guns with which to enter on a defensive campaign. We were simply on the brink of a hopeless catastrophe at the end of 1900. In the course of three years the political weathercock has gone clean round. He would be a bold prophet, however, who would guarantee for the next three years its remaining in this position. Our safety now depends on there arising no misunderstanding with any great foreign Power, no increase of present requirements for holding our now vastly expanded empire, and on our being generously allowed by our possible foes time to find out whether our would-be defenders, who have other 'avocations in life,' can kindly spare enough time to acquire sufficient efficiency to afford us real protection in the defence of our homes by the trial of the many nostrums and alleged specifics, including quack remedies, with which the evidence teems. And how much stronger, for both possible Imperial oversea needs and for home defence, are we now than we were at the commencement of the South African war? A little, but not much. No wonder that the German officers who have read the Report

regard the matter, as the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* tells us, with an interest only 'languid and perfunctory.' Had universal service been the unanimous and sole recommendation of the Commission, a very different sort of interest would have been aroused. The point at issue between the majority of the Commissioners and their opponents, whether within the Commission itself or in the country generally, is simply whether by a certain amount of individual self-sacrifice as patriotic citizens, we shall render ourselves practically secure against invasion, or whether, as citizens patriotic only nominally, we shall grudge the small amount of convenience and ease we are asked to give up for the general good, and shall prefer to continue for an indefinite period in a sort of fancied happy-go-lucky security, which, in plain words, is absolute insecurity.

Bearing in mind the hopelessness of accepting, under the altered conditions of sea transport, any fixed time whatever for preparation against invasion, to my mind it does not matter what strength is assumed as that of the invading force.

I remember in the course of conversation at Brussels in 1874, at the Conference on the Usages of War, Colonel von Voigts-Rhetz telling my general, the late Sir Alfred Horsford, that if he could land in England with three army corps, in those days 90,000 men, he could do a good deal. Von Voigts-Rhetz did not seem to think much of small raids, but we must remember on the one hand the disastrous effect that a landing of say 20,000 men at two or three points on the coast would produce, and the enormous damage they might effect; and, on the other hand, that numbers like these are a mere trifle in the total of Continental armies nowadays, and that so disastrous would be the effect produced on this country by a raid of any kind, that preserving the communication of the raiding forces across sea, or even their eventual destruction or loss, would not enter into the hostile calculations as a deterrent to the expedition. Colonel von Voigts-Rhetz spoke with all the experience derived from fighting against hastily organised auxiliary forces in that part of France which resembles in its physical aspects close English country—namely, the country on the Loire.

It is obviously impossible to incorporate in an article such as this even an analysis of the huge masses of oral and written evidence favouring respectively the conclusions of the majority and those of the minority of the Commissioners; the one in support of the adoption of a scheme certain and sure to obtain the object desired—namely, security against any invasion attempted, save, of course, one carried out under some combination of misfortunes on our side that would render resistance hopeless; the other teeming with a multitude of recommendations, of all kinds and sorts, but all alike tentative in character as to their ultimate success, and dependent for their practical value on the effect of sentiment, 'patriotism under encouragement'; and

moreover, admitted only to produce a satisfactory result if the invader is sufficiently magnanimous, benevolent, high-minded, and idiotic, to give us a period of from one to two months' duration for hurry-scurry preparation. If, thus favoured by fortune, we should be allowed to 'start fair,' we should then have the satisfaction of knowing that we were protected by some 300,000 noble patriots, quite competent, when behind entrenchments and hedgerows in 'prepared positions,' to hold those positions against assault, if the enemy were foolish enough to attack these positions direct; but that the patriots would be competent to give a good account of him if, demonstrating against them so as to hold them in these positions, his highly-trained and well-led troops took to manœuvring in the concealed and difficult country against our defenders, or even what would be the result of our defenders issuing out of the positions and trying to force him back to his ships or into the sea, the boldest believer in the power of 'patriotism under encouragement' does not dare to prophesy. Perhaps these, however, are minor details.

But it is impossible to let pass without comment the evidence given by Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B., who until quite lately was the Inspector-General of the Auxiliary Forces. From his high official position, his knowledge of war, and his admitted personal ability, the General must be regarded as the champion of the adversaries of the Report, and as the ablest exponent of the views and opinions of the anti-compulsory-service party; and it must be owned that if the cause he championed was weak, he did all he could to make the best of it. The General was four times before the Commission, and, whereas the average number of answers of the other 133 witnesses was 173, the answers recorded to the General's account are 1,113, besides fifteen memoranda of sorts. It was on the 8th of June last year that the General first gave evidence, and it is fortunate that, when we have to commence the perusal of those 1,113 answers and fifteen memoranda just a year later, he contributed to the *Daily Express*, almost simultaneously with their being given to the public, an article giving a final summary of his views; so both article and evidence may be taken together, and the work of examining the latter is much eased thereby. I take from the article his estimate of the maximum amount of training that it is possible for the Auxiliary Forces to give consistently with their 'other avocations in life.' He regards six months' training of the Militia in the first year as possible:

But I do not think that more than one month's training for the battalion or other unit could be obtained, because officers who are business and professional men cannot possibly leave their work for six months. This must be obvious to anybody who knows anything about professions or business. The Volunteers cannot do more training than they now do, and though some battalions—or at least a portion of them—manage to go into camp for fourteen days, the majority

of large employers of labour, and especially in the North of England, many of whom have a great number of Volunteers in their employ, cannot possibly give their men more than a week's leave at a time to go into camp.

And later on he says:

My firm conviction is that shooting is by far the most important factor in the defence of the country, and, as I stated in my evidence to the Commission, 'Teach the men to shoot, and let the Government support not only the Volunteers, but also the rifle clubs throughout the country.' If this is done, and the youth of the country are trained at school as recommended, having regard to our geographical position we have all that is necessary for home defence. This is the opinion of experts in Germany and France, whose people, owing to the presence of their powerful neighbours close to their frontiers, are obliged to bear the burden of conscription, which is being felt more every year.

I have had the pleasure of the personal friendship of Sir Alfred for many years, and often have we worked together in Volunteer instructional exercises at the war game. but it has been reserved for this article and the evidence to reveal to me the astounding views held by him not only as to the qualifications and training necessary for our Home Defence Army, but also on war. At the outset I would remark that the quoting of the opinions expressed to him by foreign officers, especially when those were German staff officers, reveals to me an absence of guile in the General's character for which I had not given him credit. Is it likely that the German or the French staff officers would endeavour to impress on the mind of the Inspector-General of the Auxiliary Forces of Great Britain their belief in the inefficiency of those forces?

The perusal of the General's evidence leads me to the conclusion that he is so firm a believer in the Navy as our one and only line of defence that the possession of a land second line of defence is not, in his opinion, of importance, and that this second line is of little more use than for show. Should the Navy fail us, almost an impossibility in his opinion, we must at once throw up the sponge, for he thinks there is only starvation before us. A few words seem desirable here with regard to the 'starvation bogie' trotted out by the General. The weak point in accepting the starvation bogie as an ally either in theory or practice is that it is so unreliable and so apt to mislead. After Sedan it was the starvation theory applied to practice that was the foundation of the strategy adopted by Von Moltke for the next series of operations. Paris, it was believed, could hold out only for eight days; the Parisians would surrender as soon as, according to Von Moltke's own recorded words, they had no 'fresh milk.' But when the eight days' deprivation of fresh milk did not lead to surrender, the calculation of resistance was extended to six weeks; yet these calculations were proved to be false, for it was not until more than four months of very short commons had elapsed that starvation, combined with the knowledge that there was no hope of relief from the provinces, compelled the Parisians to surrender; and with better

leading on the French side, it is indubitable that during that period the investment would have been raised for a time at all events. Dividing an estimated existing food supply by the number of mouths to eat it, and accepting the dividend as the limit of human endurance, is an arithmetical process that all history shows to be useless for the practical purposes of war.

But the General desires also, for some reason not very clear, to keep the Auxiliary Forces in existence; it is better, he says, to have them than nobody at all. So the General appears to be on the horns of a dilemma, and it was in his endeavour to reconcile the two incompatible ideas, an invincible fleet and the maintenance of an auxiliary force for land home defence (a useless, great, and wanton waste of money if the fleet is invincible, or if the moment it is defeated we are starved), that the General had such a bad time under the searching cross-examination by the Royal Commissioners, and, being driven from pillar to post, gave occasionally answers of the most remarkable character, to my mind totally irreconcilable with his mental and professional ability. For instance, he fully admitted the imperious necessity for making good the great deficiency in our supply of officers and good non-commissioned officers, a deficiency which might altogether disappear under the conditions of universal liability to service, and the formation of a corps of well-educated men analogous to the 'unteroffizier' of Germany. But later on (Question 21871-3) his provision of officers to make up the deficiency in the Auxiliary Forces is to bring back to them all the officers who have retired from the Regular and Auxiliary Forces. 'Lists of retired officers are kept everywhere; I should think that patriotism would bring them all back into the ranks, and *I do not think it would be necessary to have any organisation in time of peace to ask whether they were or were not coming back*!' This is a reversal of the axiom, 'if you desire peace, prepare for war,' with a vengeance. Q. 21884: 'We must be contented with the best non-commissioned officers and officers we can get'; and then comes the height of credulity. Q. 21885: 'I doubt very much if the foreigners know these details—that we are short of officers; I do not think they know much about it. Of course their Intelligence Departments are remarkably good, but I doubt if they go into details of that kind.' The thought inevitably arises: does the General, notwithstanding his many occasions of intercourse with the German staff, know much about the contents of the pigeon-holes in their offices? And we come across a strange answer to Q. 21892: 'Is not the advance in enclosed country easier than an advance over open ground?—A. Not for trained troops, I should think.' Q. 2005 ran: 'I should tell you that we have it in evidence before us that the difficult nature of the country would tell in favour of the higher-trained troops, but you do not agree with that?—A. Not in the least.' Again Q. 2001. Leading and manœuvring of troops in an en-

closed country and a wooded country, and a country where you cannot see very far, is almost 'impossible for the attack.' And yet surely all history shows that in country like this it is individual intelligence combined with high discipline and with efficiency among the very lowest as well as the highest leaders that tells in the struggle.

The General, in support of his views, several times refers to the second period of the Franco-German War, the period when Gambetta was in control of the provinces; and I can only say that, from my own very close study of that period, the conclusions at which I arrive as to the value of hastily raised auxiliary troops differ very much from his. The remnant of the regular army in France at that time he gives as 30,000; whilst Hoenig estimates that there were 180,000 either fully or partially trained. On the Loire, the proportion of auxiliaries to regulars was four to five, and the 20th Corps, in which the Garde Mobile outnumbered the regulars in the proportion of twenty-two to nine, was so utterly demoralised by its failure on the only occasion when it took the offensive that its general reported it to be useless for several days; and in this corps, as in the whole of the French forces, the acknowledged weak point was the deficiency of good officers and good non-commissioned officers. Yet the general (Q. 21871) 'looks with confidence' to our filling our cadres of officers in 'exactly the same way as these were filled in Gambetta's levies.' In close country, the Garde Mobile and Garde Nationale did, it is true, find some counterbalancing to their inherent weakness, but where these 'absolutely untrained men, put out in six weeks, made a very stout fight against the victorious and perfectly trained German army in comparatively open country,' except to be utterly defeated, I must leave the General to tell me; I do not know.

Mere extracts from evidence are never satisfactory, but one more must yet be given. Q. 21894 (Lord Grenfell): 'We are assuming that there is an invasion—that an invasion has taken place, as the Duke said, and that we have, say, 150,000 of the invader: Do you think this force [*i.e.*, our auxiliary forces] officered with the old officers and with the present non-commissioned officers, would be sufficient?—A. Yes.' Q. 21895: 'Do you mean the present forces, the Militia and the Volunteers which are largely under-officered?—A. Yes.' And these answers in absolute opposition to those given by Earl Roberts, Sir T. Kelly-Kenny, Sir John French, and Lord Methuen, who have had personal experience of the most modern war, and whose views are shared by Viscount Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir W. Butler.

I again say that it is only by a careful examination of the evidence and memoranda that anyone can form a sound opinion on the verdict given by the Royal Commission, and I recommend to those who are willing to undertake the task the perusal of Sir Alfred Turner's evidence, especially that portion given on the 20th of January

this year, for it is the most damnatory evidence against the acceptance of his counsel that from our Auxiliary Forces we should be content to accept as much as we can 'expect from them' consistently with their 'other avocations in life.' In his answer to Q. 21812, the General said that he had been accused of being a sort of *advocatus diaboli* of the Auxiliary Forces, and that he was perfectly willing to be an *advocatus diaboli* or anybody else if he could do good. It would seem that he has laid himself open to the charge of assuming that character during the late inquiry. Here I must leave my friend.

It is much to be regretted that in the margins of the Majority Report there are no references indicating those passages in the evidence on which the Commissioners based the conclusions at which they arrived; for, buried deep down in the fourth volume, are two passages, each all-important and of the weightiest character. The first is to be found at p. 216. where, in the summary of remarks sent in by 124 Commanding Officers of Militia Infantry units, we read as follows:

It is considered that the threat of enforcing the Ballot Act would render any vital change unnecessary:—'No doubt if the Ballot were hanging over the employers' heads (with no exemption) they would encourage men to join for fear of themselves or their sons having to serve. This would also keep the officers' ranks filled; and with full Militia ranks, well treated, there would be no lack of troops for the Regular Army.'

'If the Militia in this country is to be maintained on its present establishment, it will be necessary to introduce either further money inducements to serve or some form of compulsory service.'

These paragraphs seem to clear the way towards the solution of the Militia question; but the solution of the problem how to render the Volunteer Force efficient seems almost hopeless when we turn to the summary of answers received from 218 commanding officers of Infantry battalions of the Volunteer Force, and on p. 263 read as follows:

Throughout the reports there is much to show that matters have come to a deadlock. The necessity for stringent regulations is fully acknowledged, but the 'remarks' are, in the majority of cases, directed to showing how badly the shoe pinches. 'There is a limit beyond which civilians cannot be expected to give their services and time to the State. . . . This limit has been reached, if not exceeded, by the present regulations.'

Here, again, are the 'gates of wood,' the 'bricks without straw' of 1895, and again I protest against the contribution paid by myself or others to the public treasury being any longer misappropriated to keep them going in their present condition.

But what, to my mind, is worse still, must also be brought to notice. Not only are the Volunteers, as are the Regulars and Militia, short of officers, but as a body these officers are lamentably inefficient.

In paragraph 48 of the Report is written:

'We have to look to the officers of the Volunteer Force as the

framework of our army. They are of very unequal quality. Many of them have given themselves an excellent military education, and would be a valuable element in any army; *the majority, however, have neither the theoretical knowledge nor the practical skill in the handling of troops which would make them competent instructors in peace or leaders in war.*

No, the Volunteer Force as it now stands is but a reed of the most fragile and weak character on which to depend as the main factor in home defence, and the officer is the weakest element in it; and the weakness seems irremediable even with the strongest encouragement to remedy it. As Colonel F. W. Tannett-Walker, a representative of the Institute of Commanding Officers of Volunteers, said in his answer to Q. 7695: 'With regard to the difficulty of getting officers, it really seems to all of us to be almost an unsolvable question.'

By all means let us enrol in our Land Line of Defence that small minority, the very pick of the Volunteer Force, but to trust to the Force as a main body in that Line would be absolutely suicidal.

The signatories of the minority reports decidedly deserve our thanks for suggesting the feeble and doubtful remedies they put forward, and which are almost counsels of despair. But those Commissioners who signed the majority report are deserving of all honour and praise; for in this 'historic' document they have boldly, courageously, and patriotically told to their countrymen the real and full truth as to our present pitiable military situation. It is for the educated classes of this country—those who have a material stake in the existence of Great Britain as a great nation, the possessors of property, the bankers, the merchants, the manufacturers—to study the evidence most carefully, and then to influence the other classes to accept with themselves the obligation common to them one and all, to render our island impregnable to assault, no matter how disabled or distant from us for a time may be the deservedly trusted first line of defence, our Royal Navy.

LONSDALE HALE.



## *'COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING*

UNDOUBTEDLY the most striking point in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, the point which has roused most public interest and excited most controversy, is its practically unanimous finding that the time has arrived for the adoption in this country of the principle of 'training to arms the whole able-bodied male population.' Whatever may be the value of the detailed suggestions made in the Report, it must be admitted that this single pronouncement marks an important epoch in the history of our military system, not because it is likely to receive immediate application, but because this is the first time an official body, after a long and searching inquiry, entered upon and conducted without any suspicion of bias or prejudice, has reported definitely in favour of the principle of compulsion.

The Report has been attacked from many sides, and among others upon the ground that the Commissioners have gone outside their reference: The complaint is made that they were instructed merely to report upon the measures necessary to render the existing system more efficient, and not to propose revolutionary changes which would entirely subvert it. In the long run the country is more likely to approve of the courage than to blame the temerity of the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues for following the evidence brought before them down to the root principles and fundamental conditions which underlie any and every adequate system of national defence.

It is not proposed in this article to deal with the purely military criticisms which have been levelled against the adoption of universal military training as suggested in the Report. Many such criticisms are marked by a curious insularity of view and by a very inadequate appreciation of the wider aspects of our imperial responsibilities. It will be time enough, however, to consider them when the Committee of Defence has made up its mind as to what are the naval and military requirements of the United Kingdom and of the Empire, and Mr. Arnold-Forster has produced his scheme of Army reorganisation. One may say in general terms that it seems unlikely that we can, under

any circumstances, much longer resist the influences which have forced every other European country to substitute a mainly national for a wholly professional army. It is, of course, admitted that our circumstances differ from theirs, and that our needs and dangers are other than theirs.

While their military systems are based upon the assumption that they will have to defend compact territories, we are called upon to defend widely scattered oversea possessions; while the vast majority of their land force must always serve at home, a very large proportion of ours, even in times of peace, must serve abroad. In our case naval forces, in their land forces, form the predominant element in schemes of home defence. No one imagines that we need the same sort of military organisation or so large a war establishment for home defence as is necessary in Continental countries, while it is universally acknowledged that our army for foreign service must always be a voluntarily recruited army. But all these differences are really arguments, not against deepening and widening the sources from which our actual military requirements must ultimately be supplied, but solely against any wholesale imitation of Continental methods. There is, it is true, no similarity between their circumstances and ours, but there is the closest possible likeness between the magnitude of our respective responsibilities and dangers. They have been driven, by menace to their national existence, to base their military systems upon the training to arms of their whole male population. The details they have worked out according to their individual requirements. We are being impelled in exactly the same direction by the rapid growth of our imperial responsibilities, and the acknowledged difficulty of meeting sudden dangers abroad and at home with an army recruited solely by voluntary enlistment. The practice of voluntary enlistment answered its purpose when only a small army was needed. Its difficulties began when larger claims were made upon it; at the present time we see it strained to its utmost limit. With the inexorable fact before us that, owing to political changes in the world about us which we are powerless to control, steadily increasing demands will be made upon it in the future, the probability of its breakdown becomes a practical certainty. When that breakdown is officially acknowledged, and we resort to some form of compulsion, we shall have exactly the same liberty to adapt and mould the compulsory system to our special national requirements as was enjoyed by our neighbours.

I have said we are being driven in this direction by the growth of our imperial responsibilities. I wonder whether we realise how much we are also being influenced by the pressure of European public opinion. When all European armies were professional or mercenary armies, we were all on the same footing, but since the epoch of national armies on the Continent the obligation of personal service in defence

of the fatherland has become an obligation every man feels it his duty to fulfil, and no man desires to avoid. In our own time a great change has come over public feeling with regard to this question in Continental countries. There was a time when young men sought to evade the duty of military service, when they preferred to cross the sea to England and America, even if such flight involved perpetual banishment; but gradually such evasions have become rarer and rarer. To-day they are condemned by public opinion, and are of comparatively infrequent occurrence. A couple of generations have sufficed to remove the grievance and to accustom the minds of young citizens to look upon military service as one of the duties of life, which is performed quietly, naturally, and without heroics. One of the consequences of the change is that our neighbours are beginning to look down upon us for our avoidance of what appears to them a natural obligation to the State. We hardly understand how deep this sentiment is in their minds. We are generally inclined to think any ill-feeling they may entertain towards us is compounded of ignorance and envy. I fear there is in it more than a spice of contempt. And the greater our prosperity, the more splendid our Empire, the stronger is the conviction on their part that our power abroad is maintained and our security at home is guaranteed, not by the personal service and personal sacrifice of every individual citizen, but by a system which permits and encourages the majority to cast its burden and delegate its duties to a very small minority.

To many of us this question of compulsory military training is much larger than a purely military question, and should be discussed upon broader and more general lines, upon the basis of national well-being as well as of national safety. The army of a modern State has ceased to be a mere fighting machine, created and maintained for defence or aggression. It performs two distinct functions which it is important to keep clear and separate in our minds. It is primarily a great instrument of national defence, but it is also the nation's chief school of physical training and moral discipline. Discipline and physical fitness lie at the very root of national efficiency, and it is because we see in universal compulsory military training one of the main routes which lead to national efficiency that we should continue to advocate it, even if our military requirements were less pressing than they are.

The object of the present writer is to examine briefly a few of the objections which are urged against it, not from the military, but from the industrial and social side, and to endeavour to show that they do not possess anything like the weight which is commonly attributed to them.

What are these objections?

It is asserted that compulsory military training involves 'deplorable economic waste,' inasmuch as it withdraws young men for a time

from the pursuit of industries; that it dislocates industrial life, and would never be accepted by employers; and further, the fear is expressed that, if it were adopted, it would bring with it all the admitted evils of Continental conscription and the barrack system.

Taking these assertions in their order, it may first of all be asked whether, in the long run, any economic waste is incurred by interrupting for a time the industrial occupations of young men and submitting them to a careful course of physical and military training. We have an idea in this country that there is some superior cleverness or wisdom on our part in keeping the whole youthful male population uninterruptedly engaged in the production of wealth, while our neighbours have to take a year or two out of the lives of their able-bodied sons. There is a suspicious reminder in this view of a state of public opinion now gone by, which in the name of industry drove children of tender years into the factory, and which till quite lately, in the same cause, permitted and almost encouraged them to leave school at an earlier age than the children of any other enlightened people. The truism that the strength of a nation does not lie in the amount of wealth it produces, but in the physical vigour and trained intelligence of its people, can never cease to be one of the most vital of truths. As a matter of fact, the European country in which military service is most strictly enforced is the very country which has increased most rapidly in wealth, and has become our most formidable industrial rival.

German writers and public men, while admitting certain incidental drawbacks, not only refuse to allow that military service is an economic burden to their country, but declare that its educational and disciplinary value are among the principal causes of Germany's progress and success. I think this view is shared by the majority of those in this country who have an intimate knowledge of international labour conditions. My own experience as an employer of labour in England, and as a director of British undertakings, which have in their service thousands of skilled and unskilled workmen on the Continent of Europe, in Austria, Bohemia, Germany, Belgium, France, and Italy, enables me to say, without any hesitation, that military training in the countries where it is practised has not only a high physical and moral, but an appreciable and calculable financial value, which varies in direct proportion to the thoroughness and strictness with which it is carried out.

The loss of time involved in submitting every able-bodied male to, say, a year's military training is more than counterbalanced by the extraordinary improvement in national physique, and by the acquisition of habits of ready obedience, attention, and combined action, which have so high an importance in industrial life. Even if some economic sacrifice were called for, it would surely be worth any country's while to make it, in order to arrest that physical deterioration which

follows the flocking of population into towns. No country is more exposed to the danger of physical deterioration than our own, both absolutely and relatively, for here, more rapidly than elsewhere, the urban districts are growing at the expense of the rural. All the nations of Europe are giving systematic physical training to their whole male population (for every conscript has to pass through the gymnasium), with the best possible results. In England physical education among the masses stands very much where education in general stood before the Act of 1870: that is to say, it can be obtained by those who have money to pay for it, but, in spite of considerable recent improvements, it does not form an integral and obligatory part of our national educational system. It is useless to delude ourselves with the idea that the national love of games is so strong that it is not necessary to give physical exercise a serious place in the curriculum of our elementary schools. We do not act upon this view in the case of the only class of whom it might possibly be true, for the boys and young men of the richer classes are taught games with at least as much care as they are taught languages and mathematics. Experience shows that among the population of our large industrial towns, owing, no doubt, mainly to the absence of opportunity, the slightest desire for active physical exercise is rather the exception than the rule. For every youth who plays football, a hundred prefer to look on, with their hands in their pockets, at a match between professional players. In any case, spasmodic efforts to popularise games among the working classes can no more supply the need for national physical training than the night schools and Sunday schools which preceded the Act of 1870 could supply the place of compulsory elementary education. If we persist in pitting our haphazard methods against the carefully reasoned and elaborately organised systems of our neighbours, we must relatively decline in physical fitness. It is only a question of time. When none were trained, our racial gifts, our climate, even our national food, gave us a certain physical pre-eminence; but natural gifts, however great, natural predispositions, however strong, cannot in the long run take the place of careful professional training.

It is easy to level the accusation of 'economic waste' against the military systems of the Continent, but surely the most deplorable of all waste is to be found in the condition of the 'slum' population of our large cities. Any system which helped to restore these physically degraded people to a more vigorous state of mind and body would, to say the least of it, have a high economic value. By the adoption of any form of compulsory military training, whether it be that of the Commission's Report or other more simple plans, we should be able to pass every individual under review, exercise control over him at a critical period of his life, with the result that many depressing social problems, which at present we are afraid to tackle, would find

a comparatively easy solution. Some such change would seem to be called for in the interests of public health and national efficiency, even if it were not necessary for purposes of national defence.

So far as the employers of this country are concerned, all the evidence goes to prove that the larger and more intelligent of them would welcome a rational system of military training. No class is in a better position to appreciate the importance of physical vigour and an alert habit of mind on the part of all classes engaged in industry. Forty years ago Sir Joseph Whitworth, with unrivalled experience, wrote: 'The labour of a man who has gone through a course of military drill is worth eighteen pence a week more than that of one untrained, as through the training received in military drill men learn ready obedience, attention, and combined action, all of which are so necessary in work where men have to act promptly and together.' The information supplied by the Inspector-General of Recruiting with regard to the physical fitness of those who present themselves for admission into the Army is quite as interesting to the employer of labour as it is to the soldier. Each has to deal with the same material, though for a different purpose—the one for the defence of our national trade, the other for the defence of our imperial territories. The very high percentage of those willing to enlist in our large cities, who are rejected on account of their lack of stamina and other physical defects, is as disquieting and painful a subject for reflection to the patriotic employer as to the soldier.

All classes of employers would very properly insist that any system adopted should be entirely democratic in its character and should be of universal application. What they would resent and resist is a law which exposed them to the unfairness and caprice of the ballot, which might by pure chance deprive one employer of a large proportion of the younger members of his staff, while it left a neighbour—and perhaps rival—practically untouched.

With regard to the dislocation of industrial life which many people fear, it must be remembered that it is only at the outset that its effects would, if ever, be severely felt. Any plan likely to be adopted in this country would only come gradually into effect. The practice of carrying out national measures upon a local basis would, no doubt, be followed in military training exactly as it is in education. Our industries would speedily adapt themselves to the new conditions, just as they have adapted themselves to the successive shortening of the hours of labour and the increasing stringency of the Factory Acts. We see no decrease of industrial efficiency in France or Germany, and no serious annual dislocation of business through the action of a military system far more penetrating and disturbing than anyone would dream of suggesting for this country. Employers and employed have accepted it as a condition of life like any other, and have moulded their business arrangements to meet its requirements. And so it

would be here. It is impossible to suppose that our industrial organisation is so delicately poised that it could not stand readjustments which have been found entirely innocuous in other countries.

Much of the prejudice which exists amongst us against compulsory military training is due to misconceptions and to well-worn traditions with regard to the evil consequences of conscription and barrack life. The use of the word 'conscription' has feally confused and prejudged the question. It is indeed a curious instance of the tyranny of a word. As a matter of fact, there need be no question of conscription in these islands. It is a system which foreign countries have found themselves compelled to adopt, but there is no reason why any plan of ours should conform to the prevalent Continental type. There is, on the contrary, every reason why it should not.

The problem which at present confronts us differs fundamentally from that with which our neighbours have had to deal. To them the problem is entirely military. They require a nation trained to arms to resist foreign invasion. Military training and military service are one and the same thing, and every trained man belongs to the national army. Conscription and life in barracks are essential parts of the system. With us the problem is partly educational, partly military.

We need to train our young men in order to raise the level of physical fitness of the nation for the ordinary avocations of life, as well as to prepare them to take part in the defence of their country, if occasion should arise; but though all would receive a measure of military training, all would not serve.

With our army voluntarily enlisted for oversea service and for foreign expeditions, and with our fleet as the first line of home defence, we have no use for the vast number of men which conscription would bring to the colours. We do, however, need behind our permanent forces a nation so far trained to arms and accustomed to discipline as to constitute a great reserve, which can be largely relied upon for home defence, and to which we can confidently appeal in times of crisis for any number of volunteers for foreign service.

I see no reason why this preliminary military training of the nation should not be effected without any serious disturbance of our existing industrial system, and without incurring any of the objections which can be brought against conscription.

The problem can probably be approached most safely and with the best chance of success from the educational side. The principle of compulsion has been accepted with regard to education, and the public mind has become accustomed to it. We should, I think, follow the line of least resistance by grafting military training upon our existing educational system, instead of starting from a new point of departure.

My proposal is briefly as follows:—Military or naval training

should be made compulsory for every able-bodied youth between the ages of, say, fifteen and nineteen, as a branch of or as a continuation of ordinary education. In working out the details existing educational machinery should be closely followed. Military training would rank as an additional branch beside elementary, secondary, and technical education, being most nearly allied, by its compulsory character, to elementary education. The duty of carrying out the law should be imposed upon the local authority—the county or borough council—acting through a special committee appointed *ad hoc*, whose duty it would be to furnish, out of funds provided from imperial sources, all the necessary expenses for instructors, drill-grounds, and possibly accoutrements and ranges. The committee would see to the enforcement of the law, and for that purpose would have in its service drill attendance officers, just as the present authorities employ school attendance officers. The War Office would either act alone or would co-operate with the Board of Education in drawing up, and from time to time revising, the scheme of military training and in providing—probably from the district headquarters—the necessary staff of drill instructors and inspectors. The whole system would rest upon a purely local basis, like any other branch of education. All lads, until they attained the age of nineteen and reached a fixed standard of efficiency, would have to submit to the prescribed course of training in the locality where they for the time being happened to be. This would not cause any serious disturbance to industrial life, and could probably be carried out in the case of the vast mass of the population during the abundant leisure which is now at the disposal of all classes. If any difficulty should arise, in order to meet it, there would be little objection to a further slight shortening of the legal hours during which ‘young persons’ may be employed.

• It is not contended that this plan would solve any of our purely military problems; but if rigorously carried out it would contribute decisively to the physical regeneration of our people, and would speedily provide an abundance of raw material from which military experts should be able to build up adequately the defences of the Empire. Moreover, by accustoming boys to martial exercises and military discipline it would make the Army a more popular career for the many adventurous spirits our race will always produce, and would thereby set a limit to the chronic difficulty of recruiting for the Regular Forces.

HENRY BIRCHENOUGH.



## HOW JAPAN REFORMED HERSELF

‘It is a well-known characteristic of mankind to despise what they do not know. For this reason the Japanese, until quite recently, looked down upon foreigners as barbarians. But the foreigners display the same mental attitude which formerly distinguished the Japanese. They do not know what to them is a foreign country—Japan.’

It is a good many years ago since Fukuzawa Yukichi, perhaps the foremost Japanese educationalist of modern times, wrote these words, and since then the world has learned to respect and to admire Japan for her splendid achievements in every province of human activity. But the world still believes that the reform of Japan is a thing of yesterday, a mushroom growth which has sprung up overnight, and which, as we are told, may disappear as suddenly as it came, when ‘the Asiatic’ reasserts himself, tears up his European clothes, like the monkey in the fable, and returns to his native ways.

In reality, the foundation on which the magnificent edifice of modern Japan has been erected with marvellous skill and unparalleled rapidity was laid at a time when Europe was still in swaddling clothes, and successive generations have added stone by stone to the building, which, with the adaptation of European civilisation, received its natural completion. The rise of modern Japan may seem like a fairy tale to the superficial observer in Europe or America, but to the Japanese themselves the reform of their country appears natural in view of its history, character, and traditions.

If we wish to understand how and why Japan succeeded in carrying out perhaps the most marvellous reformation which any empire has ever effected, in order to gauge what are her aims and what her future will be, we must study her progress and her reformation from Japanese sources. Such study will reveal the fact that Europe and America can now learn quite as much from Japan as she has learned from them in the past.

Twenty years ago, when Japan seemed, in European eyes, no greater than Siam or Liberia, Fukuzawa Yukichi said: “

Though we learned the art of navigation during the last twenty years, it is neither within the last twenty years, nor within the last 200 years, that we cultivated and trained our intellect so as to enable us to learn that art. That

continued training is characteristic of Japanese civilisation, and can be traced back hundreds and thousands of years, and for that continuity of effort we ought to be thankful to our ancestors.

We have never been backward or lacking in civilisation and progress. What we wanted was only to adapt the outward manifestations of our civilisation to the requirements of the time. Therefore, let us study not only navigation, but every other branch of European knowledge and civilisation, however trifling it may be, and adopt what is useful, leaving alone what is useless. Thus shall we fortify our national power and well-being.

On the great stage of the world, where all men can see, we mean to show what we can do, and vie with other nations in all arts and sciences. Thus shall we make our country great and independent. This is my passionate desire.

Fukuzawa Yukichi and the other great reformers of his time have now succeeded in carrying out their ardent ambition, and have raised their country to the eminent position in the world which is its due. Now let us take a rapid glance at old Japan, and then watch its transformation and modernisation.

The early history of Japan is wrapped in obscurity, but from the fact that the present Emperor comes from a dynasty which, in unbroken succession, has governed the country for more than 2,500 years, we may assume that the Japanese were a politically highly organised, well-ordered, and, therefore, a highly cultured people centuries before the time of Alexander the Great. Seven centuries before Christ Japan was already a seafaring nation, for Japanese ships went over to Corea. In the year 86 B.C. the Emperor Sujin had the first census of the population taken, and in 645 the Emperor Kotoku ordered that regular census registers should be compiled every six years. In Great Britain we find that only in 1801, and after much obstruction and opposition, was the first census taken. Japan's first regular postal service was established in the year 202, and was perfected in later centuries.

• The great renaissance of Japan took place in the seventh and eighth centuries, or several hundred years before William the Conqueror. Prince Shotoku initiated that period of splendid and universal progress. He organised the administrative system of the country, and he created that spirit of Japan which combines absolute fearlessness, patriotism, and the keenest sense of personal honour with unselfishness, unfailing courtesy, gentleness, and obedience to authority. The following rules of political conduct laid down by the Prince during a time of disorder have been, and still are, the Ten Commandments of the Japanese, and were spoken of as The Constitution :

• . . Concord and harmony are priceless ; obedience to established principles is the first duty of man. But in our country each section of people has its own views, and few possess the light. Disloyalty to Sovereign and parents, disputes among neighbours, are the results. That the upper classes should be in unity among themselves, and intimate with the lower, and that all matters in dispute should be submitted to arbitration—that is the way to place Society on a basis of strict justice.

Imperial edicts must be respected. The Sovereign is to be regarded as the heaven, his subjects as the earth . . . so the Sovereign shows the way, the subject follows it. Indifference to the Imperial edicts signifies national ruin.

Courtesy must be the rule of conduct for all ministers and officials of the Government. Social order and due distinctions between the classes can only be preserved by strict conformity with etiquette.

To punish the evil and reward the good is humanity's best law. A good deed should never be left unrewarded or an evil unrebuked. Sycophancy and dishonesty are the most potent factors for subverting the State and destroying the people.

To be just, one must have faith. Every affair demands a certain measure of faith on the part of those who deal with it. Every question, whatever its nature or tendency, requires for its settlement an exercise of faith and authority. Mutual confidence among officials renders all things possible of accomplishment; want of confidence between sovereign and subject makes failure inevitable.

Anger should be curbed and wrath cast away. The faults of another should not cause our resentment.

To chide a fault does not prevent its repetition, nor can the censor himself be secure from error. The sure road to success is that trodden by the people in unison.

Those in authority should never harbour hatred or jealousy of one another. Hate begets hate and jealousy is blind.

The imperative duty of man in his capacity of a subject is to sacrifice his private interest to the public good. Egoism forbids co-operation, and without co-operation there cannot be any great achievement.

These lines, which were written about 600 A.D., or thirteen hundred years ago, and which have the sublime ring of inspiration about them, explain the mystery of the Japanese character better than a lengthy account of Japan's history, philosophy, and customs. When we remember that these principles have continuously been taught in Japan during more than forty generations, we can understand the character and spirit of the country, to which it owes its magnificent successes. When we read these lines we can realise that Fukuzawa Yûkichi's claim to an old civilisation was not a hollow boast, and we can comprehend why the passionate ambition to elevate their country animates every thinking Japanese from the prince to the peasant. These guiding principles show us the moral and mental foundation of Japan, and enable us to understand why the Japanese officials are the flower of the nation, why class jealousy is absent in Japan, and why Japan is the only country in the world where, regardless of birth, wealth, and connections, all careers and the very highest offices in the land are open to all comers.

These principles of political conduct, which might have been drawn up by a Lycurgus or a Solon, explain the wonderful unity of purpose, courage, self-reliance, self-discipline, homogeneity, and patriotism of the Japanese nation which at present astonish the world; and it seems that Japan owes her greatness and success less to the superior will-power and to the inborn genius of the individual Japanese than to the traditional education of the character of the nation, in

which the educational ideas of Athens and Sparta are harmoniously blended. British education rightly attaches great weight to the formation of character, but it would seem that British educationalists, in the highest sense of the word, can learn more from Japan than from the United States and Germany, where education is principally directed towards the advancement of learning and the somewhat indiscriminate distribution of knowledge.

In olden times, when communications were exceedingly bad, the various centres of original culture existing in the world were separated from one another by such vast distances that each highly cultured country naturally thought itself the foremost country of the universe, considered the inhabitants of other nations as barbarians, refused to learn from them, became self-concentrated, rigidly conservative, and at last retrogressive. We find this narrow-minded, though explicable, attitude of haughty contempt for all foreign culture, which finally results in the inability to adopt a superior civilisation and organisation, in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Palestine, Greece, China, and many other ancient countries.

To the ever-victorious men of old Japan, also, their country was naturally the centre of the universe; it was created by the gods themselves, and their Emperor was the Son of Heaven, being a direct descendant of the great Sun-goddess. But national self-consciousness and self-admiration never became so overwhelmingly strong as to obscure Japan's open mind. On the contrary, the Japanese were always ready to learn from other countries, and to graft foreign culture on to their own. From conquered Corea Japan introduced Buddhism, and from the Chinese she learned much in literature, philosophy, and art. In the year 195 the Chinese species of silkworm was brought into the country, and later on silk-weavers from various districts of China were introduced and distributed all over Japan to teach the inhabitants the art of silk-weaving. In 805 Denkyo Daishi introduced tea plants in a similar manner. Evidently Japan was ever ready and anxious to learn from the foreigner all that could be learned, and to adapt, but not to slavishly copy, all that could benefit and elevate the nation.

Up to a few hundred years ago European civilisation was unknown in Eastern Asia. Largely owing to the influence of Buddhism, Japan had been permeated with Chinese literature and Chinese ideas, and had come to consider Chinese culture in many respects superior to her own. Therefore it was not unnatural that, in the sixteenth century, when Portuguese missionaries caused a widespread revolt, Japan resolved to close, *more sinico*, the country against all foreign intercourse. From 1638 to 1853, or for more than two hundred years, Japan led a self-centred existence far away from the outer world, like the sleeping beauty of the fairy tale; but in the latter year she was waked out of her self-chosen seclusion by the arrival of Commodore

Perry and his squadron, who, to the amazement of Japan, had come to wring a commercial treaty from the country, and to open it, if necessary by force, to the hated foreigners.

Japan had considered herself safe from the contact of foreigners, and inviolable. The intrusion of Commodore Perry was, in the eyes of all Japan, a crime and almost a sacrilege. The sanctity of the country had been defiled, its laws had been set at defiance, and the Government had no power to resist the Commodore, who used veiled threats of employing force. The feeling of national honour, which is stronger in Japan than in any other country, was deeply outraged, and the passionately patriotic nation was shaken to its base with violent indignation.

Nothing can give a better idea of the indescribable excitement and turmoil which was caused by Commodore Perry's intrusion than the vivid account of Genjo Yume Monogatari, a contemporaneous writer. He says :

It was in the summer of 1853 that an individual named Perry, who called himself the envoy of the United States of America, suddenly arrived at Uraga, in the province of Sagami, with four ships of war, declaring that he brought a letter from his country to Japan, and that he wished to deliver it to the Sovereign. The Governor of the place, Toda Idzu No Kami, much alarmed by this extraordinary event, hastened to the spot to inform himself of its meaning. The envoy stated, in reply to questions, that he desired to see a chief minister in order to explain the object of his visit, and to hand over to him the letter with which he was charged. The Governor then despatched a messenger on horseback with all haste to carry this information to the Castle of Yedo, where a great scene of confusion ensued on his arrival. Fresh messengers followed, and the Shogun Iyeyoshi, on receiving them, was exceedingly troubled, and summoned all the officials to a council.

At first the fear seemed so sudden and so formidable that they were too alarmed to open their mouths, but in the end orders were issued to the great clans to keep strict watch at various points on the shore, as it was possible that the 'barbarian' vessels might proceed to commit acts of violence.

Presently a learned Chinese scholar was sent to Uraga, had an interview with the American envoy, and returned with the letter, which expressed the desire of the United States to establish friendship and intercourse with Japan, and said, according to this account, that if they met with a refusal they should commence hostilities.

Thereupon the Shogun was greatly distressed, and again summoned a council. He also asked the opinion of the Daimios. The assembled officials were exceedingly disturbed, and nearly broke their hearts over consultations which lasted all day and all night.

The nobles and retired nobles in Yedo were informed that they were at liberty to state any ideas they might have on the subject, and, although they all gave their opinions, the diversity of propositions was so great that no decision was arrived at.

The military class had, during a long peace, neglected military arts; they had given themselves up to pleasure and luxury, and there were very few who had put on armour for many years, so that they were greatly alarmed at the prospect that war might break out at a moment's notice, and began to run hither and thither in search of arms. The city of Yedo and the surrounding villages were in a great tumult. And there was such a state of confusion among

all classes that the Governors of the city were compelled to issue a notification to the people, and this in the end had the effect of quieting the general anxiety. But in the Castle never was a decision further from being arrived at, and, whilst time was being thus idly wasted, the envoy was constantly demanding an answer.

Commodore Perry happened to arrive at a most critical period in the history of Japan. Since 1192 the formerly subordinate military class had seized the reins of government, and the Shogun, who was supposed to be only the generalissimo of Japan, and who was appointed by the Mikado, had possessed himself of all political power. The Mikado was the nominal ruler of the country, but, though he was treated with the greatest respect, was in reality a prisoner in his palace at Kyoto. The country was divided into numerous principalities, which were more or less independent. Japan was an empire in name, but no longer an empire in fact. Thus the land was ruled by a number of great feudal chiefs, who were supported by their armed retainers, the samurai, the soldier caste of Japan. The autonomous territories of the great nobles were ruled on different principles—they possessed their own laws, finances, and regulations. There was consequently, perhaps, less unity in Japan then than there is at present in China.

In the absence of a powerful centralising influence, the country had become divided against itself: the formerly unquestioned authority of the Shogun had been shaken and gravely compromised, the nobles were intriguing for power, the people were arbitrarily and harshly treated, feudalism felt the ground heave and give way under its feet.

The numerous Daimios, the great feudal lords of old Japan, were generous patrons of literature and art, and strove to make their residences not only seats of power, but also centres of learning. From these learned circles the ultimate revolt against the Shogun's usurpation took its beginning. In 1715 the Prince of Mito finished, with the assistance of a host of scholars, his great work, *Dai Nihon Shi*, or history of Japan. This classical work was copied by hand by industrious students and eager patriots, and was circulated throughout the Empire, being printed only in 1851. It is characteristic for the spirit of intense and reflective patriotism of Japan that this celebrated compilation, which gave an account of the decay of the Mikado's power and of the usurpation by the Shoguns, became the strongest factor in the eventual overthrow of the Shogunate, in the re-establishment of the Mikado's power, and in the unification of the Empire.

The history by the Prince of Mito was followed by a history of the usurpation period by the celebrated scholar, poet, and historian, Rai Sanyo, who attacked with historic proof, unanswerable logic, and patriotic fervour the Shogun's usurpation of the Imperial power. He traced the history of Japan and the Imperial House, and mourned the disappearance of the true Imperial power. The influence of his

writings was enormous, and not a few of his disciples became men of action, who carried out their master's ideas. Thus the Mikado's party found a strong and growing support among the intellectual classes.

The body of malcontent idealists and students was reinforced by the large body of devout Shintoists, who see in the Mikado their god, and the fountain of all virtue, honour, and authority. Shintoism, which had been lying dormant for a long time, experienced a wonderful revival, and became again a living faith. Consequently it was only natural that the adherents to Japan's native religion were outraged when they were told that the Mikado had been ousted from power and was practically a prisoner.

Thus disorder within the country was added to the danger threatening from without. While the conscience of the people was awaking to the ancient wrong done to the Mikado and clamouring for its redress by reinstating him in power, Japanese patriotism instinctively felt the need of uniting the nation against the insolent foreigner, and added force to the growing movement towards national unity and towards the reinstallation of the legitimate ruler.

Under these circumstances it was only natural that the ferment of the nation was greatly increased by the behaviour of the insolent foreigners, and by their—to Japanese minds—outrageous demands, and the national feeling rose to fever heat when it was discovered that the Shogun had, in spite of the remonstrance of the Mikado, concluded the treaty of 1854, whereby the country was opened to foreign trade, merely in order to get rid of the troublesome and dreaded foreigners at any price.

From 1854 onward the problem whether the foreigners should be exterminated or tolerated was uppermost in men's minds, and, as the majority of the nation was in favour of expelling the barbarians, the position of the unfortunate Shogun, who had concluded the treaty without the Mikado's consent, became one of very great difficulty. During this period of national agitation and perturbation the Mikado issued a rescript, in which he said: 'Amity and commerce with foreigners brought disgrace on the country in the past. It is desirable that Kyoto and Yedo should join their strengths and plan the welfare of the Empire.' This idea rapidly became universal, and led to the rallying cry of the people, which rang from one end of the Empire to the other: 'Destroy the Shogunate and raise the Mikado to his proper throne.'

The hatred towards the foreign intruders became more and more accentuated as time passed on. Europeans were murdered without provocation, and the guns on the coast opened fire on foreign ships, regardless of their nationality, when they passed by. These attacks led to the bombardment of Kagoshima on the 11th August, 1863, and to that of Shimonoseki on the 5th September, 1864. Though the

Japanese on land bravely tried to defend themselves, they found their weapons unavailing against the superior armaments of the foreign ships.

The effect of the two bombardments on the mind of Japan may best be gathered from the following memorandum of a native chronicler:

The eyes of the Prince were opened through the fight of Kagoshima, and affairs appeared to him in a new light; he changed in favour of foreigners, and thought now of making his country powerful and of completing his armaments.

The Emperor also wrote in a rather pathetic tone to the Shogun :

I held a council the other day with my military nobility, but, unfortunately, inured to the habits of peace which for more than 200 years has existed in our country, we are unable to exclude and subdue our foreign enemies by the forcible means of war. . . . If we compare our Japanese ships of war and cannon with those of the barbarians, we feel certain that they are not sufficient to inflict terror upon the foreign barbarians and are also insufficient to make the splendour of Japan shine in foreign countries. I should think that we only would make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the barbarians.

The damage done by the bombardments was, after all, insignificant, and if Japan had possessed the spirit of China, the officials might easily have explained away these attacks as being unimportant and purely local affairs. However, the proud mind of Japan required no further humiliation to drive home the lesson, but immediately realised that the time of seclusion, conservatism, and feudalism was past, and that the nation's salvation could only henceforward be found in progress and unity. As Professor Toyokichi Iyenaga put it :

Those bombardments showed the necessity of national union. Whether she would repel or receive the foreigner, Japan must present a united front. To this end a great change in the internal constitution of the Empire was needed. The internal resources of the nation had to be gathered into a common treasure, the police and the taxes had to be recognised as national, not as belonging to petty local chieftains, the power of the feudal lords had to be broken, in order to reconstitute Japan as a single strong State under a single head. These are the ideas which led the way to the Restoration of 1868. Thus the bombardments of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki may be said to have helped indirectly in the Restoration. . . .

When a country's is threatened with foreign invasion, when the corporate action of its citizens against the enemy is needed, it becomes an imperative necessity to consult public opinion. In such a time centralisation is needed. Hence the first move of Japan after the advent of foreigners was to bring the scattered parts of the country together and unite them under one head. Japan had hitherto no formidable foreign enemy on her shores, so her governmental system, the regulating system of the social organism, received no impetus for self-development; but as soon as a formidable people, either as allies or foes, appeared on the scene in 1853, we immediately see the remarkable change in the State system in Japan. It became necessary to consult public opinion. Councils of Kuges (nobles belonging to the Court of the Mikado) and Daimios (independent nobles) and meetings of Samurai sprang forth spontaneously.

Recognising that the reconstitution of the country, its reunion, and the re-establishment of the rule of the Mikado were absolute.



necessities for the continued independent existence of Japan, the Shogun, the virtual ruler of the country, whose predecessors had governed Japan for hundreds of years, took a step which is almost unprecedented in history. Placing the welfare of his country high above the glorious traditions of his House, and waiving the historical claims to his exalted position which he possessed, the Shogun resigned his office on the 19th November, 1867, in a document which should for ever and to all nations be a monument of sublime patriotism. In this document he said :

A retrospect of the various changes through which the Empire has passed shows us that after the decadence of the monarchical authority power passed into the hands of the Minister of State; that by the wars of 1156 to 1159 the governmental power came into the hands of the military class.

My ancestor received greater marks of confidence than any before him, and his descendants have succeeded him for more than 200 years. Though I performed the same duties, the objects of government have not been attained and the penal laws have not been carried out; and it is with a feeling of the greatest humiliation that I find myself obliged to acknowledge my own want of virtue as the cause of the present state of things. Moreover, our intercourse with foreign Powers becomes daily more extensive, and our foreign policy cannot be pursued unless directed by the whole power of the country.

If, therefore, the old *régime* be changed and the governmental authority be restored to the Imperial Court; if the councils of the whole Empire be collected and their wise decisions received, and if we are united with all our heart and all our strength to protect and maintain the Empire, it will be able to range itself with the nations of the earth. This comprises our whole duty towards our country.

This simple declaration is as manly, straightforward, and wholly admirable as the following verbal explanation of his step which the Shogun gave to Sir Harry Parkes and the French Minister. He said :

I became convinced last autumn that the country would no longer be successfully governed while the power was divided between the Emperor and myself. . . . I therefore, for the good of my country, informed the Emperor that I resigned the governing power with the understanding that an assembly of Daimios shall be convened for the purpose of deciding in what manner and by whom the government should be carried on in the future.

In acting thus I sank my own interests and abandoned the power handed down to me by my ancestors in the more important interests of the country. . . . In pursuance of this object I have retired from the scene of dispute instead of opposing force by force. . . . As to who is the Sovereign of Japan, this is a question on which no one in Japan can entertain a doubt. The Emperor is the Sovereign.

My object has been from the first to obey the will of the nation as to the future government. If the nation should decide that I ought to resign my powers, I am prepared to resign them for the good of the country. . . . I had no other motive than the following: With an honest love for my country and people, I resigned the governing power which I inherited from my ancestors with the understanding that I should assemble all the nobles of the Empire to discuss the question disinterestedly, and, adopting the opinion of the majority, which decided upon the reformation of the national constitution, I left the matter in the hands of the Imperial Court.

Thus the question whether the Mikado or the Shogun should be supreme was not decided by civil war, as might have been expected, but by the self-sacrifice of patriotism.

The Mikado accepted the resignation of the Shogun, and with the disappearance of the latter from power the chief obstacle to Japan's unification and modernisation was removed. A government was formed by the Mikado, and its first active step was a memorial to the Throne, which is so remarkable for its enlightenment and which is so important for the whole development of Japan that it seems necessary to quote a part of it. That interesting manifesto, which most clearly illustrates the mind of Japan and which brings the fundamental differences between that country and China into the strongest relief, says :

. . . . It causes us some anxiety to feel that we may perhaps be following the bad example of the Chinese, who, fancying themselves alone great and worthy of respect and despising foreigners as little better than beasts, have come to suffer defeats at their hands and to have it lorded over themselves by those foreigners.

It appears to us, therefore, after mature reflection, that the most important duty we have at present to perform is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the conditions of the age, in effecting a national reformation, and commencing a great work; and that for this reason it is of the greatest necessity that we determine upon the attitude to be observed towards this question.

Hitherto the Empire has held itself aloof from other countries and is ignorant of the force of the world; the only object set has been to give ourselves the least trouble, and by daily retrogression we are in danger of falling under a foreign rule.

By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, by comparing their daily progress, the universality of intelligent government, of a sufficiency of military defences and of abundant food for the people among them, with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may plainly be traced. . . .

In order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Emperor and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to make a firm resolution and to get rid of the narrow-minded notions which have prevailed hitherto.

We pray that the important personages of the Court will open their eyes and unite with those below them in establishing relations of amity in a single-minded manner, and that, our deficiencies being supplied with what foreigners are superior in, an enduring government be established for future ages. Assist the Emperor in forming his decision wisely and in understanding the condition of the Empire; let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese, be reformed, and the foreign representatives be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed in the rules current amongst all nations; and let this be publicly notified throughout the country, so that the ignorant people may be taught in what light they are to regard this subject. This is our most earnest prayer, presented with all reverence and humility.

Happily, the Mikado himself saw the necessity for reform and progress. Had he been a man of ordinary ability, had he not been aided by a group of enlightened and far-seeing statesmen, he might have rested satisfied with regaining, by the force of circumstances, the

power which his ancestors had lost centuries ago. He would have continued a rule of absolutism, and he would merely have tried to raise the defensive power of the country sufficiently to allow Japan to return to the seclusion to which the people had become accustomed. But, happily, Mutsu Hito was thoroughly in sympathy with the reformers, and on the 17th April, 1869, he took before the Court and the Assembly of Daimios the charter oath of five articles, which in substance were as follows :

(1) A deliberative assembly shall be formed, and all measures shall be decided by public opinion.

(2) The principles of social and political science shall be constantly studied by both the higher and lower classes of the people.

(3) Everyone in the community shall be assisted in obtaining liberty of action for all good and lawful purposes.

(4) All the old, absurd usages of former times shall be abolished and the impartiality and justice which are displayed in the working of Nature shall be adopted as the fundamental basis of the State.

(5) Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought after in all quarters of the civilised world, for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of Empire.

Thus the Mikado identified himself with the cause of reform, pledged the nation to progress, and made the success of the movement towards the modernisation of Japan a certainty. Henceforth the whole of the nation strove for progress and enlightenment with that passionate will-power and singleness of purpose which is not found outside Japan.

By the voluntary surrender of power on the part of the Shogun, the Mikado had been installed, and he had pledged himself to progress; but the formidable difficulties remained how to unify and modernise a nation which for centuries had been governed by a large number of independent princes whose power rested on an immense array of Samurai. The problem of abolishing feudalism and militarism, which, so far, had formed the groundwork of all government, was one of enormous difficulty, for the feudal lords and their Samurai considered themselves, naturally, as 'the government' by tradition as well as by right. This apparently formidable question was, however, easily settled by the marvellous patriotism of those who held power in the land.

Daimio Akidzuki, President of the Kogisho (the deliberating council representing the clans), addressed the following memorial to the Throne :

. . . The various Princes have used their lands and their people for their own purposes; different laws have obtained in different places; the civil and criminal codes have been different in the various provinces.

The clans have been called the screen of the country, but in reality they have caused its division. Internal relations having been confused, the strength of the country has been disunited and diminished. How can our small country of Japan enter into fellowship with the countries beyond the sea? How can she hold up an example of a flourishing country?

Let those who wish to show their faith and loyalty act in the following manner, that they may firmly establish the foundations of Imperial government : 1.

(1) Let them restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor and return to a constitutional and undivided country.

(2) Let them abandon their titles, and under the name of Kuazoko (persons of honour) receive such small properties as may suffice for their wants.

(3) Let officers of the clans abandon that title, call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving the property equal to that which they have held hitherto.

Let these three important measures be adopted forthwith, that the Empire may be raised on a basis imperishable for ages. . . .

This declaration, which was inspired by the great statesmen of the three leading clans, and which breathes a spirit of unselfish patriotism that seems almost incredible to the more stolid and the more selfish nations of the West, met with universal approval, and the great Daimios emulated one another in offering up to the Mikado their titles, their position, their lands, and their wealth. The Daimios of the West, for instance, said in their memorial :

Now, when men are seeking for a new government, the great body and the great strength must neither be lent nor borrowed. . . . We therefore reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men. . . . Let Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let all affairs of State, great and small, be directed by the Emperor.

On the 14th of April, 1869, 118 Daimios, having a revenue of 12,000,000 kokus of rice, or about 24,000,000*l.*, had agreed to the proposed radical restoration. A few months later 241 out of 258 of these nobles had resigned their power, and the remaining seventeen, who were the only dissentients, soon followed suit. Thus feudalism, which had existed in Japan for over eight centuries, voluntarily extinguished itself, and patriotism triumphed over selfish interests and the love of power.

\* The fall of feudalism was marked by the laconic Imperial decree of the 29th August, 1871, which simply announced : 'The clans are abolished and prefectures are established in their place.' As great an event in history has probably never been proclaimed by as short a decree.

The new era of Japan, which is truly called the 'Meiji Era,' the era of enlightenment, thus began with acts of noble self-sacrifice by the greatest in the land, and the patriotic example of the nobility stirred up the country from shore to shore. A feverish desire to sacrifice themselves for their country, a desire which is deeply implanted in all Japanese, took hold of the whole population, and when it was recognised that the enormous caste of Samurai, the warriors, who cost the country about 2,000,000*l.* per annum, had no room in the modern State, patriotism found again the remedy. The army of professional soldiers, who had been taught that the sword was their sole and their only means of earning a living, and who disdained to earn their bread by industry or trade, quietly effaced themselves, sur-

rendered the larger part of their income, and, without a murmur, accepted inglorious poverty in the shape of pensions which amounted to but a few pence per day, and which barely kept the men from starvation.

The compensation paid to the nobles for surrendering their lands and, with the lands, their incomes to the State, the pensioning of the Samurai, and the rearrangement of finances from their local basis to an Imperial basis, was an enormous financial transaction of stupendous difficulty. The loans raised in connection with this vast national reorganisation amounted to no less than 225,514,800 yen, or to the truly enormous sum of about 40,000,000*l.* It speaks volumes for the financial strength of the country and for the consummate ability of the Japanese financiers that this enormous operation was satisfactorily carried out, and that by 1903 all but the trifling amount of 23,800,111 yen had been redeemed.

Many enlightened Japanese shared the opinion of the great educationalist, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who fearlessly declared: 'The Government exists for the people, and not the people for the Government; the Government officials are the servants of the people, and the people are their employers.' Hence the desire for representative government arose in Japan soon after the reformation, though the Japanese had hitherto only known government by despotism. Though the Japanese people had had no experience whatever of popular government, the Mikado and his advisers had so much confidence in the good sense and the patriotism of the nation that they decided upon giving the people a share in the government of the country. On the 12th October, 1881, the Mikado issued the famous declaration, in which he said:

We have long intended to establish gradually a constitutional form of government. . . . It was with this object in view that we established the Senate in 1875, and authorised the formation of local assemblies in 1878. . . . We therefore hereby declare that we shall establish a Parliament in 1890, in order to carry into full effect the determination which we have announced; and we charge our faithful subjects bearing our commissions to make in the meantime all necessary preparations to that end.

With the deliberate cautiousness and foresight which is characteristic of all Japanese action, the people were, step by step, introduced and accustomed to self-government. When the Senate had settled down, the local assemblies were created, and when the local assemblies had proved their worth, it was announced that ten years hence a Parliament should be elected. Thus the leaders of public opinion had ample time to prepare the nation for the coming change, and were enabled to educate the electorate for their coming duties.

In consequence of this careful preparation and this wise delay the Japanese Parliament has proved a great success. The elections cause no excitement, the people record their votes with the full know-

ledge of their responsibility, and Parliament works with ability and decorum. Lengthy speeches are unknown in that assembly, and the House gets through an immense amount of work in an incredibly short time. Parliamentary peroration and obstruction are practically unknown in Japan, though there have been not a few political struggles and dissolutions. However, party struggles are confined to domestic politics.

The reconstitution of the body politics of Japan was crowned on the 1st of April, 1890, when the Mikado solemnly promulgated a Constitution for Japan. Whilst in all other monarchical countries the Constitution had to be wrested from an unwilling Sovereign by the force, and not infrequently by the violence, of the people, Japan is the only country in the world which can boast of a monarch who has voluntarily divested himself of a part of his rights, and who has by his own free will granted a participation in the government to his subjects.

This short sketch of one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the world clearly proves that Japan's marvellous progress and her astonishing change from mediæval Orientalism to modern Western culture is in no way a fact that can cause surprise.

Though the Japanese are an extremely gifted people, they are, individually, probably no more talented than are the inhabitants of many other countries. Japan's progress has no doubt been meteoric, and her complete adoption of Western culture has certainly been startling. But her progress and her transformation appear only natural if we remember that Japan is a nation in which everybody, from the highest to the lowest, in all circumstances, unflinchingly obeys the rule: 'The imperative duty of man in his capacity of a subject is to sacrifice his private interests to the public good, Egoism forbids co-operation, and without co-operation there cannot be any great achievement.'

The individualistic nations of the West in which the interests of the nation are only too often sacrificed to the selfish interests of the individual, where party loyalty is apt to take precedence over patriotism, where ministers, generals, and admirals are rarely appointed by merit only, where jobbery occurs even in time of war, and where everything is considered permitted that is not actually punished by law, will do well to learn from Japan's example, for it cannot be doubted that the cause of Japan's greatness and of Japan's success can be summed up in the one word—patriotism.

O. ELTZBACHER.

## THE WOMEN OF KOREA.

THERE is, perhaps, no country about the womankind of which so little is known as of Korea. And one cannot be astonished at this fact, as the women themselves have been kept as much shut off from contact with the outer world as the peninsula itself has been shut off. Not even a medical man is allowed to have access to their rooms. The Japanese staff surgeon, Dr. Massano Kaike, tried everything possible to break down this rigid isolation, but all his endeavours proved fruitless. Then he sent for his own wife, and as she found less difficulty in obtaining access to the secluded women's apartments, he instructed her to find out what was going on within those dwellings. The result of this step was that he published the gist of the observations made in the *International Archive of Ethnography*.

According to what can be read there, it is not at all correct to assert, as is often done, that the woman (wife) obtains no consideration on the part of the man (husband). The fact that he fully knows how to value her as the mother of the coming generation shows itself clearly in the special care which he bestows on her when he expects the birth of a child.

A rope stretched across the entrance to the house indicates the birth of a child. If it is a boy, a piece of coal and a leaf are fastened to it; if it is a girl, nothing is attached to the rope. The Koreans have the curious habit of not counting their daughters as members of the family—at least, not in public. If a father is asked how many children he has got, he always gives as answer the number of his sons. One can only learn of the existence of a daughter by very particular close inquiries. They have special names only up to the age of seven, after which they only bear the father's surname, and are henceforth known only as daughter, sister, or wife of some man.

When a child has become able to walk a dog is obtained, even in the poorest families, which is carefully trained to follow the child everywhere in its little rambles to protect it. Of course, it is not a rare occurrence that just the opposite takes place. According to the Korean idea, the mental development of the child is helped on by the

influence of light, and on that account the lamp in the children's room is never put out.

In education the separation between boys and girls takes place in the eighth year. The boys then are taught all branches of knowledge considered necessary for their future calling, but the education of girls in a good family is limited to the study of maxims of morality and to the knowledge of the ceremonies in connection with the religious cultus of ancestors; in the huts of the poor people the girls are taught only dressmaking and all sorts of needlework. As a matter of fact, the women of the lower class are particularly clever in the use of the needle. This is easily proved by the garments exhibited in the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin, and in the Brussels Museum. The embroideries on the silk undergarments are executed with extraordinary skill. In Berlin there is, among other articles, also one of the famous white garments which the Koreans are particularly fond of wearing, and which owe their existence to the uncommonly long period of mourning for their dead. As the Koreans are obliged to dress in white for three years for every case of death, and as once three kings died within ten years, by which deaths mourning was imposed on the whole nation, the majority of people chose rather to dress continually in white in order to avoid the great expenses involved by a repeated change of clothing.

The women make these garments, and every time they have to be washed they are entirely taken to pieces, and these are beaten for hours with a wooden bat in order to obtain the metallic gloss which is considered particularly beautiful. In the Berlin Museum there is one of these bats, which is made of cedar wood, and in shape is like a moderately large wine bottle flattened on one side.

The Koreans are one of the few races in which the girl is developed later than the boy. In consequence the wives are nearly always a few years older than the husbands.

The customs connected with a Korean marriage are as follows: The man sends by a friend a written formal request for the hand of the girl whom he has chosen, and her family send a written reply. If the offer is accepted, there follows an exchange of papers of identity, in which particular attention is given to the exact date and hour of birth, as they have to fix the day of the calendar which is specially favourable and propitious for the intended marriage. On that day the place for the ceremony is prepared at the house of the bride underneath the outside entrance staircase. The bridegroom, dressed in the proper garments, comes driving or riding, accompanied by his father, dismounts outside the gate, and walks, with his face turned to the north, to the spot prepared for the ceremony. There the bridegroom, in kneeling position, puts down his present for the bride, which consists of a wild goose, in default of which a carved one can be substituted; he bows twice, retires a short distance, and then stops, with



his face turned to the west. The reason of the existence of this curious present is to be found in a legend which tells how a hunter had once shot the male of a wild goose, and had always seen the poor goose come back to visit the spot where her mate had been killed. This present, therefore, means to intimate the hope and expectation that the wife shall show equal faithfulness to her husband, and after it has been given the two parties give each other the promise of eternal faith by using the following words: 'Now our hair is as black as the feathers of the wild goose, but even if it should turn white as the fibre of the bulbous root we will still hold together as faithfully as we do this day.'

The bride that day puts on, for the first time in her life, the complete Korean woman's dress. Her face is powdered, the eyebrows are painted black, the lips coloured with safflower. Three hairpins with gold birds of paradise adorn the head, covered with a light hat. An upper garment of variegated pattern, with purple shoulder-bands, and a nether garment of scarlet are held round the waist by a white girdle five inches wide. White cuffs covering the hands, white stockings, and silk shoes of red, purple, green, or blue, complete the costume.

With slow steps, supported by three festively dressed waiting-women, the bride descends the staircase, steps on to the place prepared for the ceremony, and stops, with her face covered with the fan and turned to the east. She then bows twice to the bridegroom, who returns the same compliment. After that, two vessels, one adorned with red, the other with blue ribbons, are filled with wine by two maidservants and handed by them to the bride and bridegroom. They both take a sip at the same time, and this act concludes the ceremonial of the wedding. Then they are separately conducted into the house. The bridegroom and his father are invited to the banquet, at which all the relations of the bride take part. After its conclusion the bridegroom drives home to his house, but the bride does not follow him till the next propitious calendar day.

And now begins a life of complete seclusion for the Korean wife. She may not show herself to any married man but her own husband—nay, not even to the other male members of her own family.

In former times, as soon as the gates were closed at night, all men, especially in Seoul, used to go into their houses, and no man showed himself in the darkness of the street, because the ladies of the rich classes had the privilege of going out at that time. Deeply veiled, with their tiny paper lanterns in their hand, they would glide along from house to house to visit their lady friends. But recently this custom, which was formerly affirmed by law, has come into disuse. Thieves had profited by these nocturnal visits of ladies, and had often robbed them of their jewels, and as the police were not able to

stop the ever-increasing number of such cases, the old custom was discontinued altogether.

Now ladies of the best families, in very rare cases, go out at night deeply veiled and accompanied by their husbands.\* The women of the lower classes are sometimes seen in the streets in daytime, but also deeply veiled and dressed in green garments with red sleeves, which latter are only used to cover the face of the woman.

G. J. R. GLÜNICKE.

## THE POPE AND THE NOVELIST

A REPLY TO MR. RICHARD BAGOT

'Pour vivre tranquille il faut vivre loin des gens d'église,' says a witty Frenchman. There is a certain amount of truth in this for a particular class of minds. The Church's office is to teach and, in her own province, to rule her children; she does the work of conversion. But suppose a man enters into that relation with the Church which is understood by the term 'becoming a convert,' and then sets to work to convert her, it is pretty sure that his life will not be very peaceful. There will be friction at every point; nothing will please him; nothing will be done rightly. From Pope down to curate there will be surely something amiss which he will want to set right. So the convert finds himself always at loggerheads with his bishops and pastors, who object to being thrown out of their office and submitting to him as a magistrate and master. 'Suum cuique,' which, being interpreted, means, 'Let the cobbler stick to his last.' I have heard of a convert who was anxious to know what was his exact position in the Church which he felt he had honoured by joining. 'Your exact position in the Church?' quoth the padre. 'That's easy enough to decide. Kneeling before the altar and sitting before the pulpit. Some do not realise the lesson that they get more from the Church than she does from them. The favour, I hold, is all on her side when she receives them into communion and gives them what they cannot find elsewhere. Hence it happens that such persons who have failed to grasp the first principles of submission to a teacher and ruler, when they find that they are not accepted at their own valuation, do one of two things. After a period of restiveness they either lapse or become that peculiar specimen of humanity a 'bored' convert. Mr. Richard Bagot himself remarks: 'It is not easy to feel religious when you are feeling bored.' For such the only remedy 'pour vivre tranquille' is to live far from us 'gens d'église.' But when did the moth ever forsake the candle when once it had felt the fascination? I will not for a moment say that the laity, hereditary Catholics or neophytes, have not got their rights, nor will I say that these rights have been, or always are, respected. But this is a very different position from that of adopting an attitude of perpetual girding against

authority. While I have sympathy with any movement which seeks by legitimate methods to obtain that recognition of the rights of the laity which the Church has always acknowledged, I will have nothing to do with the 'bored' convert except to wish that he would take his boredom elsewhere.

Mr. Richard Bagot has given us his views on the Pope and church music, and dignifies them as a 'Roman Catholic protest.' It may be as well, before considering these views, to understand Mr. Bagot's position. He is the author of several brilliant novels, and from these and other writings I gather that a prolonged stay in Rome has had its usual effect. A man becomes there, or at least used to become, a partisan. He is either white or black and can see no good, nor tolerate the idea of there being any good, in the opposite faction. I think the position, as a matter of fact, is changing; and, with the exception of extremists on either side, most sensible people are becoming grey or piebald. But not so Mr. Bagot. He has evidently thrown himself, heart and soul, into the Quirinal party. Therefore we must expect to find that his presentments of life among the Vaticanists are tinged with the effects of party spirit. Does he want a villain? The blacks supply any number. A hero? Where should one be found but among the whites? I am not going to say that in either ranks heroes or villains might not be found; but I am of opinion that, as a novelist, Mr. Bagot belongs to the school of the late Mrs. Henry Wood, who drew an unnatural line of demarcation between good and bad. However it appears that Mr. Bagot is a bored convert, so nothing the Pope does pleases him. There we must leave it. It is unfortunate for Pius X., perhaps; or for Mr. Bagot. I have every wish to do my spiriting gently, and I hope that I have not in any way misrepresented his position; but I think it is necessary to make that clear before I approach his criticisms.

We differ fundamentally, I find, on the philosophy of sacred music. This is but natural. Mr. Bagot admits that he does not examine the matter from the point of view of a musical expert; he makes the wholly unnecessary admission that technical knowledge is wanting in his case. And yet, as it is a question which touches upon the profounder side of the artistic and psychological nature of sacred music, why does he so airily write about the 'insult offered to music' by 'this unfortunate and illogical decree'? I fear that I shall find abundant evidence that the imaginative gift, so valuable to a writer of fiction, has stood in the way when he approaches a subject which deals with a matter of fact. He has entirely missed the true nature of the question altogether. The spiritual, even the artistic point of view has not troubled him at all. He has not taken into consideration the elementary fact that music was made for men, not men for music, and that the art, if it be a means to a certain end, must logically be regulated by that end, and not *vice versa*.

Pius X., who is a true artist and, moreover, a practical musician, has issued an *Instruction on Sacred Music*, which he, as head of the Church, puts forth as a 'juridical code' on the subject. After all, he is only enforcing, as a strong and sensible ruler will do, existing legislation. From the days of Gregory I. (604), if not earlier, the Popes have issued decrees on the subject and Councils have legislated. In the pontificate of Leo XIII. decrees were issued several times on the subject; and this very *Instruction* is identical with a memorandum which Cardinal Sarto sent from Venice to his predecessor. It is also to be found in substance in a long circular addressed by the Patriarch of Venice to his clergy. The copy before me bears the date of the 1st of May, 1895. To hint, as Mr. Bagot does, with a half-veiled sneer at the Pope's antecedents, that the *Instruction* is largely due to the influence of Don Perosi is too extravagant an idea for those who know the independent and strong character of Pius X. It is rather he who discovered and influenced Perosi, and uses him, with other instruments, for carrying out his will. In determining to enforce the Church's legislation the Pope has been so unlucky as to displease the novelist, who promptly publishes 'A Roman Catholic Protest.' Didn't some sartorial artists, three in number, from over the water, Southwark-way, once make a memorable protest or declaration? Mr. Bagot should not emulate these 'representatives of the people of England.'

I do claim in this matter to write somewhat as a musical expert and with technical knowledge, if the facts count for anything that more than thirty years ago I began life as a professional musician, and in my time have been choirmaster of one of the leading churches in London. What are called 'the Masses' I have sung, taught, and conducted times out of number, and there is little of the best modern music with which I am not familiar. But, much as I love Mozart—I take him here only as a type—I came to the conclusion, years ago, that music of this school represents only a distortion of the true artistic idea of Church music. Mind, I am speaking only of it as the music for worship. If the ideal of the times and places where Mozart wrote was a false one, I see no reason why we should be obliged to accept it to-day simply because the master composed under the adverse influences that surrounded him.

Let me put it in this way: We must have either the music of worship or the worship of music. You must choose one horn of the dilemma, and you will be led in your choice by the way you answer the question: Is music made for men or men for music? Surely there can be no doubt as to the reply. Music must either be a mere melodious vehicle for soul-moving words, or these count for nothing and are to be overpowered by the sounds. In this case the composer, the singer, and the accompaniment will represent the chief power in the music of worship. But is not this to make the frame

more important than the picture, the setting than the jewel? Or, in a more homely phrase, is not this putting the cart before the horse?

In the music of worship the true artistic sense demands truth, for nothing can be beautiful except it be true; and truth demands that, in this style of music, the words should be paramount and music the handmaiden; for it is in the text that we find life and truth, not bound, but quick and powerful.

Music by itself is vague unless it has associations. Its very vagueness makes it the least material of arts, and, therefore, when properly directed, such a valuable help in worship. But this quality is also its danger. It may so soon escape control and become a veritable hindrance.

Now, I take it that worship is not vague but definite. I cannot understand people who hoot and croon at the moon as an act of worship to the Unknowable, like Mr. Mallock's Paul and Virginia on one memorable night in the Chasuble Islands. No; for reasonable beings a definite idea is required in the act of worship. Hence words, uttered or thought, are necessary; and if there be used that subtle influence of a well ordered succession of musical intervals which we call melody, either alone or in combination with other melodies, it can only rightly be employed to draw out of the soul the hidden force and life within the words. How is it that, in so many cases, words spoken have less effect than words sung? What is the marvellous power of music to 'raise a mortal to the skies'? Read a hymn and sing a hymn, and note the psychological difference. The simpler the strain the more marked is the increase in pathos, spirit, warmth, and love: the more complex the music the more the mind is distracted from the thoughts. In this the senses take the upper hand and the definite yields to the vague; in that reason controls all.

Regarding, then, the music of worship as a help to prayer, and as a means of attaining union with God, we get to the fundamental difference which exists between sacred music and all other kinds of music. In the act of worship I want a help, not a distraction. The true artist will recognise this and will supply the need; he will not thrust upon me something else, beautiful as it may be in its own line, which does not suit the end for which it is to be used. If I want bread what is the use of giving me a stone? It is, therefore, from the standpoint of worship that the question of sacred music must be judged and the dispute between the Sovereign Pontiff and the novelist settled.

In the *Instruction on Sacred Music* the Pope lays down certain principles for our guidance; and I can safely leave it to my readers to decide who has the real artistic instinct, Pius X. or Mr. Bagot. The Pope says:

Sacred music should possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, or, in particular, holiness, godness of form, from which its other

quality of *universality* spontaneously springs. (1) It must be *ho'y*; and therefore must exclude all profanity, not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it. (2) It must be *true art*; for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of those who listen to it that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining when admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds. (3) It must, at the same time, be *universal*, in the sense that while every nation is allowed to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute its native music, still these forms must be subordinated, in such a manner, to the general characteristics of sacred music that no person of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them.

So far for the Pope as an artist.

Now let me take some of Mr. Bagot's examples. For the moment I put out of the question that they come under the Church's ban. But, as he judges the matter from what he is pleased to call the artistic side, I will take him on his own ground.

The drinking song from *La Traviata* was composed by Verdi for quite another end than to be played at the most solemn moments of Catholic worship. I need not recall the scene nor the subject of the opera. To associate such music with the Mass is repulsive to every feeling of decency, while to divorce it from its surroundings is, indeed, an 'insult offered to music.' Verdi would be the first to protest against such a caricature of his conception. Then, 'A Movement,' from Bizet's *L'Arlesienne*, is turned into a *Sanctus*—a hymn which recalls the solemn worship of angels round about the Throne. Might not Bizet complain :

This does not represent my idea at all. That melody and those harmonies were conceived as illustrating one particular train of thought: they are one distinct conception. You have no right to misrepresent me or to vilify me as an artist. Were I to undertake to set the angelic hymn to music I should approach the task, in a very different frame of mind to what I had when I penned that part of my opera?

Such adaptations are artistic outrages which no self-respecting musician would attempt. Such things are done, more's the pity. That there were also days when a Mass was patched together from *Le Nozze di Figaro* and another from *Don Juan* is a curious contribution to a study on music and morals. That they do these things in Italy is an indication of the degradation of art in that once artistic country; and I will make a present of them to Mr. Bagot, together with the paper flowers, tinsel, sham marbles, stucco, and theatrical scene-painting which also find favour in that country. For my part, I am proud, as a musician, to take my stand by the side of the fearless Pius X., who recalls us to a better sense of true art. We need reform here in England as well as elsewhere.

Mr. Bagot's blunders will perhaps better be recognised when I set forth what the Pope really has done. He does not confine us, as one would think from Mr. Bagot's article, to the plain song; he allows

the classical school, of which Palestrina and our English Byrde are the supreme types, and also modern music, provided it contains nothing profane. Pius X. is no dreamer of the past. He says :

The Church has always recognised and favoured the progress of the Arts, admitting to the service of worship everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently modern music is also admitted in the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety, and gravity that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

You wouldn't think it, but Pius X. has committed the grave artistic error of saying that the music of the Church is one thing and the music of the world is another. And he has done worse ; he has acted up to his conviction.

Then, again, the use of an orchestra is not forbidden, but it is regulated according to existing laws. For instance :

The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments, such as drums, cymbals, bells, and the like.

A very fair orchestra can be got together without these. I would that such a law, as to the piano, had been enforced in Spain when I was asked to celebrate a Gild Mass. As soon as I began the service a pianist struck up a very cascade of arpeggios, and then treated me to a fantasia on *Carmen*, with other choice *morceaux* of a strictly non-liturgical character. I did not find the *Toreador's Song* any help to devotion ; neither do I fancy that Italians find it in *La donna é mobile*. I must leave Mr. Bagot to enjoy whatever spiritual advantages he can gain from listening to the drinking song in *La Traviata*, or from a Mass faked up from *L'Arlesienne* in a London sanctuary 'where a shilling is charged for a front seat.' By-the-by, when hearing the fast-named composition (I use the word in its primitive sense) how, from a front seat, could he judge 'by the faces of the members of the congregation' that it was a decided success, not merely artistic, but also devotional ? I fear that, on this occasion at least, the 'most brilliant style' of the composition interfered somewhat with his own private devotions. I may be wrong.

The plain song, which Mr. Bagot affirms 'has never been and never can be a form of music which evokes answering chords in the heart of the vast majority of the laity,' has, however, not only evoked the hearty admiration of great musicians (I do not say all parts of it), but has also been the staple music in the Church for more than a thousand years ; and I don't think, if we take, say, France, or England before the Reformation, that it can be said that 'answering chords' were not evoked, nor that men did not find, when before the altar, through the plain song, a means of forgetting the cares of the world. Go over, for instance, to Normandy or Brittany and listen to-day,



and then judge how far Mr. Bagot is correct in his statements. There is nothing like facts to correct fancies. The truth is, as Shakespeare says :

The plain song is most just : for humours do abound.

I can well understand that those who go to our churches 'for the gratification of the eyes, the ears, and possibly the nose,' as Mr. Bagot puts it, don't care for the plain song.

Candidly, it is not meant for them nor for bored converts. It is meant for those who come to pray. \*

Let us have no more vapourings about 'the superficial treatment to which the most divine of the arts has been subjected by the authorities of the Church,' or about a practical 'divorce of religion from its highest earthly coadjutor,' or 'of the total want of artistic discrimination shown by Pius X. and his advisers.' I find the superficiality, the divorce, and the total want of artistic discrimination in Rome, indeed, but not at the Vatican ; but—at Mr. Bagot's address.

Again, I read in the article on 'The Pope and Church Music' some words with which I agree. But let us see how we get on.

The love of melody is strong in all nationalities and in all classes ; and, in the lower classes especially, more harmony will scarcely supply its place. We venture to say that a simple melody, however insufficiently rendered, will appeal to the sense of the majority of laymen with greater directness than any harmony will ; and that we have yet to learn that the senses are not very important factors in any form of religious worship.

Mr. Bagot has yet to learn a few things. Meanwhile I ask : What, is Saul also among the prophets ? No ; for a few lines on I read that the plain song is monotonous and lacks melody. To speak of it in this way is a curious exhibition. One of my objections against the Gallican chant, as restored by the French monks of Solesmes, is its over-elaboration. Plain song is anything but monotonous. As for lacking melody, why, it is essentially melody and nothing else. It is grave, diatonic, pure and simple melody, with rhythm free and swinging. It is full of a haunting beauty of an unworldly kind. On the other hand, harmony of any sort is alien to it, and even the accompaniment of the organ is contrary to its purely vocal and simple melodic nature. I grant that to one who seems to accept Verdi's drinking song in *La Traviata* as fitting music to accompany a solemn act of worship plain song may not appeal, for it is unworldly in conception, its ideal is spiritual, and its object is to take men away from the busy hum of the world and leave them free and undistracted before the altar. Does not liturgy seem to demand a staid and solemn diction ? Archaicism, I hold, is one of its most potent charms and a great factor. Who would think of mingling slang expressions of the day with the matchless music of the Authorised Version of the Bible ? If this holds good of the words how much more of the music

which is intended to invest them with a greater soul-searching and heart-lifting power ?

As plain song is perfect melody, and has nothing properly to do, with harmony, while I accept Mr. Bagot's words I must entirely reject his conclusion as being based on a complete misunderstanding of the very nature of the plain song itself.

The final error which in his opinion stamps the Papal edict as ill-advised is to the effect that Protestants will be no longer attracted to our churches, and that converts will be fewer, and, in fact, that the Ritualists will get them all. Well, if that be so, my Anglican friends are welcome to all such, for I am old-fashioned enough to prefer quality rather than quantity. Some kind of converts, I think, would lead a more tranquil life outside the Church altogether. They do us no good ; and it is difficult to see where they find happiness or how they can ' feel religious when they feel bored.'

If the effect of the new regulations be, as Mr. Bagot prophesies, to lessen the number of visitors who ' are there for the gratification of the eyes, the ears, and, possibly, the nose,' I, for one, shall be unfeignedly glad, for I have no desire to see our houses of prayer turned into concert halls, or the sacred mysteries of our worship made a raree show for the stranger within our gates.

Does the Catholic Church organise her worship for Protestant ' ears, eyes, and, possibly, noses ' ? Does she even take them into consideration ?

Of course there are those who come to listen and remain to pray ; but when we have so much to do to make our own people solid Christians we cannot spare the time to go out fishing for whales with sprats. And how often does it happen that the fish, when caught, turns out to be but a pitiful red herring !

• If the decree be carried out loyally in this country we shall approach more closely to the old Catholic type of musical service which has been so largely kept in our national cathedrals—a type devotional, melodious, sacred, and national withal.

I cannot imagine the organist of St. Paul's or the Abbey playing the drinking song from *La Traviata* as a voluntary, or arranging an anthem out of Bizet's opera. And why should we have a lower standard ?

If at St. Paul's no singer is allowed who is not a communicant, why should we, of all folk in the world, be laxer, and evade the law ? Why should we admit non-Catholics, who disbelieve in the words they sing, to form part of our choirs and exercise what the Pope calls ' a real liturgical office ' ? These are anomalies of our present situation, and show how necessary is some reform.

Why, too, I may ask, should costly choirs be kept up for ' the eyes, the ears, and possibly the noses ' of the non-Catholics who, Mr. Bagot says, form the very large proportion of the congregations,

when our churches are in debt, our schools in danger of being starved, and our clergy, many of them, living in poverty and want ?

No ; I feel strongly that, thanks to the clear and determined action of the Pope, it is now possible for us to get rid of what has been a source of real weakness and undoubted disedification. I don't want to play to the gallery of the British public, which, after all, will be more favourably impressed if we follow a higher ideal than we do at present.

According to Mr. Bagot our people have felt the difficulty, and some have solved it in the practical way of leaving the High Mass to the stranger. To take away the cause, and, in the words of the Pope, to make special efforts—

to restore the use of the Gregorian chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times,

will result in solid good all round. I would much rather see our people standing up and joining in a simple melodious plain song Mass than have them sitting down to listen to the soprano roulading up the scale or to the basso slowly getting down to his deepest notes.

These things being so, what are we to think of Mr. Bagot's contention that ' the educated portion of the community, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, will openly resent the insult offered to music by those responsible for this unfortunate and illogical decree ' ? Those who know the nature and object of sacred music will be grateful to the Pontiff who has recalled us to the true artistic ideal of the music of worship as opposed to the worship of music.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

## TRAMPS AND WANDERERS

IN a preface dealing with the causes of the French Revolution (*Life of Danton*) Belloc refers to the process of remoulding, which is a part of living, and which the State as well as the individual must undergo as a condition of health. 'What test,' he says, 'can be applied by which we may know whether a reform is working towards rectification or not? None except the general conviction of a whole generation that this or that survival obstructs the way of right living, the mere sense of justice expressed in particular terms on a concrete point. It is by this that the just man of any period feels himself bound. . . . This much is certain, that where there exists in a State a body of men who are determined to be guided by this vague sense of justice, and who are in sufficient power to let it frame their reforms, then these men save a State and keep it whole. When, on the contrary, those who make or administer the laws are determined to abide by a phrase or a form, then the necessities accumulate, the burden and the strain become intolerable.' That such a 'phrase and form' is embodied in the 'tramp ward,' as it at present exists, it is the object of this article to prove, and the reasons why, and directions in which change is necessary.

Let us first take an illustration from change of function within the human body. It is well known that we possess within us survivals of ancient modes of life. Public attention has recently been directed to one such by the peril of the State. 'Appendicitis' was a scarcely noticed disease, among all that flesh is heir to, until it became a rather proud distinction to suffer 'like the King.' Since then it is surprising how many cases are heard of. Everyone now knows that a small tube which represents what in lower animals has a useful function, is in the human body a death-trap. It is an illustration of the way in which slow change may make the useful positively harmful.

Let us review swiftly changes in the body politic during the last few hundred years, and see whether the tramp ward can possibly fulfil the function for which it was originally intended. Time was when every Englishman was rooted to the soil. He belonged of right to some locality as villein, serf, or lord. The community to which he belonged demanded service of him as protector or as toiler. The whole of life was framed on the idea of mutual service, combined with

relationship to the soil. This status still remains in our laws of settlement. We pay thousands of pounds annually to remove 'Mary Browns' to their parish, in exchange for 'Samuel Smiths' from others, the whole apparatus of removal being a subtraction sum as regards the national pocket. 'Survivals' are always costly.

Long ago there swept over the feudally organised community the wind of change, rearranging the social units. The Black Death decimated the population and made labour scarce, and then arose the phenomenon of the 'free labourer,' the landless man, who travelled, offering his labour for hire, eagerly accepted. At first the chief complaint was that he required higher pay, and legislation was directed to keeping down his wages and re-settling him on the land. He was a tramp, but one so useful he could not be dispensed with.

But by degrees came other movements, due to the introduction of manufactures. The art of weaving required wool, and a great diversion of land from agriculture to sheep-farming took place, and other changes set in. The result was a decreased demand for labour. 'The landless man' became a social danger. Unable to support himself, he took to beggary or violence, and became 'the waster who will not work but wanders about,' the vagabond, the vagrant. Ejected by society into freedom, he perversely acquired a taste for it, and bred children 'on the road.' Probably most of our vagrants proper are his descendants. He was penalised to an extent far beyond what modern sentiment would allow, he was pilloried and mutilated, and even put to death, but still he increased, to the despair of legislators. Why? Because social conditions were making him faster than he was removed.

. We are all familiar with the phenomenon of a boil, abscess, or gathering. Matter accumulates and increases, having the power of reproduction. As a continual supply is created, it must in some way be drawn off before healing can take place; healthy cells replacing the unhealthy ones. Just so in the body politic, unless some effectual means are taken to heal a running source of social evil, it festers and increases.

Fortunately for England she possessed youthful vigour of constitution. She possessed a government not afraid to attack large problems on a large scale, and to create institutions that could effectually heal. The Poor-law of Elizabeth was a successful attempt to deal with social evil. It provided 'work-houses' for the destitute poor. The principle embodied in it was that no man was to be idle. The young who were found to be without trade were to be apprenticed and instructed by 'masters of handicraft.' The old and feeble were to be cared for, vice was to be suppressed, national well-being—the common-wealth—was the end in view. Each man was to be anchored to a parish, where under the observation of his fellows he could live with every incentive to honest toil. As a matter of fact, distress did

disappear: the great majority of the population settled on the land, or in thriving industrial communities. There remained only the decreasing problem of the vagrant, a heritage from the past. It was necessary to deal with the survivors of the class who had acquired a taste for vagabondage. All united in regarding them as meriting a different and severely repressive treatment. Laws were enacted to prevent private persons from giving doles, except 'broken meats.' The tramp might receive shelter and a meagre allowance of food in return for labour. So much it was impossible to refuse him, because the old virtue of hospitality had to a large extent disappeared, and monasteries, which used to act as poor men's hostels, had been suppressed. National sentiment then, as now, could not tolerate a starving man. But he must work for what he ate, and for two hundred years, until the new era, the old law availed, mainly because there was during all this time the slow and steady growth of England's industrial supremacy.

It is not my purpose to dwell on the decay of the Poor-law due to maladministration. To afford relief gratuitously was easier than to provide work. The effective superintendence of labour was not understood as well as it is now. Self-interest led men to throw on the parish part of the wages of labour, social science as yet being not even in its infancy. The Board of Trade inquiry into the unemployed question gives these three reasons for the failure of the Poor-law. They lie at the door of its administrators.

It would form a most interesting study to correlate the increase or decrease of vagrancy to phases of national life, as a sign of diseased conditions. The main thing to be noted is that during the last hundred years a further change in national arrangements, characterised by Arnold Toynbee as 'the Industrial Revolution,' has involved such differences in the whole structure of our national life that it would be as absurd to expect the old system to meet the need as to expect the vermiform appendix to digest for the human body.

Let us consider on what national well-being depends in the new era. It depends on the Fluidity of Labour. We are no longer an agricultural and settled people. Modern conditions demand labour readily accessible, highly differentiated, and very fluid. That is to say, if there is in any place a scarcity of labour, it is desirable that it should flow there as speedily as possible. If there is 'demand' in one place and 'supply' in another, it means often workless, starving men, who, if in another locality, could earn their living readily; consequently conditions are exactly reversed. What is needed is greater fluidity. Anything that by opposing ready transit creates or prolongs distress works harmfully. It is said, for instance, that shipbuilding is deserting the Thames for the Tyne. Evidently, therefore, the solution of London's 'unemployed problem' lies partially in the direction of the transfer of labour to places whither its industries are

going. Destitute men who have held on to waning employment as long as possible must needs migrate to where it is to be found. It is most desirable that the migration should be as speedy as possible. Thus in place of a national system to *prevent* migration we need one to *assist* it. Therefore, our present arrangement and regulation of the tramp ward is obsolete and harmful.

This is a sweeping statement, and the conviction has only been born of suffering. It has only been reached after encountering the full measure of the Government regulations for tramps. An account of this experience appeared (May 1904) in the *Contemporary Review*. The system is fitted to produce disablement from ordinary toil. After two nights it took me nearly a month to recover my normal vigour. I am now convinced that no mere amelioration of conditions is necessary, but an entire alteration of our national methods of dealing with wanderers.

The word 'wanderers' is used advisedly. There is a vagrant class, the tramp proper. It is above all things desirable that this class should not be recruited, either by birth or by the drawing into it of the members of other classes. The tramp proper is parasitic and preys on the community. But what is there in our present social arrangements to prevent his breeding, or the slipping down into trampdom of individuals from other ranks? Our tramp wards give us no control over the tramp. Formerly when population was mainly stationary he was *known* as a 'tramp,' now he is indistinguishable from the 'out-of-works.' He mixes with the genuine working-man 'down in his luck,' to the latter's great detriment, and crowds into our slums in winter. The tramp proper in our days may fare uncommonly well, it is the genuine working man who suffers. It is easy to gain a living in numerous ways if you tell lies and prey on the public, or earn a precarious livelihood by hawking. That 'diffused justice,' of which Belloc speaks, sees something is wrong and will not refuse doles or charity. The supplementing of State provision for destitution on every hand by an unorganised system of charity is a state of things not to be desired. Yet as a phase in national progress it is eminently useful, for it is our English way of developing new organs, and testing their use. We put out feelers in different directions, and by and by we find they have prepared the way for national institutions. But the burden of these supplementary institutions is increasingly felt, and amounts to a second Poor-rate, resting mainly on members of society humanitarian in sentiment. Yet even this does not avail. Distress accumulates.

Is it not evident that we face once more the Elizabethan problem of a national adaptation of institutions to meet a national need?

What helps have we to the right solution of our problem? Let us first examine the direction in which the tramp ward is unfit. We may state that it acts as an incentive to the wrong sort of migration.

It is altogether misleading to regard it as a *provision* for destitution. The man or woman who sleeps in a tramp ward, who is honestly seeking employment, needs above everything to be allowed to stay in one place sufficiently long to search for work. It is stated by observers in different parts of England, and by the wanderers themselves, that the character of the inmates of our tramp wards is changing. It is no longer to the same extent the *genuine tramp* who frequents the workhouse. He, unless he is very 'hard up,' can beg or obtain 4d. for a common lodging-house. He hates and avoids the workhouse. But the poor incapable, inefficient, or displaced worker (and this class increases) gets pressed down; he parts with all he possesses; he becomes shabby and cannot get work; by and by he enters a tramp ward. What can he do but go on to another? Therefore, he becomes a tramp, but not a voluntary one at first. This tramping, however, brings him inevitably into contact with the outcast class, and acts as a speedy education. If he has any brains he becomes a tramp proper and learns to prey on the community. Therefore, we may style our present system our 'National Tramp Manufactory.'

There are six items in the indictment of the tramp ward which work together to make it almost impossible for those who drift down into it to earn an honest living if they wish to. Each item may have altered seriously for the worse since the tramp ward was instituted.

First the *diet*, which amounts to semi-starvation. It must not be forgotten that a relative change may make what is eatable in one generation utterly distasteful to another; our working classes usually eat some sort of butter with bread. White bread is less sustaining than the older forms of brown bread. Probably the old bread and 'skilly' was much more palatable and nutritious than the present white bread and thick gruel, and much nearer the ordinary diet of the very poor labourer. The absence of drink amounts to torture. Probably the old thin 'skilly,' approaching to 'oatmeal drink,' served both as food and drink, was not distasteful. By making the 'skilly' better, Guardians have really deprived the diet of sufficient moisture. Water may be, but is not always, attainable; it is not now our customary drink. Half the food allotted is not, and cannot be, eaten for want of moisture. Wise tramps take in tea and sugar, but are dependent on kindness for hot water. They often cannot obtain it. No one who has not tried can imagine the longing for the 'cup of tea' which is now our national custom for two meals in the day. I believe workhouse inmates also suffer from similar deprivation, and that this is one of the reasons for frequent intoxication on 'liberty days.' The first impulse on release is to seek a drink.

Secondly, there is an alteration in the *standard of cleanliness*. The bath and stoving were certainly not Elizabethan characteristics. The bath as a sanitary precaution is good enough, and often valued, but it is given under conditions that are not health-producing, often



the reverse. Exemption may be claimed for positive illness, but short of this everyone knows that care should be exercised in bathing. To the weary traveller, cold with waiting for admission, a hurried bath is administered; in some cases food is given before the bath, which is most prejudicial. There is no convenience for drying the hair or wrapping up the head. Chilly rooms and insufficient bed-covering may produce a violent cold. Stoving clothes may be necessary, but they are often so changed in appearance as to be almost unwearable, and in their creased condition form a certificate of the wrong sort for the wearer. It is found possible in shelters to use other precautions, and those of the tramp ward are neither comfortable nor sufficient. It is not the object of the writer to speak absolutely against the bath and stoving, which may be very desirable, but only to point out that a heavy cold and crumpled clothing will not help a person to obtain employment.

There is next the *task* set. Probably this also has grown in severity under the mistaken idea that it would put down tramping. At any rate there now exist weary acres of tramp wards to be faithfully and immaculately scrubbed! The older workhouses are much more comfortable and acceptable from a tramp's point of view than the newer ones. Just where the pressure of destitution is greatest, in the large towns, Guardians often pride themselves on being strict. It saves the rates, but it does not solve the problem. In the end the rates suffer in other directions.

I consider that the ordinary female tramp would as a charwoman earn about 2s. and her food by her day's work. Of course, some feeble, aged, or ineffective tramps may not be so hard pressed, and there is a great difference between workhouses. Still, a good day's work is, as a rule, exacted from both men and women, which would earn far more than they obtain. A woman issues spent and dirty, half starved, and incapable of immediate work, she cannot wash or change her clothes.

There is, fourth, the *sleeping accommodation*; a couple of restless nights is a bad preparation for labour. The plank bed is the punishment of a prisoner, the chain mattress abominably cold. Straw beds are valued—and no wonder! Can the public realise that the mere absence of rest due to an uneasy couch and constant interruptions to sleep is almost maddening? Try it, and find out how you will feel after two nights!

Fifthly, there are the *hours*. If work is not obtained (and it rarely can be obtained after the early morning) there is the long weary foodless-day, the walking about for slow hours till six or seven o'clock. Release on the second day may be early enough to seek work, but it is not always so. One night's shelter and early release is greatly desired by the wanderer in search of employment.

Sixth, there is the entire *absence of any attempt to help the helpless*.

Bare food and shelter are given in exchange for more than their value in work. But the stranded unfortunate is left just as helpless, more hungry, more thirsty, with clothes in worse condition. Is this worthy of a Christian country? Nations are to be judged by their treatment of the destitute.

It may be replied that the tramp ward is not intended for this class. But we have no other provision for the man seeking work without means. It was publicly stated recently in a prominent northern paper that it had been 'demonstrated' that there was no need for men to sleep elsewhere.

But facts overturn fiction. The number of shelters and charitable institutions goes on increasing, and the cry of the homeless is still in our ears. Everything points to the necessity for an entire revision of our Poor-law, its correlation with municipal effort, and the wise and united administration of our scattered charities. Julie Sutter sketched, in the *Commonwealth* for April, a scheme for a 'British National League of Help,' with the main lines of which I am in accord. But it is not on the clergy of any denomination, or on the Church or churches as a whole, that the evolution of a new order lies, but on the nation as a whole, and on those who have undertaken to be 'Guardians' of national interests as regards the destitute poor lies at the present moment a tremendous responsibility. They may by rigidly holding to existing forms block the path of progress so effectually that no true reform is possible. They may take pride in machinery perfected and polished which is yet a mill that crushes life and hope out of thousands of their fellow-countrymen. It is astonishing how an established institution can outlive use and enslave thought. We are bound to the customary.

Let us consider the subject from another point of view. In an illuminating sentence at the close of the one already quoted, Belloc shows how, if the rigidity of the social organisation exceeds a certain point, man reverts to his natural state. It is the same in the body: if diseased conditions in any part become acute, 'matter' forms. The drilled and disciplined unitary cells of the body break loose into primitive fecundity, and multiply as a lower form of life. Inflammation sets in.

The unitary tramp proper is usually, as is well known, a centre of contagion and infection, physical and moral, and tends to breed lawlessly. This is the excuse of society for endeavouring to suppress him. But what is a tramp? Can we not get near enough to him as a human brother to understand him and the reason of his being? Any form of energy is useful if directed into right channels. It requires ingenuity, capability, and energy to be a tramp. The distinguishing feature of the real tramp is that he *prefers* to be one. He will not settle into a quiet place in the social economy, he prides himself on being 'on the road.' 'You will soon get to like it, it is a healthy

life,' they say to a new comer. All rescue workers know it is almost impossible to settle down a genuine tramp without compulsion.

Why? Because tramp life is after all a return to primitive freedom, or, as Belloc says, 'a reversion to the natural.' What do we of the 'classes' do if we are free to please ourselves? If our bodily wants are provided for, we travel, we seek society, the foe we most dread is 'ennui.' The tramp is a man who has discovered that subsistence is possible combined with freedom.

In him the primitive instincts of our race assert themselves. The Saxon and the Viking swarmed to England in search of adventure as well as of nutrition. The Norman followed. We are a nomadic race at bottom. Does not the breath of spring make us long for green fields and blue skies and freedom from social trammels?

In the time of Elizabeth one result of social pressure was that we swarmed over seas, and the same result has occurred to-day. Kipling has expressed in a fine poem the feelings of a soldier who has tramped the veldt and is trying to settle down in England.

Me that 'ave been what I've been,  
 Me that 'ave gone where I've gone,  
 Me that 'ave seen what I've seen . . .  
 Me that 'ave watched 'arf a world  
 'Eave up all shiny with dew,  
 Kopje on kop, to the sun  
 As soon as the mist let 'em through . . .  
 And I'm rolling his lawns for the Squire  
 Me!

Me that 'ave rode through the dark  
 Forty mile often on end  
 With only the stars for my mark,  
 An' only the night for my friend . . .  
 An' the silence, the shine, and the size  
 Of the 'igh inexpressible skies . . .  
 Me!

'The same spirit breathes in the letter from a tramp, published in the *Daily News* of April 18:

SIR,—I am a tramp, a man without a habitat. No outcry arose in winter while the East End sheltered the tramp. When he trudges west after waste food and a grassy couch; the Press rise up in arms. Each one of these 'bundles of rags' on the grass has a history, some an interesting one. I have been despoiled of the fruitage of my labours; have acted the roll of errand lad, shop assistant, clerk, traveller, market-man, barber, canvasser, entertainer, mummer, song-writer, and playwright. I have dwelt within workhouse, asylum, and prison walls; have scrubbed the filthy, tonsured the imbecile, tended the aged, and soothed the dying. A pedlar of toys, many a time I have enjoyed a night on a turfy bed, the stars my coverlet, the hedge fruit my morning meal, my bath the shallow stream. Nature suns the nomad as well as the traveller. Derelicts, wastrels, paupers, pests, vagrants, bundles of rags!—dub us what men will—we are human. 'There are tramps and loafing tramps; ill-clad and well-tailored loafers.' Make all work—West and East—loafing is infectious.

There is often contempt in the mind of a tramp towards his stationary brother, and after all is it undeserved? Is the passion for freedom to count for nothing, willingness to endure discomfort rather than sacrifice contact with nature, the rough sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, and the education that comes of a wider human fellowship? Are we not all tramps at bottom? Have not our Gordons and our Stanleys much of the tramp about them? Suppose we are suppressing valuable social units whose energy from childhood would have expanded if diverted to useful channels? Has not every age needed its outlet into this kind of existence; the Crusades, colonisation, exploration? May we not say with reverence that the Highest Life ever lived was that of a tramp; have not some of the closest approximations to it, notably that of Francis d'Assisi, involved tramping also, because wide contact with men of low estate breeds not contempt but fellowship? Let us recognise that minds which have an affinity for this kind of life have their function in our national economy. Suppose our population was to settle down wholly, and that the ancient spirit which longs for 'new worlds to conquer' were to die out. Should we not be 'like dumb driven cattle,' and perish of deadly dullness? Is the life of a slum-dweller to be *preferred* to that of a tramp? Are his chances for life greater? To breed infectives is as bad as to breed tramps. It is said that wanderers are increasing 100 per cent. It is the sign of need for social vent. Each individual who escapes to the tramp life is not likely to return to normal conditions unless his return is greatly facilitated, or he is given some outlet to freedom. They breed freely, and we support their children. But is this tendency to wander wholly to be repressed? Can we repress it under modern conditions? Germany has recognised the right of every young man to go wandering as part of his education. Practically our young men leave the countryside for 'chances' in a town. Families are scattered, thousands of men have to wander. Does it not greatly matter to the nation under what conditions they live? If we are to turn this feature of our times to good account we must no longer aim at repression. We need a definite circulation, channels by which travel can pass and yet be reabsorbed into healthy existence—is not this the sign of higher organism? We need to give play to the educative influence of travel and of free contact under right and healthy conditions. We need to catch our tramps young, and hold out hope to them, to pass them on to the life of soldier, sailor, colonist, after a period of compulsory training to make the ineffective effective. We need to part with our repugnance to the wanderer (let us drop the name 'tramp') and utilise him, recognising that he may be, if we treat him rightly, our best and not our worst, and that deadly stagnation is a national evil to be dreaded; that the modern stagnation of a dependent population, divorced from nature, without education and without resource, festering in slums, may be far worse than the ancient evil of the

tramp. We must drain our slums, we must encourage a quick and easy transit from one place and one occupation to another. If we suppress tramping, we encourage stagnation, unless we create also well-defined and natural channels for the original and primitive instinct, which is the heritage of our English race, to develop health fully and function safely. It is astonishing how a system has power to enslave the thought even of the educated, and outlive use. The vague sense of justice of thousands may be on the side of change, yet the power of a cast-iron system holds back reform. This spells revolution in the end.

How shall we steer our country into quiet waters? In what direction lies true reform? I believe we have before us the example of other countries which we may usefully follow. Germany has covered herself with a network of relief stations and workmen's homes to facilitate migration of labour, supplemented by labour colonies for the destitute. Belgium and Holland have their national treatment of the vagrant problem.

I will put the solution in the form of a series of propositions:—

(1) In every town there should exist sufficient accommodation on any night for the restful sleep of every person for the time resident there. Every person who sleeps in the open or under insanitary conditions is during the next day a centre of contagion, a menace to public health.

(2) It is impossible to expect private enterprise to provide sufficient and sanitary accommodation. Ebbs and flows in the tide need to be calculated for, therefore in addition to all private shelters or lodging-houses being efficiently supervised, there should be municipal accommodation up to the extremest point of need. The ancient duty of entertaining a stranger rests now on the municipality.

(3) It is not desirable that this accommodation should be charitable. It should be graded, but earned by work, except in cases of incapacity from old age, incurable disability, or sickness. These should be received into the workhouse for special treatment without delay.

(4) It is desirable to have the shelters or municipal lodgings as such, independent of the provision of work for the destitute. This might remain a part of the workhouse system. A certain task rightly performed might earn sufficient to pay for bed and board. This combination of relief stations with the right to enter workmen's homes is the German system. If there was a national arrangement by which the bare necessities of life could be obtained by honest toil all excuse for beggary would vanish.

(5) There should be organised charity in connection with every relief station. The object of this should be to watch the stream of humanity, and pick out cases of suffering for individual treatment.

Watching the stream as it flows through our national sieves, the

relief stations, we shall find four main classes requiring separate treatment.

There is, first, the degraded vagrant proper, identified by his abhorrence of work, by his turning up at relief station after relief station, or shirking them and preying on the public. We will give him a waybill for identification, as sketched in Julie Sutter's plan, and land him in a colony, detaining him for an education, more or less penal, in honest toil; we will prevent him from breeding; and refuse to allow the children he has to be dragged about the country. We advocate detention for the loafer vagrant, and, if possible, redemption to honest toil.

There is, secondly, the incapable. The man or woman who cannot work deserves pity; the blind, the epileptic, and feeble-minded need care, with a curtailment of liberty, if morally incapable, to prevent the passing on of hereditary defects to a degenerating offspring; but they need the tenderest help we can give, and all possible compensation for a hard lot. We advocate true charity to the disabled.

There is, thirdly, the ineffective, the man or woman, ill-trained or ill-placed. We need wisely to guide each life to the right spot, to fit each one in by national bureaux of industry, to provide effective education for the new generation, to give increased mobility to meet fluctuations of work, and to look after those who have no personal initiative. We advocate the utilisation of the ineffective.

There is, fourth, the genuine skilled out-of-work man, 'worth his salt.' We need for him some such regulation of municipal enterprise as will provide a true labour market, to equalise employment in times of scarcity, and tide over the periods when, as John Hobson points out, there is a 'temporary simultaneous glut of land, labour, and capital.' We advocate the equalisation of the labour market for the true out-of-works. Part of this provision lies at the door of the municipality. May we hope for wise 'Councillors' in our national time of need? Part lies at the door of the Poor-law authority. May we hope there will be 'Guardians' conservative, not of institutions, but of those national instincts of justice which are ever on the side of the redress of national wrongs?

Such is our national need. But one word as regards my own sex. Conditions which press heavily on men press cruelly on women. It was the fact, constantly borne in upon me by observation, that women were continually dropping out of the protection of homes, and being forced by destitution into sin, that led me to investigate the condition of the tramp. A recent census was taken of the sleeping-out problem in London. Many men were found, and only few women. Why? Is not the number of women in England larger than that of men? I believe the answer is a tale of horror. Destitute women are driven to prostitution. If our national provision for destitution is harsh and insufficient, it amounts to the perpetual forcing of our

destitute sisters into a life of vice, and so indirectly to the sapping of the very foundations of society. The number of lodging-houses which take women is decreasing. Does it not lie upon us as a nation to see that no woman shall be forced by destitution into sin? Every week, sometimes every day, there drift into shelters and homes destitute sisters; girls, many of them very young; willing and eager to earn their living; hungry, almost without clothing; tempted, sometimes fallen; dropped out of homes, bewildered, friendless, but willing to take a helping hand. 'Who but such as these need 'guardians'? Shall we consider that the mere administration of a rigid law is England's duty? No; it has rested too long on one sex only; perhaps to that it owes partly its rigidity and harshness. It needs to be transmuted by woman's love and woman's devotion to the trifling details of individual need, unto the 'charity that is twice blessed, that blesses him that gives and him that takes.'

MARY HIGGS.

## *EDUCATIONAL CONCILIATION*

### *AN APPEAL TO THE CLERGY*

I HAVE more than once predicted in the pages of this Review that the best of the Anglican clergy would in the end throw over the Education Act. I am still of opinion that they will do this in the end, but I am compelled to admit that the end is long in coming. A year and a half ago they were irritated by the Kenyon-Slaney Clause and uneasy at the possible effect on religious teaching of the introduction of representative managers. Six months later they were alarmed at the apparent strength of the Opposition and the possible advent of a Government pledged to amend the Act in an undenominational sense. To-day these causes of dissatisfaction seem to have lost much of their force. The Education Act has come into operation, and in the majority of cases no great change has followed. The Kenyon-Slaney Clause has hardly ever been invoked. The county councils have for the most part been careful to consult the wishes of the foundation managers. The Act has proved more tolerable than the clergy expected, and the recent recovery in the position of the Government has made them hopeful that it will at least not be altered for the worse. Added to this, the attitude of the Nonconformist majority and the general acceptance of Dr. Clifford's leadership have made the dividing line between them and Churchmen very much sharper. Even those who recognise the unsatisfactory character of the present settlement, and the probability that in the long run it will lower the standard of religious teaching in Church schools, seem disposed to put aside the idea of an educational compromise as not at present within reach.

It is an unfortunate moment, no doubt, in which to preach conciliation. And yet this is the object of the present article. Some little time since a small conference of Churchmen and Nonconformists met to consider whether they could discover some common ground, the acceptance of which would involve no sacrifice of principle on either side. A committee was appointed to draw up a scheme, and the outcome of their labour is a draft Bill, the contents of which I am allowed to use, though it has not yet been submitted to the conference. This Bill seems to me to contain all the essential provisions of a reasonable concordat. It gives the Nonconformists what they ask, and all



that it claims in return is a frank recognition of the principle of religious equality. I do not say that all its provisions are equally essential, but there is not one of them that really comes into conflict with the civil or religious conscience.

The object of the Bill, as explained by the introductory memorandum, is twofold. On the one hand it introduces public management into all schools; on the other it sets up absolute religious equality between them, and aims at making adequate provision for the universal teaching of religion. Supposing the Bill to become law, all schools deriving support from the rates would become provided schools, those now known as non-provided schools being handed over to the local Education Authority on equitable terms. The managers of these, as of other schools, would be appointed by this authority, and all the teachers would be chosen without reference to their religious belief. Religious equality is secured by the repeal of the Cowper-Temple Clause and an enactment that all religious or ethical teaching shall be provided and paid for by religious or other bodies, singly or in combination—the parents of each child being left to say what kind of religious teaching they wished it to receive. It is probable that some schools will decline to come under public management. These, of course, would not be affected by this Bill. But in the event of their being allowed to receive public support on special terms, while remaining outside the Act, whatever is given to one denomination must be given to all. The facilities for religious teaching consist in fixing a time in which it is to be given, and in allowing individual teachers on the staff of the school to give the religious lesson provided that they are paid by the religious or ethical body which employs them.

This memorandum sets out the main contents of the Bill, but to make sure that they will be understood I will give the chief proposals in the actual words.

Notwithstanding (says Clause I.) anything to the contrary contained in the Education Acts 1870 to 1903, or any of them, all public schools maintained but not provided by the local Education Authority . . . shall be deemed to have been so provided.

In this way all rate-aided schools will pass, so far as management is concerned, out of the hands of their present owners into those of the local education authority. This authority, however, may pay the fair annual value of the schoolhouse by way of rent, and it may also purchase it if the trustees consent, at a price to be settled, if need be, by arbitration. By Clause II. the purchase-money is to be applied

according to a scheme to be settled by the Charity Commissioners in conformity with such of the trusts upon which the school-house was formerly held as were not trusts for secular education.

Clause III. repeals the Cowper-Temple Clause and makes it

the duty of the local Education Authority (a) to afford facilities for the duly accredited teacher of any religious body, or combination of religious bodies, to give separate religious instruction in every public elementary school within its district to such of the scholars as shall be required by their parents to receive such instruction, and (b) to afford similar facilities to such body or bodies for the holding of separate Sunday schools in the school so far as is practicable, having regard to the accommodation of the school-house. Provided that no part of the cost of such instruction shall be borne by the local Education Authority. The time devoted to religious instruction shall be at least three-quarters of an hour at the beginning or end of each school-day. Secular instruction shall be provided contemporaneously with such religious instruction, and any child whose parents shall not desire him to receive any religious instruction shall be required to attend such secular instruction instead.

I submit that this Bill suggests a settlement of the education difficulty which ought to satisfy all parties except, it may be, fanatical secularists. What are the objections raised by Nonconformists to the Act of 1902? That it gives local money without adequate local control; that, in appearance at all events, it appropriates local money to the support of schools belonging to particular denominations; that, in order to secure the teaching proper to such denominations, it permits them to impose a religious test upon the head teacher in each school. Every one of these objections is met by this Bill. The managers of every school will be appointed by the local Education Authority. Not a fraction of the rates can be spent, even in appearance, on the provision of religious instruction of any kind in any school. And as the teachers will all be appointed, mediately or immediately, by the local Education Authority, no question can be asked as to their religious belief. What is there in this settlement to which a Nonconformist can consistently take exception? Church schools disappear, and in their stead we have in every parish in the kingdom a school wholly under public management and forbidden to show any favour or give any advantage to any one religion over another. Under the present law these principles are necessarily disregarded in single-school districts. A majority of the managers belong to a particular denomination; no religion other than that of this denomination can be taught in the school; and yet the school is maintained out of public funds. The truth is that the present provisions for elementary education are only suited to towns, and to a condition of things which, even in towns, has seldom really existed. If we imagine the educational need supplied in the main by schools built by the denominations, so that only the fringe of children whose wants are not met in this way attend schools of the present provided type, the co-existence of two distinct classes of schools might be accepted as a working settlement. But it is altogether inapplicable to country districts where, more often than not, there is only one school for the children, whatever may be their denomination, and

Nonconformist parents have in consequence to choose between religious instruction which is not theirs and no religious instruction at all. And even in towns it is only applicable in theory. The denominational system assumes that Church children will go to Church schools, Roman Catholic children to Roman Catholic schools, Nonconformist children to Nonconformist schools. In this way all the children in the place would be taught the religion of their parents, and the provided school would take only those whose parents had no preference for any definite religion. Whether such a system as this ever presented itself to the imagination of any of the authors of the Act of 1870 it is impossible to say, but if it did it never took shape anywhere else. The denominational need was never supplied except in part, and the Board schools went on gathering in an increasing number of children belonging to various religions. The dual system broke down from the start.

The authors of the Act of 1902 had the choice of abolishing or tinkering this system. Unfortunately they chose to tinker it. Provided schools were given a more important place in the system, but in return for this the voluntary schools were bidden to look to the rates for maintenance except as regards structural repairs or additions. How this compromise has worked there is no need to say. The moral may be studied in the records of the Welsh county councils and in the incidents of Passive Resistance.

A proposal of compromise must come from someone, and hitherto neither side has liked to take the first step. Nonconformists declare that they have no evidence that Churchmen are willing to entertain such an offer. Churchmen declare that it is useless to make suggestions until there is some reason to suppose that they will receive fair consideration. The framers of the Bill here described have come forward under the pressure of a strong conviction that the prospect of the settlement they desire is likely to grow fainter as time goes on. They think that their proposals are reasonable and just, that they remove the grievances of which Nonconformists complain, and give Churchmen an opportunity of looking after children whom the growth, actual and prospective, of provided schools is rapidly taking out of their hands. If it can be shown that they are mistaken in any particular, they are willing to recast that part of their scheme. They put forward their proposals in the hope that Churchmen may be induced to make them their own, and that Nonconformists may be willing to join in pressing them upon the Government. They are fully aware that no settlement of this magnitude can possibly be brought to a conclusion by any private action. All they ask is that a plan, the general acceptance of which would end a most mischievous controversy, shall not be put aside without full consideration.

If we were to judge by their published statements, we might well despair of either side conceding anything. Churchmen point to the

successful working of the Act in this or that county ; Nonconformists reckon up the occasions on which this or that champion has seen his goods taken in execution rather than pay the Education Rate. In such a case as this common sense teaches that the man who has most to lose by holding out is the man to come forward with proposals of compromise. Let us see how this rule works out when applied to the Education Act. The view that the clergy seem to take is that their strength is to sit still. The excitement and opposition aroused by the Act will die away by degrees. Even Passive Resisters will in time come to a wiser mind, and Mr. Lloyd-George and the Bishop of St. Asaph will feed lamblike in the same statutory pasture. Meanwhile the clergy retain their schools—in most cases—and when the crisis is over all will go on as before. It is always well to take note of what your adversary thinks of your position, and it is evident that the Nonconformists are not of opinion that the clergy have anything to gain by delay. If they were we should long ago have seen them coming forward with proposals of their own. That they have not done so shows that they at least have no fear that time has anything good in store for the Church, and for that very reason no desire to end the controversy quickly.

Three alternative possibilities may be suggested in regard to the Education Act. The first is that a Liberal Cabinet comes into office after the dissolution. Even Mr. Chamberlain thinks this a probable contingency, though he couples with it the prediction that the Cabinet thus formed will not hold office very long. But even if this prediction is fulfilled to the letter, it contains very little comfort for the clergy. The Liberals may have but a short term of office, but, at all events, it will be long enough for the amendment of the Education Act. The most sanguine Churchman can hardly expect that, if after this Mr. Chamberlain becomes Prime Minister, he will care to restore the present strife. If the next Government amends the Act, the next Government but one may be trusted not to amend it back again. The second possibility is that the dissolution makes no change in the position of parties, and that, for some time longer at all events, the Act remains unaltered. Is this a prospect to be regarded with satisfaction by Churchmen ? It means, for one thing, the continuance of the present conflict between the Welsh County Councils and the Government. If this conflict were to be carried on in the manner in which the Carmarthenshire County Council began it, the Government might easily have the best of it. The very clever Bill which is now before Parliament would make short work of opposition conducted on these lines. But the Carmarthenshire County Council has already found out its mistake. It has accepted the less violent but more effective policy favoured by Mr. Lloyd-George, and the Principality is now busy in seeing how far it can go towards starving Voluntary schools without losing the grants-in-aid which the Government is compelled to make to the County

Councils so long as they do not openly break the law. It may be objected that Wales is not England, and that its example is not likely to be followed in England. That is true, no doubt, of many local councils, but it is by no means true of all, and, even if it were, the resources of Nonconformity would not be exhausted. Have we any reason, for instance, to think that the case of the Isle of Wight will stand alone? There was no disobedience to the law here. The County Council simply called upon the managers of certain Voluntary schools to make necessary additions to their buildings. The managers tried in vain to raise money for this purpose, and under the Act of 1902 their schools would thereupon have become provided schools. It would have been very much better if they had allowed the law to take its course, since the incident would then have shown how injuriously the Act is likely to affect Church schools. They preferred, however, to capitulate on terms which are almost indistinguishable from surrender. In these professedly Church schools undenominationalism is taught every day by the regular paid teachers, while on one day in the week the parson comes in as a volunteer and teaches those children whose parents desire his services. Education does not promise to become less costly, nor will the official demands in the matter of cubic space and sanitary requirements grow less stringent. Consequently, cases like that in the Isle of Wight may be expected to multiply, and each one of them will be another step towards the establishment and endowment of undenominationalism in elementary schools.

The third possibility is the most formidable, though not the most probable, of the three. It is that the Nonconformists will find out the mistake they have made in resisting the Act, and apply themselves to making full use of its provisions. The Church of England owes a great debt to the Nonconformists for the line they have taken in reference to the school rate. If they had welcomed the addition of a representative element to the management of every Voluntary school, and had made the most of the opportunity thus afforded them, undenominational religion would in a very short time have been established and endowed in more than half the Church schools in the kingdom. A clergyman must be a man of strong religious convictions or strong fighting instincts if he prefers war to peace. Yet in thousands of parishes this would have been the choice he would have had to make. The two representative managers would have pleaded that religious unity would be promoted by making the basis of the religious teaching the same for all the children in the school. In that case, of course, the teaching must be undenominational, but the clergyman would be free to give further instruction to those children whose parents wished them to receive it at any time which did not interfere with the routine work of the school. By this plan controversy would be avoided, and the whole teaching staff would be able to take part in the religious lessons. This is what would have happened if Nonconformists had

helped to work the Act instead of resisting it. This is what would happen if at any future time they determined to change their policy. Even if they remain as hostile to the Act as they are now, the whole drift of lay opinion is towards undenominationalism. The only people who really dislike it are High Churchmen and Roman Catholics—neither of them numerically formidable—and wherever an arrangement is proposed between a Church school and a County Council, the acceptance of rate-paid undenominational teaching for the whole school, while leaving the clergy free to give voluntary instruction out of school hours to those children whose parents expressly ask for it, is pretty sure to form part of it. With such a system as this, what estimate is a practical nation likely to form of the relative value of denominational and undenominational teaching? They see the one paid for by the State and given, as part of the school curriculum and by the regular staff, to all children not expressly withdrawn from it under the Conscience Clause. They see the other given, outside the school curriculum and by school teachers receiving no pay from the State, to those children whose parents ask for something more in the way of religion than is enough for the majority of children. What conclusion can they possibly draw except that the State regards undenominational teaching as something worth paying for, and denominational teaching as a harmless fancy to be tolerated as long as there are people foolish enough to cherish it?

The position, therefore, which the clergy have to face is this: Where the Church is strong, where the buildings are new and adequate, where no addition is needed to the teaching staff, where the clergyman is a power in the parish and the parents for the most part wish their children to be taught religion under his direction, all will go well—as regards that particular school. But at what cost will this success be purchased? All around him the fortunate incumbent will hear of schools being made over to the local Education Authority, and so ceasing, in fact if not in name, to be Church schools; nor will he have any assurance that his own school will in the end escape the same fate. Its religious character will depend upon the policy of a County Council re-elected every three years, and of a Board of Education which reflects the Government of the day; upon the temper of the Nonconformists in his parish, which may take its colour from some distant leader; upon legislative changes made by a House of Commons which is the creation of an undenominational electorate. On which of these shifting sandbanks does he found his hope of keeping alive a school in which he will teach the full Christian faith as he holds it?

For these reasons—as well as for the still stronger one that on the present system they are denied access to schools containing a constantly increasing number of children who have just as much claim on them as the children of their own schools—this proposal is submitted to the clergy. If they will make it their own, in any appre-

cialable number, it has, I believe, a good chance of gaining public acceptance. If they will have nothing to say to it, it will, at all events for the present, make no way. It will find, indeed, more acceptance among Nonconformists than is commonly supposed, since it has what, in the eyes of some of them, is the supreme merit of securing equality of treatment for all forms of religion. But, as it runs counter to the present tendency of public opinion, it is not likely that they will urge its adoption except as a means of putting an end to educational strife. Whether it will have this result depends, as I believe, on the reception the clergy give it. Theirs is the decision, and theirs will be the responsibility.

D. C. LATHBURY.

## *A PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED*

THE recent debates in the Convocations of Canterbury and York have again raised the long-vexed question of the use of 'The Confession of our Christian Faith, called the Creed of St. Athanasius,' in the public services of the Church. It must, I think, be admitted that in respect of this creed the clergy are rather hardly treated. Many of them, perhaps most, disapprove its public use; their congregations disapprove it still more. Diocesan Conferences have declared against it, or at the best have half-heartedly defended it. And now at last the Bishops have begun to make speeches or to publish letters and addresses reflecting upon the creed or rearranging it, or attenuating some of its phrases, or explaining them away. But, all the while, the clergy are obliged by a definite rubric to recite the creed in public services and to recite it on such festivals as Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whit-Sunday, when its damnatory clauses are strangely out of tune with the wishes and thoughts congenial to Christian hearts. There is, in fact, a strong case for some relief; but the relief is not given.

• No doubt it is easy to argue that no man is compelled to take Holy Orders, and that, if a man voluntarily takes them, he has no claim to get rid of the obligations which they impose.' But this argument is hardly conclusive. For it is desirable that men, and especially earnest and thoughtful men, should be ordained, and that no unnecessary obstacle should be put in the way of their ordination. That the Athanasian Creed is such an obstacle will hardly be disputed by anyone who knows the state of theological feeling in the Universities; but if it is, and so far as it is, an obstacle, it is an evil. Nor are the clergy the only persons to be considered. For it is desirable, too, that the laity should go to church. If then there are a good many devout laymen who dislike and resent the public use of the creed and avoid hearing it by staying away from church, so far again it is on this account an evil.

It is possible, indeed, that the evil may be exaggerated. The

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Wickham Legg's letter in the *Guardian*, April 6, 1904.



consciences of some candidates for Holy Orders are almost morbidly sensitive in the present day. For the doctrinal statements of the creed are probably not repugnant to anybody who believes the orthodox Christian faith, and, as believing it, is qualified and inclined to take Holy Orders. The so-called damnatory clauses, too, have been officially interpreted as 'to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture.' If so, all that can be said of them is that they are infelicitously expressed; for there can be no doubt that they appear at first sight, and are generally taken, to go beyond the 'most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,' by which, according to the 8th Article, the Athanasian Creed may be proved.

But the fact is that it is a mistake to look upon the same words as bearing always and everywhere the same significance. It often happens that technical phrases come to be used, not in a literal, but in a secondary meaning. There have been times when it seemed natural and necessary to visit theological errors with extreme maledictions. The most awful condemnations of heretics excited no surprise or disgust. It is as certain as any fact of history can be that the same language which is felt to be terrible and deplorable by consciences trained in nineteen centuries of Christianity was not so felt, or was not so felt in anything like the same degree, by the Christians who first made use of it or first listened to it. The damnatory clauses, therefore, of the Athanasian Creed are a heavier burden upon consciences to-day than they were many centuries ago, and they will become a still heavier burden as the years and the centuries pass. For humanity grows more humane; that is one of the few clear gains attaching to progress; men are kinder than they were, and their theology, too, becomes less rigid, less bitter than it was.

The great objection, then, to the public use of the Athanasian Creed is that its language in its natural interpretation is not what Christians and Churchmen hold to be true. Archbishop Tait, in his speech in Convocation, put the general feeling well:—

We are to take the clauses in their plain and literal sense. But we do not. There is not a soul in the room who does. Nobody in the Church of England takes them in their plain literal sense.

A reasonable person will not indeed deny that in any historical Church, having a continuous unbroken life of many centuries, formularies may, and often must, be interpreted with considerable latitude. The language of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and *a fortiori* of the ninth or the fifth century, cannot be altogether suited to the twentieth. The candidate for Holy Orders, and scarcely less the lay member of the Church, must ask himself, not whether he approves and accepts every sentence of the Prayer Book in its literal meaning, but whether he feels himself to be in general sympathy with its language and its

spirit; and he will allow himself the greater liberty, as he reflects upon the difficulty which the Church has experienced for a long time in legislating for herself or in getting legislation passed for her through Parliament. Still, when all is said, it remains an unhappy circumstance that Churchmen should be expected on solemn festivals to take part in strong condemnatory phrases which they do not, and cannot in their consciences, hold to be literally true.

It is now more than thirty years since the last attempt was made to meet and solve the problem of the Athanasian Creed. The story of that attempt is told at full length by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in the twenty-second chapter of the *Life of Archbishop Tait*. Archbishop Tait was himself in favour of rescinding the obligation to use the creed in the public services of the Church. He was defeated by the strong opposition of the High Church party under the leading of Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon. Dr. Pusey wrote to the Bishop of Winchester on the 19th of October, 1871: 'If the Athanasian Creed is touched I see nothing to be done but to give up my canonry and abandon my fight for the Church of England.' Dr. Liddon wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 23rd of December, 1871:

It is not, I trust, obtrusive or other than right in me to state firmly to your Grace that if this most precious creed is at all mutilated by the excision of the so-termed damnable clauses, or degraded—by an alteration of the rubric which precedes it—from its present position in the Book of Common Prayer, I shall feel bound in conscience to resign my preferments and retire from the ministry of the Church of England.

Archbishop Tait, like the statesman that he was, chose in these circumstances the less of two evils. He preferred sacrificing his own views upon the use of the creed to breaking up the Church, whose chief minister he was; and the creed and the rubric prescribing its public use have remained without alteration to the present time.

Thirty years have wrought a change of theological opinion. The liberalising spirit which has passed upon theology has intensified the antipathy of many devout Churchmen to the frequent public recitation of the creed. High Churchmen, as they have adopted a new position in regard to the inspiration of Holy Scripture, have apparently adopted, or are adopting, a new position in regard to the public use of the Athanasian Creed. The Bishop of Worcester, at his Diocesan Conference, has spoken in favour of a resolution: 'that the present rubric governing the use of the Athanasian Creed is the cause of more harm than good, and should be fundamentally altered.' The Bishop of Chester, at his Conference, has declared the creed to be in its present form 'an absolute stumbling-block in the way of the faith.'

There is an increasing desire also to bring the Church of England, in her use of the Athanasian Creed, into greater harmony with the other Churches of Christendom. At present she insists upon the

public recitation of the creed thirteen times in the course of the year. But the creed is not so treated in any other Church of Christendom (except, indeed, the Episcopal Church of Scotland), nor was it so treated in the Church of England herself before the Reformation. It is not similarly recited in the Church of Rome, or in the Churches of the East, or in the reformed Lutheran or Calvinistic Churches of the continent of Europe, or in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland or in the Nonconformist Churches of England. It is not similarly recited in the Church of Ireland or in the Episcopal Church of the United States of America.<sup>2</sup> The rubric enforcing its use in the public services of the Church of England on the festivals now enumerated in the Prayer Book was the work of the Anglican Reformers. It first appeared in the second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. It did not in express terms order the creed to be used as a substitute for the Apostles' Creed until the revision of the Prayer Book in 1662. To revert to the more ancient Catholic usage of the creed would be in accordance with the growing spirit of regard for the principles and practices of the early Church.

In these circumstances it is matter for thankfulness that the Upper Houses of both the Convocations of Canterbury and York should have lately passed resolutions, the one for 'appointing a committee to consider in what way the present use' of the creed 'may be modified, the document itself being retained in the formularies of the Church as an authoritative statement of the Church's faith'; the other, for 'restoring' the creed 'to its more ancient use as a document for instruction of the faithful, in such manner as may most fully safeguard the reverent treatment of the doctrines of the faith.'<sup>3</sup> These resolutions are striking in themselves. They indicate a remarkable advance of episcopal opinion. But there is no reason to think that the bishops have gone beyond the opinion of the Lower Houses of the Convocation, or the Houses of Laymen, or the clergy and laity of the Church everywhere. For still more striking than the resolutions have been the debates which took place upon them. Almost everybody who has spoken has expressed himself as sympathetic with the desire to give some relief to anxious consciences, if only it could be given without compromising the Catholic Faith; and nobody has exhibited anything like the bitterness or wilfulness or the arbitrary irreconcilable spirit which marked the debates, or some of the speeches delivered in them, thirty years ago. But when men who resist a policy resist it not because it is wrong in itself, but because of consequences which may possibly flow from it, it has already come half-way to success. If it should happen that the several parties in

<sup>2</sup> Stanley, *The Athanasian Creed*, pp. 36 sqq. His statements are not entirely accurate, but even the use of the creed at Prime in the Church of Rome is not a parallel to its use at Matins in the Church of England.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Guardian*, May 11, 1904.

the Church came to agree upon a change in the treatment of the creed, it would still be difficult to determine what the treatment should be.

Three main proposals of reform have been made :—

(1) It has been proposed to meet the difficulty felt about the creed by retranslation. Not a few suggested retranslations have appeared. It will be enough to mention that the Committee of Bishops appointed more than thirty years ago to consider the use of the Athanasian Creed put forward suggestions on the 12th of February, 1872, for certain alterations both in the Latin text and in the English translation. They proposed in the translation, among other minor changes,

(a) To substitute the word 'infinite' for 'incomprehensible' and the word 'eternal' for 'everlasting' throughout the creed.

(b) In verse 1 to read 'Whosoever willeth to be saved' instead of 'Whosoever will be saved.'

(c) In verse 25 to read 'There is nothing afore or after, nothing greater or less.'

(d) In verse 28 to read 'willeth to' for 'will' and 'let him think' for 'must think.'

(e) In verse 29 to read 'faithfully' for 'rightly.'

(f) In verse 42 to leave out all the words after 'faith' and to substitute for them 'which every man who desireth to attain to eternal life ought to know wholly and to guard faithfully.'

But I am afraid it must be admitted that no retranslation can solve the question of the creed. The Bishop of Worcester has said, rightly enough, that 'the objections to the public use of the creed would not be adequately met by a retranslation.' So, too, the Archbishop of York: 'We can use the most perfect possible translation, but we cannot touch the difficulties which surround the matter.' For, in fact, the Latin original is frequently open to the same objection as the English translation. To take the first two verses only, the words :—

Quicumque vult salvus esse ; ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem.

Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit ; absque dubio in æternum peribit.

are fully as explicit as 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith ; which Faith except every-one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish ever-astingly.'

It is, in fact, noticeable that the six professors of theology in the University of Oxford, who were consulted by the Committee of Bishops, Dr. Mozley, Dr. Pusey, Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Heurtley, Dr. Bright, and Dr. Liddon, in their reply, dated the 30th of November, 1871, avowed themselves 'unable to make any suggestions as to either the text or

the translation which may be expected to obviate the objections raised against the creed.'<sup>4</sup>

(2) A second proposed remedy is expurgation.

It is possible, indeed, to draw a marked distinction between the doctrinal statements of the creed and the damnatory clauses which precede and follow them. The doctrinal statements have been sometimes compared to a picture, the damnatory clauses to the frame in which the picture is set.

Three professors of theology in the University of Cambridge, Dr. Westcott, Dr. Swainson, and Dr. Lightfoot, in their reply to the Committee of Bishops, on the 3rd of February, 1872, argued that 'the admonitory clauses may be treated as separate from the exposition itself, and may be modified without in any way touching what is declared therein to be the Catholic Faith'; and they 'ventured to express an opinion that it is the office of the Church to make such changes in the form of words by which the Faith is commended to believers as may be required for their edification and for the right understanding of her own meaning.'

Modern research, however, has tended to show that, whether the damnatory clauses are or are not as a frame to a picture, the creed was never issued without them. They are not confined to the beginning and the end of the creed. To leave out the clauses, and still more to leave out any doctrinal portion of the creed itself, would be to set an example of serious and even dangerous moment.

The practice in Westminster Abbey at the present time has been misrepresented. It is not to recite a revised or amended Athanasian Creed instead of the Apostles' Creed. It is to recite the Apostles' Creed at the point where the rubric directs that the Athanasian Creed should be sung or said in place of it, and to sing a revised version of the Athanasian Creed called 'A Hymn of the Catholic Faith' as an anthem at a later point in the service. The revision of the creed consists principally in omitting the first two and the last three verses: *i.e.* the so-called damnatory clauses and the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. It must depend, I think, for its justification upon the assumption that the Ordinary, whether the Bishop, or in Westminster Abbey the Dean, is legally entitled, upon his own responsibility, to break the rubric prescribing the use of the creed and to alter the creed itself. At all events it indicates the difficulty of touching the creed without touching its doctrinal statements.

(3) The policy of saving the creed by appending to it an explanatory note has found a great deal of support at different times.

The first Royal Commissioners appointed for the Revision of the Liturgy in 1689 suggested this addition:—'The condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian Faith.' The Royal Commissioners

<sup>4</sup> Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 520.

appointed in 1867 suggested this :—‘ That the condemnations in this Confession of Faith are to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic Faith.’ Among other suggestions emanating from high ecclesiastical authorities it is right to mention that of the six professors of theology in the University of Oxford, who submitted for consideration in 1871 the following form of a note such as may tend to remove some misconceptions :—‘ That nothing in this creed is to be understood as condemning those who by involuntary ignorance or invincible prejudice are hindered from accepting the Faith therein declared.’ But this note Dr. Pusey felt afterwards to be unsatisfactory, and it appears that towards the end of 1872 he advocated another.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the Convocation of Canterbury issued in 1873 a declaration for the removal of doubts and to prevent disquietude in the use of the creed :

(1) That the creed ‘ doth not make any addition to the Faith as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against the errors which from time to time have arisen in the Church of Christ.’

(2) That ‘ the warnings ’ in the creed ‘ are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture, for we must receive God’s threatenings, even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ. Moreover, the Church doth not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God only being Judge of all.’

That declaration was endorsed in 1879. But, as the Archbishop of Canterbury said in reply to the deputation which waited upon him on the 31st of last May, it has remained ‘ a dead letter ever since.’

The Bishop of Chester, in the ‘ rearrangement of the Athanasian Creed ’ which he has lately ‘ put forward for consideration by both the clergy and the laity of the diocese,’ has been bold enough to combine a series of explanatory notes with both retranslation and expurgation.

It is not possible to set out the case against an explanatory rubric as interpreting the terms of the creed in clearer or juster language than was used by Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Magee in Convocation more than thirty years ago :

If you have words [he said] which are in themselves clear and simple, making a particular statement or assertion, it is simply impossible in the nature of things that you can by the mere exercise of your will put a gloss upon those words to explain away their meaning. Words mean what logic and grammar make them to mean. You may debate as much as you please before you issue a document what the words composing it shall be, but when you have put it out you have not any right to say ‘ These words shall mean this or that.’ They pass under the dominion of grammar and must mean what they say. No man has a right to say that they mean anything more or less than their grammatical construction implies and declares.

If, then, it is desirable to afford some relief both to clergy and to

<sup>5</sup> *Life of E. B. Pusey*, vol. iv. p. 251 ; compare *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 152.

laity in the matter of the Athanasian Creed, and if the three suggested policies are all more or less unsatisfactory, is there any course which can be safely recommended ?

The creed is not, as it has been called in an angry pamphlet, 'the curse of Christendom.' But it is unfitted for use in the public services of the Church. It is as little suited for public recitation as the Articles themselves. It is a scholar's creed ; it demands a learning, a thoughtfulness, an historical spirit which cannot be presumed in congregations including a great variety of men and women, educated and uneducated, and boys and girls and little children. The language employed in public worship should always bear its meaning on its face. However stately it may be, it should convey a clear and just impression to all who use it. A document which requires to be explained or explained away as often as it is used is sure to be a source of distress and irritation rather than of spiritual benefit. Anything is better than an unnatural interpretation of solemn words publicly used. But the Athanasian Creed is so apt to be misunderstood that it ought not to be used in public services. It should be a work, not for recitation, but for reference.<sup>6</sup>

My own earnest hope is that the Bishops, as the natural leaders of the Church, will try to meet the difficulty felt about the public use of the creed. It may not be in their power at present to effect legislation which would alter the rubric prescribing the recitation of the creed ; but if they should resolve and declare that in their judgment it is undesirable to make the public use of the creed any longer obligatory, they would take such action as would greatly relieve the consciences of the clergy, who now feel that, if they omit the creed, they are acting against authority, and, if they use it, that they are doing what is painful to many members of their congregations, and often to themselves.

The argument for abandoning the use of the creed in public services is not only or chiefly that the creed is harshly expressed, or that it cannot by a forced interpretation be rendered harmless, but that it is suited for the study, and not for the church. 'It creates a false impression, and an impression which grows false year by year. It inculcates, or seems to inculcate, a perverted view of the consequences attaching to Christian faith and Christian duty. It differs widely in letter and spirit from the simplicity of the Gospel. To quote the words with which the late Dr. Swainson ends his treatise upon the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds : 'The dogmas of the Athanasian Creed are for the scientific theologian ; the Bible revelation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit for every Christian.' Or, to go yet further back to the famous passage of Jeremy Taylor in his *Liberty of Prophesying* ;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See the speeches of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Chester in the Convocation of York, as reported in the *Guardian*, February 17, 1904.

<sup>7</sup> Section ii. p. 74.

If I should be questioned concerning the Symbol of Athanasius . . . I confess I cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his preface as there was in the Nicene Creed. Nothing there but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained. . . . For the articles themselves, I am most heartily persuaded of the truth of them, and yet I dare not say all that are not so are inevitably damned, because *citra hoc symbolum* the faith of the Apostlos' Creed is entire, and he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: that is, he that believeth such a belief as is sufficient disposition to be baptized, that faith with the sacrament is sufficient for heaven. . . . Besides, if it were considered concerning Athanasius' Creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture says of those curiosities of explication, and how tradition was not clear on his side for the article itself . . . it had not been amiss if the final judgment had been left to Jesus Christ, for He is appointed Judge of all the world, and He shall judge the people righteously.

Perhaps no wiser words—none more Christian—could be spoken than these.

J. E. C. WELLDON.



*THE VIRGIN-BIRTH*

It has been said by a recent writer<sup>1</sup> that 'the idea of miraculous birth has fascinated the minds of men in all parts of the world from the earliest times,' and if the question of such a birth be limited to an idea, the statement may possibly be true; but if belief in the virgin-birth of Jesus Christ as an historical fact is to be insisted on, any feeling of fascination is likely to give place to one of perplexity and doubt. Thus, when lately it became known that the vicar of a parish in England had been constrained to resign his cure of souls because he was unable to give his assent to the doctrine of the virgin-birth, the question was very generally asked whether in the present day there exists any necessity for insisting on a belief in this doctrine, seeing that to the minds of most men the story of Christ's life and teaching affords more convincing evidence of his divine mission than the narrative of any abnormal circumstances attending his birth can produce. It is not, however, proposed now to discuss either the possibility of or the necessity for a virgin-birth, nor to ask whether a purely spiritual influence could cause the birth of a human body: the question for inquiry here will be limited to the consideration of the weight or force of the historical evidence on which the narrative of the virgin-birth of Jesus Christ rests. Now, in attempting to estimate the value of this evidence, one point is clear beyond doubt, namely, that of all the writers in the New Testament two alone make any mention of a miraculous birth, while the accounts of it given by these two writers are widely divergent. Another point equally clear is that the first and the last written of the four records of Christ's life contain no statement of nor any allusion to a virgin-birth. Thus, the writer of Mark's gospel, which is allowed to be the most ancient of the four records—it may possibly have been written within forty years after Christ's death—certainly never heard of the virgin-birth. And with regard to the fourth and last written gospel, if this book be the work of John the son of Zebedee, the truth of the story of a miraculous birth must be altogether discarded; for if John, in whose home Mary lived as his own mother, never heard from her of this wondrous birth, it is manifest that such an event never happened, since, from the nature of the case, any account of it, to be worthy of

credit, must have been derived from Mary herself. But whether the fourth gospel was written by John the son of Zebedee, or, as seems more probable, by John the Elder or Presbyter of Ephesus, the fact remains that, although this gospel was compiled for the express purpose of setting forth and insisting upon the divine side or aspect of Christ's nature, the writer of it had no knowledge of his miraculous or divine birth. Now let us first turn to the account given in Luke's gospel (i. 26-56): here we have no dream, but the actual appearance of a heavenly messenger who makes an announcement to Mary which necessarily cannot long be kept secret; in fact, Mary does not attempt to keep it secret, but proceeds to sing what is plainly a paraphrase of Hannah's song or prayer, recorded in 1 Samuel ii. 1-11, except that in Mary's hymn there seems to be less exultation than appears in Hannah's song, though Hannah was rejoicing only in the birth of a human son. Next, look at the terms in which the communication is made to Mary by Gabriel; now, if the narrative intends us to understand, as it clearly appears to do, that the prediction uttered in verse 35 did, in fact, come to pass, then it is plain that Jesus Christ never was 'the son of the man'—never was the true typical man, and the title which he chose before all others was therefore misleading and difficult to understand. Moreover, it is certain that nowhere in the gospel narratives is Christ ever represented as claiming for himself a miraculous or virgin-birth (Luke iv. 22-24). Then, again, Gabriel says to Mary: 'The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.' Could any divine messenger have spoken thus of him who was to live the life of a village carpenter, and to die the death of a malefactor? Such words would have been a stumbling-block in Mary's path all her days. So with regard to the name 'Jesus.' Gabriel could never have used this word, which is a Greek rendering of the Hebrew name 'Joshua;'—thus in the Septuagint or Greek version of the Old Testament the Book of Joshua is the Book of Jesus. Gabriel in addressing the Hebrew maid Mary must have used the Hebrew name Joshua (Yehoshua), not the Greek rendering of it, Jesus (Iesous). If so, Christ's name never was Jesus, but Joshua. Now, the meaning of the word Jesus seems to be 'healer;' if, therefore, Ἰησοῦς (in Latin 'Jesus') is derived from *ia*, the root in *ἰάομαι*, to heal or cure, it is not impossible that, Christ being known as 'the healer' of Nazareth, his true name soon became lost, and thus to the earliest Greek converts—Greek Jews of the Dispersion—he was known only by the name of 'the healer,' 'the Jesus of Nazareth.' Or is it possible that *HC* was a mystic word used in the ancient Greek mysteries, and was by the early converts from mysticism given to Christ as the true fount of the 'healing' water of life? (John iv. 14). Certain it is that immortality or life beyond the grave was the great object of attainment held out in the Greek mysteries, and no one can read Christ's discourses, as given in the fourth gospel, without noting the

insistence with which He urges His power to grant eternal life (John vi. 27-58); so much so is this the case that it would almost appear as though some of these discourses were written with the object of supplanting or superseding the Greek mysteries, that is to say, of drawing into the Christian fold all those who had made trial of the mysteries and found them wanting; in fact, the mysticism is at times so pronounced, and the invitation to come to Christ so persistent, that we seem to be listening to one who had himself passed through the mysteries and had experienced their emptiness and futility (xii. 24-27; ch. x.). However, the consideration of questions such as these relates to the subject of the passing of Christianity from the Jew to the Greek, rather than to the particular matter now under discussion. To return, then, to Luke's account: even in the narrative itself we seem to find evidence against the story of Gabriel and the miraculous birth. Thus, how could the writer of verse 35 (ch. i.) repeatedly speak of Joseph as Christ's father (ii. 27, 33, 41, 43, 48), and why should Joseph and Mary marvel at the things which were spoken (v. 33), if Gabriel's prediction had become true? Or how could Mary, in speaking of Joseph (v. 48), say to Christ: 'Thy father and I sought thee,' if the tremendous experience of a miraculous birth had been hers? Now let us turn to the account in Matthew, and the first question that will occur to any reader of ch. i. is this: Why should the life of Christ commence with the genealogy of Joseph (v. 16), if Joseph were not Christ's father? Another point is that the writer of this chapter, or of verses 18 to 25, seems never to have heard of Gabriel's mission to Mary, for here in Matthew the vision or dream happens to Joseph, and not to Mary, and the name of Jesus is communicated to Joseph, and not to Mary, and an explanation of the name is given to Joseph which was certainly not given by Gabriel. But what can be said of the writer of verses 22 and 23 (Matt. i.) in citing a passage from Isaiah which cannot support or bear the construction for which it is quoted? For it is clear that the woman (translated 'virgin') in Isaiah vii. 14 is the same woman—the prophetess—who is spoken of in viii. 3 (Isaiah), and equally clear is it that no virgin-birth in her case is even suggested, but quite the contrary. The whole point of the prophecy in Isaiah is that 'before the child shall know to refuse evil and choose the good, the land, whose two kings thou abhorrest, shall be forsaken' (vii. 16; viii. 4), *not*, that the child is to have a miraculous birth. Moreover, the writer in Matthew does not quote correctly the passage which he professes to cite (i. 23), for the words in the Septuagint are 'and *thou* shalt call [*καλέσεις*—not *they* shall call] his name Immanuel,' that is to say, 'you (Isaiah) shall name your son Immanuel;' this is clear from viii. 3, *καὶ προσήλθον πρὸς τὴν προφήτιν*. The fact seems to be that this passage in Matthew (i. 18-25) is an interpolation, though possibly an early one; but whether this be so or not, it is plain that the information on which the story of Joseph's dream is

based must have been derived from a source entirely unknown to every other writer of the life of Christ—even to Luke, who, though narrating in considerable detail the history of the apparition to Zacharias, does not say a word about any vision or dream occurring to Joseph. It seems, therefore, that the idea of a divine or miraculous birth is of Greek rather than of Hebrew or Jewish origin; to the Hebrew mind it seemed enough that their Messiah should be the son of David ‘according to the flesh,’ but to the Greeks a divine birth for their heroes or saviours was a necessity. It would appear as though this notion of a miraculous or virgin-birth arose at the time of the passing of Christianity from the ‘world of Syrian peasants’ to the ‘world of Greek philosophers,’ and gained acceptance as filling a want vaguely felt by the Greek converts. But that the first followers of Christ knew nothing of the story of the virgin-birth seems plain from the fact that there is not the smallest allusion to it in any of the Epistles; in fact, in some of them both the argument and the words used are distinctly against any idea of a miraculous birth (Romans i. 3; viii. 3). If, then, the writers of the earliest treatises dealing with the principles of the Christian faith never heard of the virgin-birth, and felt no necessity for it, why should belief in such a doctrine, resting as it does on scanty and unsatisfactory evidence, any longer be insisted on?

SLADE BUTLER.

*INVISIBLE RADIATIONS*

THERE exist radiations which differ from the whole category to which radiant heat and light belong, not so much in their effects as in their nature ; indeed, they can only be called radiations at all by an extension of the meaning of that word, for they are really streams of particles bearing an electric charge and moving in straight lines at various rates of speed. The extended meaning of the word radiation to include all ray-like projections, whether material or otherwise, has now been universally adopted, the word emanation, which might perhaps have served, being reserved to denote those outgoings from a substance which diffuse away from it after the manner of a vapour or scent. That there are such radiations was, in the first instance, perceived by the phenomena which accompany the passage of an electric current through a tube containing highly rarefied air. That radiations similar to those which are thus artificially produced in the laboratory also exist spontaneously in nature, is a discovery made within the last few years, the theoretical importance of which can hardly be overrated.

It is now known that all the compounds of uranium, thorium, and radium continuously emit such radiations, independently of any known supply of energy from without, and unaffected by temperature or pressure, or any physical conditions whatsoever. Nor is this radio-activity, as it is called, the result of chemical action or combination. The property, which is probably due to changes taking place within the atom itself, is most clearly manifested in the case of radium, and therefore it is easiest to study radio-activity by means of radium ; even as it is easiest to study magnetism by means of iron, although nickel and cobalt are magnetic substances too, and all substances show traces of magnetism in an exceedingly slight degree. Very probably radio-activity is also a property of matter as such, but the feeble manifestations upon which this surmise is founded were never discovered until now because there was no reason until now to suspect their existence.

There are three kinds of rays which are produced together by an electric current in a vacuum tube and found together in radium radiation. They are : Rays bearing a positive charge, rays bearing a negative charge, and uncharged rays, which apparently always accompany these electric rays, but which belong to a totally different

category. In any general survey of these radiations it is difficult to know what to call them because of the many names they bear. The negatively charged rays which issue from the cathode of the vacuum tube are called cathode rays inside the tube, but outside the tube they are called Lenard rays, because Lenard succeeded in causing them to pass through a thin window of aluminium, and was thus enabled to study them under conditions other than those in which they were produced. Positively charged rays, which appear simultaneously with the cathode rays, but are much more difficult to identify, are called channel rays (*Kanalstrahlen*), because they were first observed by using as cathode a piece of metal pierced with holes, so placed that the positively charged particles passed through the holes. Being thus sharply separated from the negative cathode rays which moved in the opposite direction, the positive radiation could be rendered distinctly manifest. The marvellously penetrating rays which arise where the cathode rays strike glass or metal were called by their discoverer X-rays. It is now more usual to speak of them as Röntgen rays. Radiations which are spontaneously emitted are collectively called Becquerel rays, in honour of the discoverer of radio-activity; and, individually, the positively charged rays are called  $\alpha$ -rays, the negatively charged rays  $\beta$ -rays, and the uncharged rays, which resemble the Röntgen rays, are called  $\gamma$ -rays—a notation suggested by Rutherford. This multiplicity of names is of historic interest, and may be convenient for the physicist, but it tends to obscure the essential identity. The first two classes can be called positive and negative radiation, but no generic name seems yet to be in use for the X-rays type.

These radiations are invisible, and were detected by their effects; in the first instance, many years ago, by the effect of fluorescence during the passage of an electric current through a tube in which the air was so highly rarefied that it could not absorb and check the radiation proceeding from the cathode. Where the glass wall did check that radiation the visible effect was brilliant fluorescence. As all the radiations produce fluorescent effects if they are sufficiently intense, it is possible to make their path evident by means of fluorescent screens. The self-luminosity of the purer salts of radium is believed to be due to phosphorescence caused by the radiations within the substance itself, but what the connection between the radiations and phosphorescence really is we cannot tell. Phosphorescence—which differs from fluorescence only in that it continues for an appreciable time after the cause which has produced it has ceased to act—is called forth by the more refrangible rays of ordinary light. If the ultra-violet part of the spectrum of sunlight, or preferably electric arc light, be thrown upon a suitable phosphorescent screen, the invisible rays become visible as violet, blue, or green, and sometimes even as yellow or red. Stokes gave the explanation of this when he showed that in every case the incident light is changed by the phosphorescent sub-

stance into light of longer wave-length. How that change is brought about we do not know. Many substances only show phosphorescent effects if they are not quite chemically pure, and this renders it possible that the cause is some kind of chemical action. On the other hand, there are facts, such as the luminous effects produced by cleavage and friction, which seem to suggest a mechanical cause. Moreover, phosphorescence is, to a certain degree, a function of the temperature. Thus various materials—paper, for instance—can be made brilliantly luminous if they are at the temperature of liquid air, while certain crystals and various kinds of glass become phosphorescent without any other agency if they are heated. Again, if a substance which has been rendered phosphorescent by light be heated while it is still luminous, the effect is, first, great increase of brightness, and, next, far more rapid extinction. So sensitive is phosphorescence to the radiation of heat, that even some of the visible rays at the red end of the solar spectrum, and still more the invisible heat rays, suffice in certain cases to extinguish the light, after having first caused a brief increase of activity. These and other curious interactions between heat, light, and phosphorescence show that the phenomena are, in any case, extremely complicated. Possibly there is really a close link between phosphorescence and radio-activity, so that knowledge concerning the one may throw light on the other.

A principle which has produced great results in modern research is that it is worth while to seek elsewhere for what is known to exist anywhere. It was this principle which inspired Becquerel when he made experiments with fluorescent salts, in the hope of finding radiations which should, like the Röntgen rays, act on the photographic plate through substances opaque to light. He found far more than he had sought, but it was some time before the evidently complex nature of the spontaneously emitted uranium radiation he had detected was thoroughly understood; not, indeed, till after the discovery of that superlatively radio-active element so aptly named radium. It was then seen that part of the radiation can be bent out of its course by a strong magnetic field in precisely the same manner as cathode rays can be bent aside. This part forms the  $\beta$ -rays. Later on it was found possible in the case of radium, if the magnetic field was sufficiently intense, to deflect slightly a considerable portion of the remaining radiation in the opposite direction. This portion constitutes the  $\alpha$ -rays. The  $\gamma$ -rays are, like the Röntgen rays, unaffected by magnetism. Like the Röntgen rays also, they traverse a prism without refraction. Very little is known about them because of their exceeding penetrativeness; on which account it is possible that a great proportion of this radiation escapes detection altogether, for rays which traverse substances without any check can produce no perceptible effects at all.

The photographs obtained by making the radiations permanently record their own path furnish valuable data for the mathematician

and for the experimentalist. Thus it is clearly seen that, under the influence of magnetism, the  $\beta$ -rays describe circles of varying radius; whence it follows that they vary in velocity. It is also clearly seen that the  $\beta$ - and  $\gamma$ -rays are perfectly distinct, for there is marked discontinuity between the least deflected  $\beta$ -rays and the totally undeflected  $\gamma$ -rays. Furthermore, the photographs show that it is the  $\gamma$ -rays and the least deflected  $\beta$ -rays which most easily penetrate obstacles placed in their path; but where  $\beta$ - or  $\gamma$ -rays are checked by the substances they traverse, they give rise to secondary rays emanating from those substances—rays not due to reflection or diffusion, but analogous rather to phosphorescence, for they have not precisely the same properties as the rays which call them forth. The  $\alpha$ -rays cannot pass through obstacles, and are totally absorbed even by air at a very short distance from their source.

The chief difference between positive and negative radiation, wheresoever found, is this. Negative radiation is formed of those inconceivably minute particles called electrons, which some physicists believe may consist entirely of electricity; while positive radiation is formed of particles which seem to be of the order of atoms, and which, hence, are, when compared with electrons, of enormous size and mass. The velocity of the radiations varies greatly. In the cathode rays it is one-fifth that of light; in the  $\beta$ -rays of radium the highest value is about one-third that of light. 'Slow' negative rays, such as some of those which can be drawn out of metal by the agency of the light of the electric arc, or other source rich in ultra-violet rays, have a velocity which is about a hundredth that of light. It is interesting to note that the feeble magnetism of the earth suffices to curve the slower radiations. The apparent convergence of the rays of an aurora borealis is an optical effect believed to be due to this cause. Positive radiation is more difficult to study, and little is known about it yet. The  $\alpha$ -rays of radium have a velocity which is a twentieth that of light. In uranium radiation there seem to be no  $\alpha$ -rays; but since wherever electricity of one sign is made manifest an equal quantity of electricity of the opposite sign is liberated somewhere, the probability is that in this and in other cases where we perceive negative radiation alone, the positive charge is left on atoms which remain in the substance itself.

The effect which is by far the most sensitive test of the existence of these invisible radiations, and which is, moreover, the only effect capable of quantitative measurement, is that of rendering air conductive to electricity. In the phraseology of that theory which is at present held to be the best means of co-ordinating the facts, the radiations ionise the air. According to this theory, the impact of the radiations causes a certain atomic dislocation in some of the particles of the air, so that these particles are separated into those positive and negative parts which, in all matter, neutralise one another when united—parts similar to those of which the charged radiations themselves are



composed. It is the movement of these parts under the influence of electric forces which constitutes the current. Independently of any theory, we know as experimentally proved facts that the change in the air which makes it conductive is accompanied by the formation of centres upon which water-vapour can condense, for air which was dust free and perfectly clear may become cloudy after ionisation; that these centres are positively and negatively charged, for they can be drawn away by an electric field; that their velocity is not high, for they can be blown out of their course by even a feeble current of air; and that the removal of these 'ions' destroys the conductivity of the air. Hence it is a legitimate inference, and independent of any hypothesis as to their nature, that the conductivity is due to the ions. It is the more necessary to distinguish between proved facts, which are an abiding possession, and the more or less ephemeral theories based upon those facts, because physicists now look upon theories of any kind as little else but convenient tools. 'The merit of a theory,' it has been recently said, 'consists not in being true, for no theories are true, but in being fertile'—that is to say, in being not only a satisfactory and self-consistent representation of the totality of the facts, so far as we know them, but also in suggesting by the images used in which direction to seek for further knowledge. When, as is the case with the theory of ions, calculations made on the suppositions involved in the pictorial representation lead to far-reaching conclusions, which have been verified when put to the test of experiment and observation, then the theory is certainly fertile; and a theory can only be fertile, one would imagine, in virtue of bearing, in however remote a degree, some resemblance to the truth.

By the test of ionisation it would appear from the researches of several physicists that radio-activity is, in a feeble degree, a property of very many substances, and, indeed, perhaps of all.

An exceedingly interesting series of observations made by the German physicists Elster and Geitel has proved the universality of radio-activity from another point of view. About ten years ago, while studying atmospheric electricity, they found that even in the driest air, and in spite of all precautions, it was not possible to keep an instrument charged for any length of time without some loss. As it was necessary for their observations that they should be able to have entire confidence in their tools, they tested their instruments by leaving them charged for some time *in vacuo*. There being then no loss of charge, there was evidently no leakage through insufficient insulation of the supports in the instruments themselves, and the loss could only be due to a certain slight conductivity of atmospheric air, for which they could not account. It was known that air can be ionised by ultra-violet light, and they were inclined at first to attribute the conductivity to ionisation of the atmosphere by ultra-violet sunlight. But when, in order to test this supposition, they conducted

experiments in the air of caves and cellars, they found that the conductivity, instead of being less than in air exposed to sunlight, was, on the contrary, very much greater. While they were still searching for the cause of the ionisation, which was evidently not due to sunlight—and, indeed, the rays which cause ionisation are largely absorbed in the upper regions of the atmosphere—progress was being made in the study of radio-activity. Almost simultaneously, in 1899, Rutherford discovered with compounds of thorium, and Curie with compounds of radium, that, in addition to the radiations, these elements emit something else. This something else, to which Rutherford gave the name emanation, cannot be weighed, gives no clearly distinctive lines when examined spectroscopically, has none of the mechanical properties of a gas, does not act chemically in any way we can detect, and, indeed, yields, so to speak, no evidence whatever for its existence, save that where it passes or where it settles, there it gives rise to radio-activity. Any substance whatever which is left for some time in the vicinity of the radio-active salt becomes itself temporarily radio-active. The emanation diffuses throughout an enclosed space as a gas would diffuse, only, apparently, it passes through very narrow openings with more ease; it is checked by everything that checks a gas; it can, like a gas, be pumped or blown out of a vessel; it disappears at the temperature of liquid air, and reappears when the temperature is raised; its absence or presence being in every case manifested by the absence or presence of the induced radio-activity. This induced radio-activity can be measured in the usual way—namely, by the extent to which it renders air conductive; and it has been found that when radium emanation is left in a closed vessel without the radium salt which has given rise to it, this definite amount, whatever it may be, diminishes by half in four days. If, however, the vessel be open to the air, then the emanation diminishes by half in twenty-eight minutes. With actinium, which is very active thorium, the emanation diminishes by half in a closed vessel in three seconds. Constants of time such as these may serve to determine the nature of a radio-active substance, when it is found in quantities too small for any chemical test to be of the slightest avail.

The connection between the emanation and the radiations is as yet a matter for more or less plausible conjecture. The emanation disappears—that is to say, it becomes lost to our means of detection—and in disappearing it gives rise to radiations. Becquerel considers it best to look upon the emanation as the primary phenomenon, and to suppose that the radiations are always due to the break-up of emanation, whether that emanation be entangled, so to speak, in the pores of the substance itself, or whether it has diffused away from the substance and settled elsewhere. There is, however, no evidence for this explanation or for any other.

What we do know for certain is that the emanation is attracted by

negatively charged metal, and that it can thus be collected and concentrated. After this discovery, which was made as soon as the emanation itself was detected; Elster and Geitel conducted experiments to determine whether the ionisation of the atmosphere might be due to radio-activity. They fixed a cylinder, formed of thirty metres of wire, in the open air, and kept it negatively charged to a high potential. They found that if they rubbed the wire every few hours with a tiny bit of leather steeped in ammonia or in hydrochloric acid, the leather became radio-active, and that when they burnt the leather the ash was radio-active. By thus concentrating on a small surface the emanation collected on the whole cylinder during many hours, they were able to obtain, not only the ionisation effect, but also the photographic effect, for which much stronger radio-activity is required. It soon became evident that the atmosphere everywhere and always contains radio-active emanation, more or less, and the next question was: Whence does that emanation arise? Carefully conducted experiments proved that it is not due to any constituent of the air itself; it arises from the earth. Air taken from the soil may contain so much emanation that, if properly concentrated, it will even yield the phosphorescent effect. Water which has passed through the earth contains emanation in solution. This is especially the case with mineral waters, and it has been suggested that the curative properties may, in certain cases, be partly due to the radio-activity; if so, that would explain the puzzling fact that some waters lose their virtue when removed from their source, since, however carefully the vessel was closed, the emanation would nevertheless disappear. Whence this universally diffused emanation arises is not yet known; researches to determine the substances which produce it are being carried on now.

The amount of matter in question is so infinitesimal that experimenters have not yet been able to detect any loss of weight in their radio-active salts to account for the unceasingly emitted emanation. This is, however, not so strange as it may sound at first, for it is paralleled by facts with which we are perfectly familiar. Scent, which is on good grounds believed to be a material emanation, is not necessarily accompanied by loss of weight, not even when it is as strongly marked as in the case of musk. The fact is that where our senses do give us direct evidence they may be far more sensitive than any indirect means we can devise. Thus we know of the existence of a multitude of emanations by no other test than our sense of smell. Where, on the other hand, our senses fail us, there we may remain in total ignorance until we learn in some indirect way. The most striking example of this self-evident, though too often forgotten, fact is furnished by electricity. We are in the position as regards electricity of a deaf man, who only knows that there is sound when he sees motion or feels vibration; for it is only indirectly that we can perceive it, seeing that we lack an electric sense. Yet, step by step, by indirect

means, we have learnt that electricity is the most universal of agents, and now we are learning, also by indirect means, of the existence in nature of hitherto unsuspected subtle emanations, electrically charged radiations, and radiations to which no substance is opaque.

The most plausible hypothesis respecting the radiations of the X-rays type is probably that which was formulated by Stokes—namely, that they are ethereal vibrations which differ from light as noise differs from music; that is to say, that they do not belong to that series of rays produced by continuous rhythmic vibrations, which includes light, radiant heat, and the electro-magnetic waves which are utilised in wireless telegraphy, but that they are irregular pulses in the ether. In the case of the Röntgen rays, the pulses would be produced by the impact of the cathode rays upon the surfaces which check them; in the case of the  $\gamma$ -rays, by the ethereal commotion caused by the emission of the charged radiations. In 1902, Blondlot noticed that if Röntgen rays fell upon a small electric spark they somewhat increased the brightness of that spark, and he thought to utilise this effect in an elaborately devised experiment for obtaining the velocity of the Röntgen rays. The velocity he found by this means was equal to that of light, and this seemed an important step towards knowledge of their nature. As he proceeded in his experimental work, however, he noticed that the rays which affect the spark were polarised, and that these polarised rays could be refracted by passing them through crystals. But it is abundantly evident that X-rays cannot be refracted, and therefore Blondlot perceived that there must be some mistake in the conclusions at which he had arrived. A simple test experiment made the matter perfectly clear. He interposed a prism of aluminium between the source of the X-rays and the spark, by the appearance of which he had thought to detect their influence, choosing aluminium because it is a substance which is transparent to X-rays and opaque to visible light. The X-rays passed undeviated through the prism, and produced no effect whatever on the spark. When, however, the spark was shifted into a position in which it was struck by rays which were deviated by the prism, then the former effect was perceived. Thus Blondlot saw that he had not succeeded in measuring the velocity of the Röntgen rays, but that he had discovered, mixed with them, some extremely penetrating rays which had the physical properties of ordinary light.

Further study has made him feel certain that these N-rays, as he calls them, do belong to the same category as light. They produce none of those photographic or phosphorescent effects which have so greatly aided the study of the Becquerel rays, and the only characteristic by which they can be recognised is that they cause a change in the luminosity of pre-existent phosphorescence, or of any feeble light or feebly illuminated surface—a change which it requires some practice to be able to appreciate, and which is not visible to every observer even then. On this account Blondlot's conclusions are not

yet universally accepted. One objective proof of the correctness of his observations has, however, been furnished. If a small electric spark is caused to produce a photograph of itself—all necessary precautions being taken to avoid error—the difference that it makes in the photographic appearance of the spark, whether it is being acted upon by N-rays or not, is marked and unmistakable.

Blondlot has measured the wave-length of the N-rays by methods similar to those employed for ordinary light. As a source of the rays he uses a Nernst lamp, enclosed in a dark lantern, with a window of aluminium, thus effectually cutting off all luminous rays. In front of the window there is a screen, formed of layers of aluminium and black paper, to cut off all the heat rays which proceed from the metal. This precaution is especially necessary in all these experiments, seeing that phosphorescence is so extremely sensitive to heat. Since N-rays do not pass through water, if it is pure—though they do pass through salt water, as well as through aluminium, wood, and many other substances—a screen of wet cardboard in which there is a narrow slit permits of the isolation of a beam, which can be focussed and dispersed by lenses and prisms of aluminium. Like the visible rays, the N-rays are heterogeneous; the wave-lengths that have been measured vary, but they are all at least a hundred times smaller than that of the furthest ultra-violet rays that had been hitherto known—rays which do not reach us from the sun at all, since they are entirely absorbed by the atmosphere, and which, when obtained from the electric light, must be measured *in vacuo*, for a very little air is as opaque to them as if the air were lead. Yet the N-rays, which lie so very much further beyond the violet end of the spectrum, are largely contained in sunlight, thus proving that they lie outside the limit of the radiations which the air cuts off. N-rays are absorbed by many substances, and then afterwards emitted; whether changed or not in character we cannot yet tell, but in any case there is here a close and important analogy with phosphorescence.

The point, however, which is perhaps of the most general interest with respect to these researches is this. There seems to be clear evidence already that there are other radiations besides those the wave-length of which has been determined, which are being discovered by means of this new test. Some of these may belong to a totally different part of the long series of ethereal vibrations which reach us from the sun, while others may be of an entirely different order. For the present all the radiations, which had not hitherto been detected, and which produce the same effects as the rays which Blondlot noticed at first, are grouped together as N-rays; but there are physicists who believe that further study will enable important distinctions to be made, and that with respect to this whole subject of invisible radiation, in the widest acceptation of that term, we are only on the threshold of discovery.

ANTONIA ZIMMERN.

## *MEDICATED AIR*

### *A SUGGESTION*

WE cannot change our climate. Is it not possible to greatly ameliorate the part it plays in two propositions of grave national importance? These are—

(1) That the climate of these islands is in the main favourable to the development of certain diseases widely prevalent within its range, and adding great numbers to our yearly death-roll.

(2) That the atmospheric conditions of the life of the poor in London and other great cities are not, and probably never will be, favourable to the healthy development of the race.

As air is the first of our vital needs, so what may be called 'atmospheric hygiene' is the first force by which both these dangers should be met. It has been the last to attract the attention of the public or to engage the resources of science. It is true that public faith, so long fastened on the medicine bottle, has been in some measure diverted to Open Air as a curative formula; and that sanitary science, not confined to drains, to food, and to water, has included in its purview questions of ventilation and cubic air space per individual. It is with the first subject, which in many of its aspects includes the second, that this article is mainly concerned.

The gospel of Open Air has been widely preached, and has made many converts; large funds have been generously provided for putting the doctrine into practice, and an ample measure of success has already been achieved. Do not these facts justify the hope that when the real nature of the question at issue is understood, and its vast potentialities are revealed by closer examination, neither science nor philanthropy will be satisfied to stop at the threshold of progress?

Quantity has been the chief guide hitherto in the application of air, whether to disease or to overcrowded habitations. But the *quality* of the air, its condition, its properties, its intricate composition; the bearing of these on the special requirements of different complaints; the suggested possibility of assimilating the air of our climate to that of other climates known to be beneficial to particular diseases, so converting it into a curative agent before it is breathed by the patient—

these offer a vast field of investigation, and perhaps a rich harvest of relief to a multitude of sufferers. Few and shallow as yet are the furrows which science and medicine, working hand in hand, have driven in that great field. In another country a munificent endowment has been given by a patriotic citizen for a systematic investigation of the nature and treatment of consumption.<sup>1</sup> But consumption is only one of the diseases which come within the scope of treated air. Already, happily, the first experiment in this greater subject has been tried, the first results achieved and demonstrated, in England—in London. If we stand still, and the organised investigations of American science and medicine should in the end point to this as the true line of progress, what will then remain to be said of us here in England? That, shutting our eyes to the light, we were content to lag behind, to follow only where others led the way, and to leave the credit of a great achievement to a more enterprising and more generous nation.

The necessity of the case arises from two causes, the one natural, the other artificial but permanent; for the conditions of our population as to residence are not less fixed than those of our climate.

Our climate is not all bad. It is a question whether on the whole any other could have been of greater advantage. We are still surprised at times at its behaviour, as though not yet perfectly familiar with it. But as a fact we are acclimatised, not perhaps in the sense of our trees and vegetation, or of some extinct race of aborigines for whom the climate was made and who were made for the climate. We are not grown in it as a race; but after some centuries of habitation we have grown to it. The asperities of the British climate did not drive our imperial conquerors from their cherished Ultima Thule; and successive races of invaders have held it dear. Indeed, they have thriven and prospered, enduring climatic hardship to a good purpose, it would seem. Some enthusiasts hold that it is the best of climates. It has promoted open-air life and sport; and it was in England that the Open Air treatment was first preached by Bodington, and in Ireland by MacCormac, long before the crusade against consumption. Undeniably it has kept us a strong race. 'Physical deterioration,' which is under investigation by a Royal Commission, is really due not to the operation of climatic influences, but to their partial suspension by artificial conditions of life. Nor is our climate devoid of moral effect in the formation of the national quality of patience. 'Temperate,' in a technical sense, its merciless variability is a mental as well as physical discipline. It is a 'universal exerciser' not only for the body but the mind, preparing us to sur-

<sup>1</sup> The Henry Phipps Institute, at Philadelphia; an admirable instance of the endowment of a fully-equipped institute for the progressive study of the prevention and cure of a single disease, until that disease shall be rendered preventable and curable.

mount obstacles and endure disappointments which we cannot foresee, and stimulating us like the rigid alternations of the hot and cold water douche.

It is not, however, with the virtues but the shortcomings of our climate that we are now concerned. Good as it is for health, it is also good for the prevalence and development of some of our diseases—so good, in fact, that we may classify them for the present purpose as climatic diseases. We have got rid of ague; not, it is significant to note, by treating the complaint, but by treating its cause. Land drainage would banish ague even from the swamps of Africa. But consumption, with its insidious approach, its long delay, its fatal end; rheumatism, rearing heart disease for so many; kidney disease, in its chronic form; bronchial diseases, lightly termed 'affections'; gout, with its evil connections—for all these the best cure is climate, of another kind.

Thousands of fortunate people pursue that cure, on the Riviera, at Davos, in Colorado, Mexico, and many other places too numerous to mention, where special virtues have been found in the climate. Yet there remain hundreds of thousands, the vast majority of the sufferers, whose means do not and never will enable them to leave this country, who are thrown back ceaselessly on its climatic disadvantages, and compelled to carry on a long and often hopeless struggle with a natural and native foe. Their helplessness appeals to us, and should not appeal in vain if, as we believe, a great measure of emancipation is consistent with economic conditions that cannot be altered.

It is the story of Mahomet and the mountain. If the patient cannot visit other climates, the air of other climates should be brought to the patient. The elemental forces in the air of those climates which make for cure exist in part in ours, but Nature has made them subordinate to other and less favourable forces; science may suppress these and bring forward those. If they do not exist, science may some day produce them. Then to some extent in any building, however large, more completely in an enclosed cubic space, the patient would be enabled to breathe air which by scientific treatment had been assimilated in its essential properties to the air of health resorts thousands of miles distant from England.

This proposition, startling as it may sound, is already passing out of the stage of theory. At an institution<sup>2</sup> known for its successful treatment of wounds, ulcers, and lupus by oxygen and ozone, a significant example has been given by the erection of enclosed cubicles, in which consumptive patients breathe treated air, and are subjected to conditions analogous to those which cure consumption at places like Davos or Tenerife. We learn that encouraging

<sup>2</sup> The Oxygen Hospital, Fitzroy Square, under the patronage of H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll.



results have been observed, such as the reduction of temperature, the disappearance of tubercle bacilli, the relief of cough, and the increase of weight. This is mentioned as an illustration, and because it is only fair not to overlook any credit attaching to a first experiment. Its originator would probably be the last to claim that in its present stage it contains more than the germ of a great movement.

Let us examine very briefly the possibilities that lie within the range of a more complete and organised development of this great reserve of our natural resources. The cure of consumption is among the hardest of our tasks, and more than we could venture to hope for as a result of any one system of treatment. But it is less difficult to realise the protection that might be afforded against rheumatism, heart disease, and kidney disease by mitigating certain properties in the atmosphere that surrounds the patient. If treated air should prove, with the co-operation of other hygienic factors, of great value in these and other ailments, it would solve the economic or social difficulty inseparable from a population like ours, of which only a small percentage of sufferers can visit other climates. It would meet another difficulty which attends the Open Air treatment at home. It is applicable to London and other great towns, where the great majority of the sick cannot, for want of means, be sent to open air sanatoria in the country. As a form of treatment it could find its domicile in every town hospital. It would not remove the patient from the centre of science and medicine, but would place the best resources of these at his disposal, and enrich and develop them by the opportunities afforded for observation and study.

Mention has already been made of the variety of diseases, widely prevalent in this country, which might be brought within the range of a systematic investigation of the possibilities of treated air. When we consider how numerous and diverse those possibilities are, we are justified in saying that at present little is known and little has been done in this direction, and in asking if we can calmly contemplate a continuance of our inactivity and ignorance. We have purified water; distilled, aerated, and medicated it. We use it for purposes of cure in every variety that nature can provide or science can apply. What has been done for air, beyond mechanical ventilation, modifying or increasing the abundance of its supply without any improvement in its quality? Compressed air and rarefied air have been used. Establishments exist for the inhalation of steam and medicinal vapours. Oxygen, too, has been summoned to the aid of the sick. But these have been casual expedients of the nature of 'sittings.' Nowhere, save in the instance already mentioned, have the means been provided of continuous application by enabling the patient to live for a given time in treated air.

The main constituents and the main qualities of air are well known. Its finer constituents and qualities are only now gaining recognition.

The temperature, the moisture, and the pressure of the atmosphere have already been submitted to control ; and it might even now be possible to provide within a limited cubic space a succession of artificial atmospheres differing in their value for purposes of treatment. But the finer characters of natural climates—for instance, their tonic or their relaxing quality—are not wholly to be explained on so simple a basis. As the proportion of oxygen, nitrogen, and carbonic acid is known to show hardly any local variations, these subtle climatic properties possibly depend upon the more variable influence of light, of electricity, of magnetism, and of the latest of our additions to the attributes of air, radio-activity. The recent observations made in Switzerland that the air at a moderate altitude is several times more radio-active than in the valley favour the hope that a future elucidation of the mysteries of climate may result from a study of the physical agents already known to us, and of others yet to be discovered. • •

Is it not clear from this brief survey that the field of investigation before us is vast and varied, and that the treatment of air may become at least as important as the Open Air treatment? The two subjects are closely connected, and it is a question whether the Open Air treatment, in this country at least, can have the fair trial its great possibilities demand, without being complemented by an efficient control of the condition of the air itself. Extremes of cold or heat, of damp or dryness, mists and fogs, constant changes of wind, cannot be regarded as a helpful part of the treatment, and need to be eliminated. The relative quality of local climates is another important consideration. Above all, it must not be forgotten that the suitability of the climate is an individual question. It is well known that even Davos does not suit all cases of consumption, and the best of health resorts would be the better for facilities for modifying its local atmosphere to meet individual indications. •

No inquiry into this matter can fail to open up an important question affecting the construction both of our sanatoria and our town hospitals. In the former provision for suitable air is not a care of the future, but of the present. Sanatoria must live up to their name. With cure as their object they must follow every advance, if they cannot lead it, and provide for each condition the best air that science can produce. Have they been planned with this progressive end in view ? • •

The suitability of our older hospitals for the Open Air method, including all the improvements in it which are within sight, is another anxious matter. From this aspect alone, irrespective of any new departure which further discoveries may at any time force upon us, there is a certain responsibility in planning monumental hospitals of a durability 'worthy of the Romans' instead of lighter buildings not intended to survive so long their inevitable obsolescence. Within the near future our ideas as to the internal distribution of space and of wards

may undergo modification in connection with the necessity for extending an improved application of the Open Air principle, and of supplying not damaging but healing air. Have our hospitals been designed to include this purpose?

To elucidate all these problems and satisfy their requirements, prolonged and systematic investigation and patient observations are necessary. The result may bring us to the strange conclusion that after all the best treatment for our climatic diseases is the only one possible to the vast majority of those who suffer from them, to stay at home; and the best sanatorium one where every facility for aërotherapy may in the future be obtainable.

If, by sufficient study, we could ultimately learn to treat the air so as to fairly reproduce for practical purposes of treatment the virtues of various climates, a great advance would have been made. And, besides imitating climates artificially, we might in the future be able to create climates to suit the individual requirement just as we regulate the dose of medicine or of electricity, by varying the supply of the normal constituents and qualities of air and by adding beneficial agents. To analyse the factors in the air of a climate might enable us to compound it as we compound a chemical body. That this treatment of the atmosphere is a practical possibility is becoming known to men of science; that it is worth doing will be obvious to physicians; that it is being tried has already been shown. How soon it shall be tried on an adequate scale is a question for the nation. The range of investigation which in the future is open to us in this direction is boundless.

It remains to suggest and, not without hesitation, to formulate a scheme by which the conclusions arrived at might be embodied in a great national enterprise.

It is strange that in an age illuminated by its discoveries pure science has as yet done so little for health. Though we may not be so enthusiastic as Metchnikoff about prolonging life, still we may hope for some improvement if we know how to earn it. Hitherto medicine has gleaned rather than reaped in the fields of science, or has caught here and there a casual seed which was to fructify under its own care. There is an illimitable harvest, if only men of pure science are secured as practical associates in our work. They are the explorers fully equipped. Agents of progress themselves, their collaboration with its other agents should be a direct one. A new organisation is needed, in which pure science should be given the place it alone can fill. This should include scientific men in working combination with the men who have practical experience in the actual treatment of disease. To assist the cure of the sick and suffering might then become a welcome function of the man of science, as it is the professional duty of the medical man.

The practical requisites for such a scheme would be—

1. A Hospital for the treatment of disease with the help of atmospheric as well as other agents ; not necessarily a very large or costly hospital, for special construction and equipment would be more important than size. A hospital is the only place where clinical and therapeutical methods can be applied with systematic thoroughness, so that the results can be identified with the factors of treatment, and the knowledge thus gained diffused far and wide with authority.

2. An Institute for the study of atmospheric hygiene in relation to (a) the treatment of disease, (b) the improvement of the health and strength of the healthy. The institute would be worked in connection with the hospital, and would represent on a large scale the functions of the clinical and pathological laboratories attached to an ordinary hospital. The staff of the institute might consist of (a) a consultative board, including, in addition to physicians and surgeons, men eminent in each branch of science : physicists, chemists, physiologists, electricians, radiographers, architects, engineers, and others ; (b) a smaller group of experts to collaborate with the medical staff.

Need we ask what would be gained by such a combination ? All problems of treatment involving chemistry or physics would be studied and worked out in their various aspects, including the practical side of finance, by the highest authorities of the institute, and, if judged practicable, their final elaboration carried out by the joint scientific and medical staff of the hospital. In this way, for the first time, pure science would be handling the practical work of healing.

A *résumé* of these ideas, which are probably novel to most, may be of service to the reader.

No new cure for consumption or for any other diseases is contained in these pages. Their object is to reveal the extent to which our knowledge and our use of curative agencies available in a promising direction have been unnecessarily delayed.

Open Air, the greatest of all modern advances in the treatment of consumption, can never be superseded ; it only needs to be improved and, if necessary, supplemented. Its application extends far beyond consumption. But our open air does not always suit our chief ailments so well as open air elsewhere at selected stations.

The advantage of climate as a protection or as a cure should not remain the exclusive privilege of the few ; some equivalent at least should be provided for the many.

This national duty is specially a London duty, for in London, with its millions of breathers of used-up air and with its miles of contaminated atmosphere, it is combined with another national duty—that of stopping the deterioration of the race, and of providing for the healthy development of the young. This necessarily involves as a first essential a progressive study how to improve the air we breathe in the sick-room, in the sleeping-room, in the school-room, and in the workshop.

The difficult task of producing special atmospheres for the prevention or relief of some of our climatic diseases, for which special climates are distinctly beneficial, is beyond the unaided powers of medical art. "It could not be successfully attempted without a systematic collaboration between the representatives of pure science and practical engineering and those of medicine. This calls for an institute for the experimental study of atmospheric hygiene in all its aspects, combined with a hospital for practical observation and treatment, not limited to any one system, but capable of readjustment to every future advance. Under such a combination problems relating to the construction and plant of hospitals and sanatoria, as well as those of medical treatment, which have not hitherto been submitted conjointly to comparative study, would be continuously worked at, and the results made available for all charitable institutions throughout the land.

Labour and delay are inseparable from the attainment of practical results in the treatment of disease, and still more in connection with atmospheric hygiene as relating to the ventilation of houses and towns. This twofold necessity strengthens the claim for prompt action. For solid clinical results, however, we may not have to wait so long. A hospital duly equipped would from the first be fulfilling an urgent work of relief, on those less complicated lines which have already been found successful, and any other simple lines to come. To generous supporters of the scheme this would be an immediate reward. It would encourage and sustain those engaged in the weary work of research, and provide the first fruits of that matured and systematic co-operation between medicine and science for which this article is an earnest appeal.

WILLIAM EWART.

## *THE POLITICAL WOMAN IN AUSTRALIA*

UNDER the laws of most countries women possess no legal rights, no political freedom; they do enjoy certain privileges, but of these they may be deprived at any moment by the same power that granted them—the ballot is the only weapon with which to secure and retain legal and political rights. ‘Advance Australia’ is our national motto, and we Australian women have good reason to glory in the advance of our country, which, in granting women absolute political equality with men, has reached a position unique in the world’s history. Philosophers, poets, and statesmen have rhapsodised about the beauty and the blessing of representative government, but few have pictured women as co-partners in such a form of government. America was the birthplace of modern democracy, but America has never dreamt in its philosophy of applying the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence to American women. No, it has been left to the newest of nations to admit that as ‘men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,’ so shall women be endowed with the rights that are considered the just due of sane, law-abiding, naturalised men.

The Australian constitution has no sex limitations whatever; women vote on equal terms with men, they are eligible for membership in our National Parliament, they may even ascend to the dignity of office. That the constitution establishes the principle of no sex in politics is an unparalleled triumph for the woman suffrage party, which does not forget to give honour where honour is due, to the men of Australia, who have grown so far in democratic sentiment that they can tolerate the idea of living with political equals, an idea up to which John Stuart Mill said the men of his time were not educated.

It says a great deal for the educative value of the vote that the prejudice against women entering Parliament is more pronounced amongst women than it is amongst men. It took about twenty years to educate the women of Australia up to the point of asking for the franchise, and they are going to stick there for some time before they go any further. Nothing dies so hard as prejudice, and it is prejudice

alone that blinds them to the fact that it is necessary and desirable to have women in Parliament. The vote in itself is a powerful weapon for good, but men, as the result of years of experience, have discovered that direct parliamentary representation is essential if full effect is to be given to the vote: they know that the entrance of women into Parliament is the natural and logical outcome of the minor reform; therefore, they do not view with such horror, as do many women, the prospect of seeing women within the sacred precincts of Parliament. Indeed, it is because the sacredness of Parliament is such a myth that so many public-spirited men desire to see women there. They well know the limitations of their own sex. It always has been the 'privilege' of woman to tidy up after man. Man seems to be constitutionally unable to keep things tidy. Take the daily round, the common task—he leaves the bathroom in a state of flood, his dressing-room a howling wilderness of masculine paraphernalia, his office a chaos of ink and papers; the wonder is he 'gets there' so well as he does. Untidy at home, untidy in business, so is he untidy in the nation; he does his best, but as he does not understand the first principles of household management, he gets the national household into a terrible state of muddle. He is so busy looking after the big things, that he forgets all about the little things that make the big things a success, instead of a failure. And so the women have to come along and help to evolve order out of chaos; but they suffer no illusions as to the magnitude of their task. The work of tidying up public affairs is not the work of a day, nor of a generation; it is primarily a matter of slow education, which must begin in the home and be founded on an ethical basis. Some think that, if women do their duty in their homes, nothing further is required, no public duty should be expected of them; but women cannot train their sons and daughters in the varied, complex, and sacred duties of citizenship unless they possess a first-hand knowledge of what citizenship means. Women are not made safe advisers of their children by being kept ignorant of all that citizenship involves. Public spirit is a great need of the age. We wonder why public affairs are so badly managed; it is partly because those who conduct them have been trained by women who had no conception of public duty, who knew not the meaning of public spirit, who, consequently, could not be expected to equip their sons properly for the public arena. Give women the vote and you prepare the way for a new order of things; by giving women political power you give them an incentive to study, or at least to interest themselves in public questions, and the effect of their enlarged interests will be beneficial both to home and State.

The political incentive is now the possession of the women of Australia, and its influence was a potent factor in the recent Federal elections. The women of South Australia and West Australia have had the suffrage for some years, so that they are accustomed to voting,

but to the women of the other States the whole business was new ; nevertheless, they voted in as large numbers proportionally as the men in a majority of the constituencies, while in some they cast a heavier vote than the men. The total vote was only 52 per cent. of the voting strength, the low percentage being due to the fact that the people as a body have not yet grasped the Federal idea. Federation has not completely scotched provincialism in politics, though it is fast doing so, if for no other reason than the enormous cost of government in this country. The people are beginning to realise that we are paying the political piper heavily—fourteen Houses of Parliament and seven viceroynalties for four millions of people ! It is too big an order, and common sense, as well as the state of our finances, demands that we should simplify our legislative machinery. It is right here, as the Americans say, that the women's influence will tell. During the election campaign, it was most evident that a very large section of the women favoured those candidates who urged economy in public expenditure. Individual women, with no idea of the value of money, may be extravagant, but most women are compelled by circumstances to be economical and have a horror of wasteful expenditure. Therefore the growing demand for less expensive legislative machinery will find devoted adherents amongst the women voters. As a candidate at the recent elections, I attribute to a great degree the large measure of support I received to my strong advocacy of economy in administration (by the abolition of the State Parliaments, dividing the work now done by them between the Federal Parliament and the Municipal councils), and the cessation of borrowing except for reproductive works.

'Women will vote as their menfolk tell them,' was an argument of the anti-suffrage party. The elections proved that, on the whole, the women cast an independent vote. Of course they frequently voted as their menfolk did, not because they allowed themselves to be blindly led in that direction, but because their political judgment decided it was the right way. We know that men often vote as they are told to vote by their party, or by the particular daily paper they make their guide, philosopher, and friend. Many did so in the Federal elections, swallowing wholesale the selected 'ticket,' even bringing it to the booth with them, so that they could not by any chance make a mistake. Several returning officers, although opposed to woman suffrage, have stated that the women were not guided by the 'ticket' to anything like the same extent as the men were—at any rate, if they were, they more effectively concealed the fact that they could not be trusted to vote in the best interests of their country unless they were told how to by an outside agent. The political parties and the daily papers have of late years made an effort to introduce the 'ticket' system of voting into Australian politics, in spite of the knowledge that the system has had the most vicious results in the United States ;



but this time the 'tickets' got fairly well broken up, an encouraging sign to those genuinely patriotic Australians who desire to see the people really self-governing, neither press-ridden nor party-ridden. The 'ticket' system is utterly repugnant to all true democratic principles. Parliament should be elected by the people, not by one man or any small coterie of men. The people's 'ticket' should be the candidates who head the poll.

If the people of Australia once clearly grasp the inevitable and baneful results of the 'ticket' system, if it be allowed to get the upper hand, as it has done in the United States, then we shall have no fear of the ultimate result. Bad as are its effects, when it is merely an attempt at dictation, it is, if allowed to grow and become absolute, a thousand times worse in its consequences on the national character and the purity of public life. Australia will not be able to plead ignorance, for there is the terrible example of what the 'ticket' system leads to in the present condition of public life in America. No one who has not visited America and studied the conditions on the spot can have any idea of how corruption has eaten into every phase of public life—a corruption which is to be clearly traced to the machine politics and 'tickets' of the two great parties there. The promoters of great companies, the founders of 'trusts,' all who were anxious to build up gigantic fortunes by the unscrupulous exploitation of their fellow-countrymen, soon recognised the power that lay in the 'ticket' system. They saw that, if they could capture the caucuses of the parties, they would have the whole country in their toils, whenever their own party was successful. They had no desire to enter the State Legislature or Congress themselves, but they planned that the men who were put on the 'tickets' should be their delegates, their creatures, who would do what they were told, and they planned successfully. Millions of dollars are subscribed to the party funds, newspapers are bought, bribes are scattered with lavish hands, for these men know that they will get it all back, with compound interest, when they can manipulate the Legislature at their will.

Thoughtful men in Australia are beginning to see the danger and resent the tyranny of the 'ticket' system, and an organised movement against it will certainly be supported by the women. In fact, the women of New South Wales and Victoria have, through the media of their most influential political organisations, already officially declared their hostility to the system, and at the next Federal elections we may hope to see those who would foist 'machine' politics upon Australia even more decisively discomfited than they were in December.

'Women will lose the chivalrous attentions of men if they are enfranchised' was another argument of the distrustful anti-suffragist. To the women who are influenced by such a prophecy of man falling from his high estate when he finds woman his political equal, I would say, 'My dear friends, your fears are groundless. You place a high

value on the chivalrous attentions that men now show you. Why, you have not the remotest idea of the vast stores of chivalry hidden away in the inner recesses of man's nature. When you get a vote, you will find that the chivalry of the middle ages was a poor thing in comparison with that of the twentieth century. The chivalrous attentions paid by candidates to women voters are most embarrassing—Sir Walter Raleighs and De Lorges are thick as leaves in Vallombrosa at election time.' But, joking apart, there is positively nothing in the argument, and those who use it have a poor opinion of men if they really believe that as soon as women get the vote, men are going to help themselves first at dinner, or refuse to pick up a lady's fan or escort her to her carriage. Voting means responsibility, responsibility means power, and power always commands respect. The Federal election showed that those very candidates who had previously maintained that women would lose the respect of men and be degraded by going to the poll were the most assiduous in courting the women's vote. They may have still the utmost contempt for the women who would degrade themselves by mixing with men at the polling booths, but they wrapped it up in flattery that was calculated to deceive the very elect—and it did, in some cases.

The elections had an added interest in the appearance of four women candidates in the field—Mrs. Martell, Mrs. Moore (New South Wales), myself (Victoria), standing for the Senate; and Miss Selina Anderson (New South Wales) for the House of Representatives. All were defeated, but the defeat was not unexpected, as we were well aware that it would be altogether phenomenal if women were to succeed in their first attempt to enter a National Parliament. I do not know the salient features of the women candidates' campaign in New South Wales, so I shall confine my observations to my own candidature. I was nominated by the Women's Federal Political Association of Victoria, of which I am the President, and I accepted the nomination, because I saw at once what a splendid educational value the campaign would have. Although we possess the suffrage, there are still many women who do not want it, do not see why they should be bothered with it, but they only need to have the case for woman suffrage stated to them to accept it. At present they take the views of the hostile press and the comic papers as the truth about the political woman, but when they hear the logic and the sweet reasonableness of woman suffrage, when they see that those who voice it have nothing abnormal about them, especially when they learn what their legal status is, they soon become members of the true political faith. I knew that I should attract very much larger audiences as a candidate than if I were advertised to give a lecture on woman's part in the Federal elections or some such subject. I believed that the people would come out of curiosity, and not as single spies but in battalions, to see the wild woman that sought to enter Parliament. They came, they

saw, I conquered : that is, my arguments did ; for no thinking, fair-minded man or woman can hold out for five minutes against the arguments for woman suffrage unless, indeed, they seek to deny the right of self-government, and in these days of storm and stress one has no time to waste in arguing with such people. The arguments for woman suffrage are also the arguments for women entering Parliament, and thus I killed two birds with one stone—I broke down the prejudice against woman suffrage and against women members of Parliament. My audiences numbered from 500 to 1500 people, according to the capacity of the hall. Two or three times the atmosphere was perceptibly chilly as I took the platform, though there was never any outward expression of hostility. However, before the close of these meetings I can emphatically say that I had the majority of the audiences with me on the question of a woman going into Parliament. They may not have agreed with my political views ; they did agree that it is necessary for women to enter Parliament in order to voice the needs of women and children, and my meetings always broke up with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of good will. Frequently my friends were rather fearful as to how I should fare at the hands of those electors who attend election meetings for the express purpose of giving the candidate a bad time. They came, but they treated me as men at all worthy of the name will always treat a woman—with the utmost courtesy. Of course I was invariably asked the question, ‘ Are you in favour of a tax on bachelors ? ’ As I am an unmarried woman, this question was considered the joke of the evening ; but when I replied that ‘ I should be exceedingly sorry to accept any proposal that would be likely to encourage *some* men to get married,’ the questioner, having an uncomfortable feeling that he might be included amongst the undesirables, generally concluded it was safer to get back to the domain of practical politics. Addressing crowded, orderly, good-humoured, enthusiastic audiences is a delight to a public speaker, and I can truthfully say that I thoroughly enjoyed my campaign. There were eighteen candidates in the field, and, while unsuccessful, my record of 51,497 votes, when 85,387 were sufficient to secure election, is most gratifying. I polled more heavily than one candidate who has been Premier of Victoria, and than another who had been for twenty-six years a member of the State Legislature, defeating the one by 24,327, the other by 32,436 votes—51,000 odd votes, in spite of the opposition of the powerful daily papers, and the prejudice that a pioneer always has to encounter, is nothing less than a triumph for the cause that I represent, the cause of women and children.

That many women not pledged supporters of the Labour party voted for some, if not all, of the Labour candidates, is strongly deprecated by the other rival parties. It would have been strange had they done otherwise, considering that it is primarily due to the Labour

party that woman suffrage is such a live question in Australia. There have up to the present been three political parties here—Free-traders, Protectionists, Labour—we have no strongly defined Conservative and Liberal parties. The Free-traders and Protectionists have been so wedded to their respective fiscal theories that they have deemed everything except the tariff of minor importance. Bent on securing material prosperity, either by means of high tariff, or revenue tariff, or no tariff, they forgot to be just to the women of Australia. The Labour party in each State, whether Protectionist or Free-trade, placed woman suffrage first; it fought hard for it, in and out of Parliament; consequently, owing nothing to the other political parties, we are not likely to forget the party through which woman suffrage has been made a question of practical politics throughout Australia, instead of remaining, as in other countries, the four suffrage States in America excepted, a purely academic question. I do not believe that woman suffrage will ever become a vital question in other countries until it is made a fighting plank of the Labour party's platform. Recent political history teaches us that every real reform affecting human liberties and human rights has come as the result of agitation by the people's party, and the Labour party is essentially the people's party. These reforms have only been advocated by one of the orthodox political parties after popular enthusiasm has been aroused by the friends of the people. Social, and industrial, and political reforms are only won through the enthusiasm that bitter suffering creates. Most men and women who are tolerably well circumstanced are content to glide along the surface of life. It is those to whom hard work brings little but anxiety and suffering, or those in whom sympathy and imagination are well developed, who strive to bring about a better, a juster social order. Many supporters of woman suffrage are found amongst English Liberals and Conservatives, but as parties they ignore the principle; the last Trades Union Congress defeated a woman suffrage proposition by the narrow margin of seven votes, and that because there was a property qualification advocated instead of 'plain' womanhood. So it seems as if our experience will be the experience of the women of England. They will look in vain to the orthodox parties to fight their battles for them. The Labour party will come forward and present a united front in favour of their enfranchisement; then it will dawn upon either a Conservative or a Liberal Government that it will be a popular political expedient to declare for woman suffrage, and the women of Great Britain will find themselves the political equals of their sisters in this country.

The enfranchisement of the women of Australia has already given an impetus to the woman suffrage movement in other countries. Last year a suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters in the State of New Hampshire, U.S.A., when it secured a larger measure of support than has previously been accorded to a similar amendment in

an Eastern State. Only last week the news was cabled from England that a woman suffrage deputation from the Women's Liberal Federation had been received by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and Mr. John Morley, who, while they did not commit the party to the reform, expressed themselves in favour of it. Similar action has previously been taken by women's political societies in England, similar expressions of approval have been voiced by leading members of the House of Commons, but never has it been considered worth while cabling such news to Australia, which would have been of great interest to the woman suffrage party here. But now that we have got the suffrage, it is held to be important to let us know that the question is also being placed before English statesmen. 'In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim,' and we rejoice to know that our great suffrage gain is helping other women in their struggle for liberty. Our Australia is a baby nation as yet, but she begins life as no other nation has begun it; she begins with equal rights for men and women.

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

*Melbourne, February 1904.*

## *THE CAPTURE OF LHASA IN 1710*

THE capture of Lhasa by the Eleuths at the beginning of the eighteenth century has been quite overlooked in the recent voluminous literature on the Tibet question. Perhaps the explanation is that it belongs to the least carefully studied period of Asiatic history. The incident deserves to be rescued from oblivion at a time when, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, the same task now lies before the soldiers of the Indian Government as was successfully accomplished by the hordes of Tse Wang Rabdan. This chieftain, whose name will be unfamiliar to the general reader, was one of the greatest rulers that Central Asia ever produced, defying with no inconsiderable success Russia on one side and the famous Chinese Emperor Kanghi on the other. It is not a little curious that our principal authority on the subject of the campaign in Tibet that we are about to describe should be a Russian traveller, Unkoffsky, who visited the Eleuth capital not long after the event, and of whose narrative in Russian there is a copy in the British Museum library.

The century which closed with the Eleuth invasion in 1710 was the most important in the history of Tibet, for it witnessed the disappearance of the old reigning dynasty, the establishment of the power of the Dalai Lama in its place, the expulsion of the military faction, and the arrival of the first Chinese garrison. In earlier times Tibet had been ruled by a line of princes who had waged war and made peace on equal terms with the Emperors of China, and the last king was reigning during at least the first twenty years of the seventeenth century. Father Andrada, the missionary who visited Tibet about that time, speaks of the king's leanings towards Christianity, and perhaps this was the final cause of the downfall of his dynasty. Until the year 1625 the Buddhist priests had been content with their priestly duties. They had kept to their monasteries and prayer-wheels, and although the transmigration of the eternal spirit of Buddha through a child was always the essential feature in the recognition and proclamation of the head of the Tibetan Church, the name of the Dalai Lama had not been heard of until the first Manchu Emperor, Chuntche, conferred it on the High Priest of Potola in or about the year 1650.

But for some time previous to that event the priests had been

striving to obtain the control of the civil government, and the compliments and presents of the Manchu ruler, still insecurely seated on the throne of Peking, were the recognition of their success. They had come out of their monasteries and entered the political arena. Assuming the Yellow Cap as their distinctive mark in contrast to the Red Cap of the military party, which then enjoyed the ascendancy, they entered upon a struggle for power which covered the first fifty years of the seventeenth century, for it commenced in the life of the last of the kings. The Yellow Caps enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Chinese, but it is not easy to fix precisely the value of their aid, for China herself was passing through the throes of the last Tartar conquest. On the other hand the Red Caps, too confident in their strength, did not seek assistance in any direction, and when at length the priests, pouring out of the lamaseries in thousands, bore down on them, they ended the struggle by sheer weight of numbers, and the surviving Red Caps had no alternative but to flee into the Himalayan State of Bhutan, where they still enjoy the supremacy that they lost in Tibet. The Jongpin who visited Colonel Younghusband's camp the other day would in all probability be the descendant of one of these Tibetan soldiers who were expelled over 250 years ago by the Lamas. This event happened in or a little before 1649, and the Chinese Emperor's edict conferring on the High Priest of Potola the title of Dalai Lama—meaning Ocean Lama, because his learning was supposed to be equally vast—was the formal recognition of the triumph of the Yellow Caps.

The Lamas, having expelled the regular rulers of the country, had to provide for a new government. A civilian official with the title of the Tipa was given charge of the civil and military administration in the name of the Dalai Lama. The first Tipa, of whom Duhalde wrote :— ' This Tipa wore the dress of a lama without having to be subject to the heavy obligations of the order '—was the man who had chiefly aided the priests in getting rid of their military rivals. His son in due course succeeded to his authority, and, being a man of great ambition, he was not content with even the slight and nominal control of the Dalai Lama. An opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The first Dalai Lama died in 1682, and the Tipa then took steps to prevent the discovery of his successor. In other words, he suppressed the office of Dalai Lama, but while acting thus arbitrarily he carefully concealed the truth of the case from the Emperor Kanghi, the new ruler of China. The Tipa imposed so skilfully on the Chinese ruler that he received as a reward for his loyal and useful services to the Dalai Lama the title of Prince of Tibet—Tibet Wang—at the hands of Kanghi. The fraud was not discovered for sixteen years. In 1698 the facts became known at Peking, and the indignation and astonishment of the Emperor on discovering that he had been imposed upon found relief in a series of admirably composed letters and edicts

which the curious reader will find in the interesting pages of the Abbé Duhalde.

The Tipa, having tasted the sweets of power, was determined not to lose it without an effort, and he looked about him to see who could render him aid. Even before he was discovered he had negotiated a treaty with Galdan, then at the height of his power and more than holding his own against the Chinese. It looks as if it were the discovery of their correspondence that first made Kanghi dubious of the Tipa's good faith. But although Galdan was not at all unwilling to profit by the success of the Tipa, he was not in a position to render him any definite support, and without external support it was soon made evident that the Tipa could not maintain his position. The lamas looked to China, and the suppression of their religious head was not at all to their liking. When Kanghi wrote that the true Dalai Lama must be found, they quickly fixed upon the suitable child. The Tipa fell from his seat of power, and was promptly dealt with as an insubordinate officer. No difficulty was found in getting rid of him. One of his own lieutenants, to whom, as a reward for the deed, was given the title of Latsan Khan, killed him at the first opportunity.

The death of Galdan while these occurrences were going on produced a lull in the march of rival policies in Central Asia. The Chinese, satisfied with tranquillity, took no steps, while the new king of the Eleuths hesitated as to the direction in which he should turn his energy. This potentate was Tse Wang Rabdan, and in extenuation of his restless turbulence it must be allowed that the Chinese armies under their Manchu leaders had advanced far into the Gobi desert, crushed the Khalkas on the Kerulon, and threatened to overrun Kashgaria and Kuldja. The offensive measures of Tse Wang Rabdan might then be justified on the ground that in a strict sense they were really defensive. In the time of Galdan the struggle had been carried on chiefly round the modern town of Urga. The new turn of the political wheel brought Tibet into prominence. Tse Wang Rabdan determined to put an end to Chinese influence in that country by capturing the Dalai Lama and carrying him off to Ili. The scheme was a bold one, and it would undoubtedly have succeeded if the young Dalai Lama, discovered as a child in 1698 or 1699, had been left at Lhasa. His timely removal to Sining was the sole cause of the failure of the Eleuth King in accomplishing his main object.

Before we take up the description of the military expedition, the facts that have been mentioned suggest a few pertinent observations on the present situation, that has so much practical interest for us and for the people of India. In a debate in the House of Lords on the 26th of February Lords Ripon and Rosebery made speeches in which the dominant note was incredulity as to the feasibility of Russian intervention in Tibet. The former appealed to the natural difficulties described by Dr. Sven Hedin, the latter questioned the likelihood



of any convention having been signed between Russians and Tibetans. Both were disposed to represent that any apprehensions of outside interference in Tibet, other, of course, than Chinese, rested on an illusory foundation. We may refer these statesmen to the history of Tibet from, let us say, 1690 to 1710. Lord Ripon will see that Chereng Donduk with an army at his back was a more successful traveller than Sven Hedin. Lord Rosebery will admit that, if an Eleuth prince could not merely conclude an arrangement with Tibet but send an army to Lhasa to enforce it, the same achievement is not beyond the capacity of a European State in possession of practically the same base—viz. the major part of the old Eleuth country, while dominating beyond any possible disputation the rest.

To return to Tse Wang Rabdan. The Emperor Kanghi believed that the death of Galdan meant a more tranquil time on the side of Central Asia. He had no real love for those costly enterprises in the desert beyond the Great Wall. He recognised the ability of Galdan, but he counted on the balance of chances that his successor would not be his equal, for it is rarely in the world's history that 'Amurath to Amurath succeeds.' It happened, however, that the new chief of the Eleuths was no less ambitious and scarcely less able than his predecessor. But whereas Galdan had thought that the Chinese armies were to be driven back in the deserts of Mongolia, Tse Wang Rabdan came to the conclusion that the master-stroke might be dealt to Chinese influence and fame in Tibet. For this reason he recalled the treaty that the Tipa had concluded with his uncle, and resolved on exacting vengeance for the murder of his family's ally.

In 1709 he organised his forces for a protracted expedition. Organising meant for him the collection of a sufficient number of camels, and he advanced at the head of his army to Lob Nor or its neighbourhood. Here he learnt that the young Dalai Lama had been carried off for safety to Sining on the borders of Shensi, and as his main object was to capture the person of the priest ruler of Tibet, he decided to divide his army into two bodies, leading one himself against Sining, and entrusting the other to the command of his brother or cousin Chereng Donduk for the express purpose of capturing Lhasa. The available authorities are uncertain as to the relationship between the Eleuth prince and Chereng or Zeren Donduk, but the probability is that they were only cousins. It will be convenient to mention at this point that Tse Wang Rabdan's attack on Sining was repulsed, or at all events that it failed of success, and thus the Dalai Lama personally escaped from the consequences of the capture and plunder of his capital.

The force with which Chereng Donduk marched from Lob Nor to Lhasa did not exceed 6000 men, and it is stated that it was accompanied by several thousand camels. Some of these carried swivel guns, which were discharged from their backs, but the bulk of them conveyed the provisions of the army. Unlike modern travellers,

the expedition made little of the difficulties encountered on the route. In the narrative of Chereng Donduk, as preserved by Gospodin Unkoffsky, there are no striking pictures of salt deserts or sandstorms, which makes one suspect that neither Colonel Prjevalsky nor Dr. Sven Hedin discovered the best route from the north into Tibet. The Eleuth army reached the district south of Tengri Nor without loss and in good condition. At some point between that lake and the capital it found the Tibetan forces drawn up to oppose its progress.

The Tibetan army of that day was not more formidable in a military sense than its antitype is now, but Latsan Khan—the Talai Han of Duhalde—had collected in some way or other a body of 20,000 men. Many of these were mercenaries from Mongolia or the Himalayas, and probably the bulk of those present were civilians or priests, ignorant of the use of arms, and brought there for the day merely to make a show. The advance of the Eleuth camel corps, and the noise if not the execution of the swivel guns, put the whole of the Tibetan force to the rout. It became a general *saue qui peut*, and in the confusion Latsan Khan, the Tibetan generalissimo, lost his life, probably at the hands of some of his own followers. Thus completely defeated at the first encounter, the Tibetan army never re-assembled. Military resistance to the Eleuth invaders was not again so much as attempted.

A few days after the fight near Tengri Nor the Eleuths reached and entered Lhasa. They entered without firing a shot, the pagodas and lamaseries were pillaged, an immense spoil was taken in the residence of the Dalai Lama at Potola, and then, having plundered several other towns in the valley which are not named, the Eleuth army prepared to return to Ili. In addition to the loot taken the Eleuths carried off a considerable number of lamas as prisoners. Duhalde affirms, with a certain degree of satisfaction at the troubles of rival priests, whom he calls elsewhere idolaters, that ‘all the lamas who could be found were put in sacks and strung across the backs of camels and thus carried off to Tartary.’

Two minor incidents in this campaign may be mentioned. The Eleuths found at Lhasa a Tartar (really Kirghiz) princess and her son, who had come, with the permission of the Russians, from their home in the Astrachan district to make the pilgrimage to the holy city of Tibet. She was the sister-in-law of Ayuka, the Tourgouth chief who had fled from Chinese territory, and whose grandson returned later on with his people to China, as described by De Quincey in his brilliant essay ‘The Flight of a Tartar Tribe.’ The presence of these interesting pilgrims is in its way evidence of the ease with which Lhasa could be reached from Russian territory. The second incident was the narrow escape from the invaders of the ‘lama missionaries,’ as Duhalde calls the Christian converts of his order, who were employed on the collection of the materials for the great map of Tibet, with which

the name of D'Anville was subsequently associated. They had only quitted Lhasa a few days when the Tartar hordes burst in upon it.

Unkoffsky, the Russian envoy to Tse Wang Rabdan, who visited his camp or capital in 1722, states that on this expedition the Eleuths suffered little or no loss. But their attack on Sining was repulsed, and the failure to secure the person of the Dalai Lama converted their daring invasion of Tibet into a mere plundering raid. But that does not diminish the value, as an object-lesson for the present day, of their capture of Lhasa.

In consequence of the Eleuth invasion, and the proof it afforded that the Tibetan lamas were unable to protect themselves, the Emperor Kanghi sent a Chinese garrison to Lhasa, and there was no further invasion of Tibet until 1790, when the Goorkhas entered the country and plundered Teshu Lumbo. The circumstances of that campaign, including the Chinese invasion of Nepaul and the imposition of a humiliating treaty on the Goorkhas near Khatmandu, are fairly well known.

Less well known is the contest between the Eleuths and the Russians that followed. Chereng Donduk therein gave further proof of the military skill with which he had conducted the march to Lhasa. The early relations of Russia and China are full of interesting matter. In the seventeenth century the Emperor of China styled himself 'the Czar's elder brother.' When the fort of Albazin was razed to the ground, and its residents—101 in number, with their priest, Maxime Leontieff—were carried off to Peking to found there the still existing colony, and to build the first Greek church in 1695, no one anticipated the complete inversion in their positions that has occurred within the last twenty years. Baffled on the Upper Amour, the next forward movement of the Russians was in the Kirghiz region towards the possessions of Tse Wang Rabdan. The gold-seeking mission of Prince Gagarine was followed by the establishment of several petty forts or blockhouses. His lieutenant, Bukholz, founded one of the more important of these, named Fort Yamishewa, on the stream Priasnukha, and Tse Wang Rabdan, finding its proximity irksome, sent Chereng Donduk to demolish it, and to expel or capture the foreigners. The Russians suffered some loss, but discreetly abandoned their fort and established themselves at a safer distance from the Eleuth ruler. This event happened in 1715 or 1716, and the mission of Unkoffsky was sent with the object of establishing more neighbourly relations.

On the principle that what has once been accomplished may be repeated, this brief record of a half-forgotten, or at least obscure, historical event may convince the British public that a Russian invasion of Tibet, by diplomatic missions in the first place and by armed force later on, is not the fantastic or impossible undertaking that so many persons have represented it to be.

## ISCHIA IN JUNE

IN these days of fevered excitement, the full 'harvest of a quiet eye' can but seldom be reaped and gathered in. The driving and driven twentieth century is always finding excuse for telephoning and telegraphing after us 'Hurry up!' One single fortnight, which is all that I was able to spend this summer at the Bagni di Casamicciola, in the island of Ischia, gives me but scant right to describe this paradise. When I say 'paradise,' I mean literally a garden; for such was our first and last impression of the island. Following the road up the hill from the landing-place in the direction of the principal hotels, past the little villas of Casamicciola, we were always struck anew by the rich luxuriance of vines, of orange and lemon trees; roses, carnations, and cactuses; and the brilliance of many a red geranium, tumbling in cataract adown the tier-planted terrace walls. In the early morning, the falls of deep blue convolvuli, escaping from the flower-beds over the wall, showed masses of blossoms, larger and finer than I have ever seen elsewhere. It is curious that whatever blossoms in this little island attains to larger size and richer colour. Soil and sun are exceptionally favourable. Ferns and flowers, some of them rare, grow wildly everywhere. I was told of a work I have not seen, which contains an account in Latin of the flora of the island, and mentions two or more plants belonging to tropical regions, but finding a congenial home in chasms near the *fumeoli*, whence issue hot vapours from the labouring furnaces below. For this garden rests on the bosom of a volcano. It is a child of the volcano, which, besides bestowing so rich a gift of fertile soil, is also so greatly beneficent in yielding the miraculously healing mineral waters, known and used by suffering humanity for more than two thousand years. Analyses of the various waters, or accounts of their curative action, may be found in a long line of authors, from Strabo down to Dr. Cox and his later *confrères*. The well-appointed Stabilimento di Bagni of Signor Manzi at Casamicciola (who, by the by, speaks English fluently, and whose wife is from Scotland) leaves nothing to be desired, and has been recently rearranged. There are other bathing-houses of a cheaper sort, and on the sea-shore is a large house of charity, 'Monte della Misericordia,' for sick

poor coming to be healed. At the time of our visit it was not yet open, the season not having commenced. This pious foundation has existed since the year 1604, when a small beginning was made by the sale of fragments gathered up from the remains of a high feast of the *jeunesse dorée* of that period.

I have often wished we could set against the total of those who have suffered in the earthquakes the incomparably greater number of cures and restorations to more or less happy existence of those who have benefited by the waters; and man has been far more cruel to his fellow man than ever has been Nature. It would be a grievous task to go through the history of the Neapolitan provinces, which has always found its echo in the neighbouring islands, and notably in Ischia. Tyranny, oppression, pillage, war—unreal words to most of us who run so glibly over them. The choice of King David might here give utterance to our conclusion: 'Let us fall into the hand of the Lord, for His mercies are great; and let me not fall into the hand of man.'

Since the last earthquake, in 1883, the new houses have been built under Government inspection, after a plan adopted in Calabria, and are held to be proof against earthquake shocks.

Our island is not a winter residence, for the winds are cold, and storms make it too often impossible for steamers to land their passengers and mails. In July and August it is cooler than in the immediate neighbourhood of Naples, and in the month of June we found it delightful. It was free from the tourists, who mostly come in the spring, and from the multitude of midsummer bathing guests. If the vineyards were not in the rich ripeness of autumn, the flowers were in their early summer freshness. The bright yellow Spanish broom, in blossom all over the island, seemed continually to greet us with heaven-sent laughter, as in innocent gladness of heart victorious over an infernal havoc of lava. I recall one specially typical picture of this prophetic triumph on the road leading downward from Barano to Ischia, near the vent in the mountain-side of the latest eruption of 1302. Wide-spreading black lava blocks contrasted with the brilliant golden splendour of the flowers of the genista, springing up, Heaven knows how, in the crevices, and all aglow in the kindred glory of a setting sun. The right was flanked by a grove of pine trees, with their dark green billowy masses of foliage, while ever and anon the castle rock of Ischia came into view at the end of a forest glade, and the expanse of deep blue summer sea sparkled below in varying tints and lights.

Suddenly we had come on a little valley dip crossed by an aqueduct, which conveys water to Ischia from the one only cold spring in the island. Higher up stands the fragment of an ancient oak—the only tree not of comparatively recent growth that I noticed; but some old inhabitants are probably to be found in the chestnut groves near

Barano. The island yields little or nothing for the ordinary food of man. Everything must be brought from the mainland. The peasants are very poor, and they emigrate in numbers every year to America, never to return, as in other parts of Italy.

Everywhere the land is so broken up into hills, and rocks, and chasms, that almost every turn affords a fresh vignette. Our explorations were limited to drives in the little *carrozzelle*, and there is a fairly good road all round the island.

Monte Epomeo, 2,616 feet above sea-level, unrolls a wide map at the foot of the climber; and what a map is here presented may be foretold by whoever has but some slight knowledge of the classic sites which lie around Naples—I should prefer to say, which lie around the tomb of the immortal poet, for this tomb of Virgil is the ideal spot in a city alike indolent and corrupt in the past and the present, and where bright beacons of a higher and productive life are but rare.

A bare mention of some of the renowned sites visible from the summit must suffice. The view was thus described to me by a nimble spirit who ascended the mountain:—Looking south is unfolded the entire Bay of Naples, with the well-known islands. Vesuvius, now slumbering, scarce seems to breathe from its awful mouth; the majestic outline of its silent slopes sweeps westward towards the city. On the right, the promontory and town of Sorrento, and the coast leading down to Castellamare. Pompeii and Herculaneum are indicated behind the suburbs, which extend in a long and weary line of streets into Naples. At the opposite end of the city, and nearer to our island, the villas and promontory of Posilipo. What shall I say of Puteoli, point of pilgrimage for all who follow the journeyings of St. Paul? Then the sulphurous neighbourhood of Baiæ; the lofty, wide-stretching promontory of Misenum; Cumæ, with its acropolis (nearly opposite to Casamicciola); the Gulf of Gaeta, whose past honours are divided between the Nurse of Æneas and Pope Pius IX., follows the long line of coast reaching to Monte Circeo; while the Apennines of the Abruzzi are towering above the horizon on the left. Such is the bird's-eye southern outlook from Monte Epomeo.

There is no crater now traceable on the silent summit. As seen from Casamicciola, the highest point displays yellow sandstone rock surrounded by masses of many-tinted fragments of tufa, trachyte, scorïæ, pumice, and I know not what other combinations, running over from Nature's melting-pot. Further down we perceive clefts of the greyish-blue marl, which affords material for the industry of the island—the brick and pottery works. In this marl are found shells of fishes still common in the Tyrrhene Sea. The theory is that these submarine deposits, flung upward in the earlier eruptions, washed up with sea-water, hurled hither and thither, together with the lava,

finally choked up the crater's mouth. Later eruptions found vents in the sides of the mountain.

Ancient tradition tallies in some measure with scientific theory, telling how Monte Epomeo vomited fire and ashes, how the sea receded and then returned, overflowing the land and extinguishing the fire.

For examples of the lateral vents, see Monte Rotaro and Il Montagnone, a couple of little extinct volcanoes near Casamicciola, with lava streams flowing down to the sea. Another vent is evident at the head of the broad stream of the lava of the Arso, which marks the latest eruption of 1302, and which I have mentioned as now clad with marvellous beauty of flowers and trees.

Driving from Barano to Forio, we passed one of the many *stafe*, or *fumeoli*. Some of these pour out steam to the tune of 140° to 180° Fahrenheit, and in their depths may be heard the boiling and bubbling of seething waters and turbulent gases. The theory of their origin is the communication of waters of the sea with volcanic fires immediately underneath. This, of course, can mean nothing else than the visits of the god of the ocean, Poseidon, to his stormy old friend, Typhoeus, who is lying buried alive under the 'hard couch,' Inarime by name, which appears to have been upset over his mighty frame to bind him fast by order of Zeus. This 'hard bed,' Inarime, is now our fair island of Ischia. On the beach, near the pleasing little town of Lacco Ameno, we trod on a black, sparkling sand, sensibly hot to the feet, and in which hot water may be seen to rise immediately on our making such holes as children at play might dig with their small spades. The blackness is owing to an abundance of oxide of iron, the sparkling to the presence of quartz, and the heat to the untiring furnace below. Virgil sings, hard by to his mention of Inarime (*Æn.* ix. 714):

Miscent se maria, et *nigræ* adtolluntur *arcæ*.

But the black volcanic sand is not peculiar to Ischia; it is common in those regions.

We searched in vain, being no botanists, for a flower called by the Islanders the lily of Santa Restituta. It is a plant of the squill tribe, flowering only in the autumn, and is fabled to have sprung up in the sand near the spot where Santa Restituta came on shore after she had suffered martyrdom in Africa, being thrown alive into a cask and cast into the sea. The church dedicated to the saint contains a series of modern pictures, telling the miraculous story of her life and her landing in the island. These pictures are full of feeling, and are well imagined, however wanting in technique. They are probably the work of some young enthusiast, but the 'parroco' could not give us the name of the artist, or tell us anything about him. The simple country people and sailors delight greatly in those graphic tellings of

the story of their honoured saint. They throng here on the day of her festival (17th May), this year delayed because of repairs going forward, and we were sorry not to remain a few days longer to behold the festive gathering. The 'parroco' told us the church is then decorated with straw work, which is an industry of the island, richly coloured and highly polished, but woefully wanting in taste.

(How is it, by the by, that, generally speaking and with few exceptions, all Italian work of the present day, from the statues of Dante to the straw work and the pottery of our island, is *bathos* ?)

In the chancel, beside the high altar, we found a *Madonna and Child*, by an Old Master—a painting of great merit in colour and expression, eyebrows and eyes singularly beautiful. Whether this picture was brought here from the convent close by, or what was the history of it, we could not ascertain. It stands in a very unfavourable light and position—the 'parroco' said because there was nowhere else to put it. I ignorantly suggested it might be removed to an altar in the nave, in place of some daub representing—I forget what. He replied, in a tone of astonishment, that it would be impossible to put a strange picture on an altar dedicated to some other saint or subject.

The basin for holy water at the church door is an exquisite little cinerary urn in white marble. From two cornucopiæ, reversed, issues a garland of flowers, and below is a basket, also reversed, containing fruits and flowers. The touching dedication is by a wife to her husband. It was found, with other urns and remains, in the valley of San Martino, near by. Another church in the street of the little town contains some of these 'finds.' A marble column is spoken of as having been brought from a temple of Hercules; but the doors were closed, and we did not effect an entrance.

I should not omit all mention of the church at Forio, planted on a rock jutting out into the sea, with a beautiful view, and interesting within from the many votive offerings of sailors and fishermen, and the painted tiles, which may perhaps be described as a coarse majolica ware. The road from Barano to Forio winds downward above the heads of numerous deep ravines, which run straight into the sea, and are here and there used by the peasants as wine-cellars.

One afternoon the small boy driver of our *carrozzella*, a sharp urchin of twelve years old, was bent on showing us 'Casamicciola antica,' a melancholy sight indeed. Houses in ruins, a large church in the centre, of which the walls only remain standing. This devastation was wrought by the earthquake of 1883.

From the earliest up to recent times, inhabitants and visitors have fled before the earthquakes. The first settlers in the island are said to have transferred their homes to Cumæ, on the opposite shore of the mainland. This latest earthquake of 1883 has left many beautifully situated villas uninjured, but now scarcely visited by



their owners, who are either intimidated by dread of a recurrence, or heart-stricken by memories of relatives and friends lost or maimed among the ruins. I noticed an unusual number of lame and crippled among the people, and was told that most of these had been among the victims. Dr. Menella gave us a touching account of the loss of his father, buried amid the ruins of their house. The story of his leading his mother away in safety reminded one of the narrative of the younger Pliny. Menella said the whole event remained in his mind like the memory of a bad dream. He could scarcely believe that it was his actual self who had endured that time, or that the thing had ever happened.

Hardly less heartrending was the recital of the poor old keeper of the cemetery, in which I know not how many of the gathered-in corpses lie buried. The old man lost his wife and five children—his whole family. I understood him to say that the ruins of his house are still lying among those we had just seen in ‘Casamicciola antica.’ He related at length the prompt visit of the King to the scene of sorrow, and the awful task of the soldiers employed in digging out the bodies. It was sad to hear that some of the peasants came down immediately from the hills and carried off money and valuables from among the *débris*. The site of the burial-place, above the sea, affords a soothing view of beauty beyond; but the high surrounding walls shut out everything, and enhance the deep depression and desolation of the place. It is passed on the road from Casamicciola to Ischia, at the foot of the little extinct volcano of Monte Rotaro.

We found the drive to Ischia one of the loveliest in the island, the sea ever and anon coming into sight just below, deep blue that day, with white-plumed billows rising and vanishing on the surface, chasing each other like evanescent swans. Near the town arises a grove of pine trees. And here, in the long street, is the Palazzo Reale; and here, with its garden, richly planted on the lava stream, is the Villa Mearicoffre.

Built into and upon a lofty solitary rock of volcanic tufa rising abruptly out of the sea, at the end of a narrow neck of land, is the Castle of Ischia, whose outline is familiar to us in many sketches, and in Stanfield’s grand picture, recently exhibited in London, the property of Lady Wantage. The story of the Castle would be the history of the island—long and distressful. It is hallowed by the memory of Vittoria Colonna, ‘uncanonised’ saint, sought by the master minds of Italy in that eventful period, and the honoured friend of Michael Angelo. Her name is inseparable from the Castle of Ischia. Through the utterance of her lofty and humble soul, in the sonnets and poems which were the consolation of her troubled life, she may become to us more than a name, to conjure by. As poems they are of studied perfection. Restrained by the ‘freno dell’ arte,’ they give passionate expression to unchangeable affection, and to the sublime

faith and trust of genuine piety. And that she was sensible to the ministrations of the beauty of Nature we may see in her lines :

Quand' io dal caro scoglio miro intorno  
La terra e 'l ciel nella vermiglia aurora,  
Quante nebbie nel cor son nate, allora  
Scaccia la vaga vista e il chiaro giorno.

The volume is an Italian classic, firmly fixed as such in Italian literature as is the castled rock in the Tyrrhenæ Sea.

A. P. IRBY.

CONCERNING SOME OF THE  
*ENFANTS TROUVÉS* OF LITERATURE

I SUPPOSE that most young men, even those who appear to be merely reasonable or hopelessly commonplace, have experienced, at one time or another, some sort of sentimental or spiritual awakening, which has rendered them susceptible to the elevating influences of poetry. Religious enthusiasm, domestic affliction, or involuntary exile from the old familiar places; a sudden sense of the hollowness and mutability of earthly things—all these are calculated to encourage the poetic mood, although, where there exists any hereditary predisposition, it may be called into being by the death of a goldfish, or the escape of a favourite canary. With or without any previous training or natural capacity, however, it is particularly apt to assert itself when a chivalrous and susceptible adolescent imagines himself, for the first time, to be really in love, and when, as so often happens, he finds that the course of his passion is running anything but smooth.

Poets, as we know, have written almost exhaustively upon the subject of the affections, and those that were hopeless or unrequited have ever seemed to appeal more particularly to their sympathies. So, when the young lover, quite by accident, as may happen, turns to the pages of some great poet for solace or consolation, lo and behold, he discovers that even this choice spirit has gone through all the varied symptoms from which he is now suffering himself, and that he has described them in the very same language that he would have made use of, if only the said choice spirit had not been beforehand with him!

So many people, ever since the very beginning of the world, have been, or have imagined themselves to be, in love! About love 'pure and simple,' the love of the young man for the maiden, it would seem to be very difficult to write anything that was absolutely original; although, of course, the old torments may be described in a new and appropriate sequence of words. The young lover, therefore, can revel to his heart's content in rhythmical combinations and reiterations, expressive of the state of his feelings. The swing of the metre fascinates

and enthralls him; the rhymes haunt him, even when he is asleep. He 'lisps in numbers,' without exactly knowing or caring whose numbers they are; his whole soul is as though flooded with the music of the spheres. His eye begins 'rolling in a fine frenzy'; he strongly suspects that he must have been born, unwittingly, in 'a golden clime,' and, by and by, all his thrills and tremors find vent in a slim little booklet, bound, generally, in dark green linen or white vellum (although I have one in my possession which is bound in black calico, whereupon is depicted a shattered lyre, surmounted by skull and cross-bones), dedicated to mysterious initials, and published anonymously, or under a *nom de plume*, 'at the earnest request of friends.'

Even as these remarks may apply to the passion of love, so is it with

The measure of Pleasure, the measure of Glory,  
That is meted out to a human lot.

In every emotional crisis and emergency of life, there is always a chance that an enthusiastic and impulsive youth may be tempted to express himself in 'numbers' without possessing any of the qualifications which are essential to the true poetic calling. The phase is an acute one; it will soon pass off, but for the time being he feels that he is existing upon a higher plane than most of his workaday neighbours, and it is because of this rapid development and subsequent evanescence of mood that he seems to be especially marked out by destiny for what the elder D'Israeli has designated 'a man of one book.'

For this it would be hard to blame the author. Fertility is no nearer allied to strength than prodigality to riches, but yet, for all this, fertility and sterility must remain two utterly different things. From the point of view of the collector, the 'one book' of an unsuspected poetaster may grow, with time, into something 'rare and strange'; a source, too, of never-ending amazement, to those who are acquainted with its author's personality. And, no doubt, when he is comfortably married and settled, and embarked in banking, brewing, stockbroking, or what not, *he*, too, may start at sight of the slim green or white creature of his imagination as though it were an asp or a scorpion. Sometimes, fearing lest its heterodox opinions should revolutionise the world, or else, when he thinks that its tone may be regarded as too sensuous and redolent of the 'fleshy school,' he will endeavour to strangle it, shortly after its birth, arresting its headlong course to the butterman by buying up the very limited edition at his own cost. This was what happened—a good many years ago now—to the poems of 'Alastor,' only in that instance, unless I am mistaken, it was the lady-mother of the aspiring author who took the initiative and bought up the edition. I wonder how many persons now living would be able to tell me her name?

I have always felt that there was something particularly pathetic about the fate of these poor children of the imagination; mere accidents

as it were, resulting from a single juvenile indiscretion, whose parents are so often ashamed of having begotten them, and who will never have any brothers or sisters; and just as a compassionate mother-superior might fold to her bosom some poor little *esposito*, discovered, tied up in a bundle, at the door of a foundling hospital, I have always been one of the first to give shelter and welcome to the waifs and strays that are thus cast out upon a cold world without anybody to 'log-roll' them, or give them a word of comfort or encouragement. There they stand, safely enclosed in their comfortable bookcase, and I feel almost irresistibly impelled to write about some of them. They have shelf-mates, too, with whom I have kindly permitted them to rub shoulders (alas, with no hope of any possible contagion!), transparently anonymous, the identity but flimsily veiled, or else, wearing fearlessly the proud cognisance of their illustrious parentage: a presentation copy of *The Wanderer*, and of the beautiful *Love-Sonnets of Proteus*; poems of the late Lord De Tabley, with those of Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton (his splendid Ode upon the burial of Cecil Rhodes not yet incorporated with them); and to some of these treasures it will be difficult for me not to allude, seeing them thus ranged on high whenever I look upwards. As, however, the more accomplished singers here represented have already found appreciative critics far abler than I am to sound their praises, I shall endeavour to confine myself as much as possible to the study of my little nursery of foundlings.

As is so often the case, how alike they all are, at a first glance, not only in dress, but in most of their prominent features! They have the pinched, attenuated aspect of things that have been starved, and baby-farmed, and treated ungenerously, and so take up but little room upon one's shelves; and when they do not, as often, breathe entirely of earthly passion, or are not merely weak invertebrate imitations of Rudyard Kipling, Conan Doyle, or Adam Lindsay Gordon, and others, rollicking, bacchanalian, or, it may be, patriotic, how terribly and hopelessly melancholy they are apt to be with the morbid and lugubrious despair of the later French *décadents*, whose felicity of expression, however, has been cruelly denied them: a form of melancholy which seems to be the almost inseparable accompaniment of intellectual youth in the age in which we are living.

Poor Maurice Rollinat with his *Apparitions*, his *Névroses*, his *Spectres*, and his *Ténèbres*, has just made his tragic final exit. But, a disciple himself, he has, like his master, Baudelaire, a numerous following in this country. In the index of the little black-bound volume of which I have already made mention, and which belongs to what I may appropriately call 'the death's head and cross-bones' school of poetry, I find several evidences of this. Here we have *Ode to a Dead Body*, *The Corpse*, *The Suicide*, &c., whilst there is something gruesome, in another book by the same author, which is evidently

derived from the loves of *Les deux Poitrinaires*. These volumes, however, are merely mentioned parenthetically, and must on no account be confounded with any of those that are housed in my nursery of *enfants trouvés*. Rather would I compare them, in the language of *Le Sieur de Brantôme*, to *des bâtards de grande famille*, the result of a mere passing flirtation with the muse, of one who has come to be a redoubtable critic and a powerful writer of the realistic school, but who has yet permitted them to bear his name upon their title-pages. Perhaps they do not pretend to be anything more than free translations, after all?

In the beautiful sequence of poems entitled *A Shropshire Laid*, and which again I only venture to allude to by way of a verification, for here we are confronted with the work of a true poet, this note of latter-day sadness is particularly accentuated. The genius of the author communicates it to the reader, and we lay down the volume oppressed by a sense of haunting despondency at thought of what has been so persistently and mercilessly reiterated:

Let me mind the house of dust  
Where my sojourn shall be long,

and where, to quote an exquisite final verse:

Lovers lying two by two  
Ask not whom they sleep beside;  
And the bridegroom all night thro'  
Never turns him to the bride.

By this concentration of thought upon the obvious and inevitable end of all, we are led to assume that Mr. A. E. Housman is still young. Like the traditional eels, that were said to have become used to the skinning process, the older thinkers have already realised 'the tragedy of Condemnation and Reprieve,' and have endeavoured to make the best of it, though to neither young nor old can the idea be altogether exhilarating. There is a Spanish proverb which says that 'Death, like the sun, should not be looked at too fixedly,' and surely its 'rapture of repose,' so beautifully described by one who was yet sufficiently infected with the melancholy of his time to write as though all the joys of earth had come to an end with his thirty-third year, is more profitable and comforting to dwell upon than

La pourriture lente et l'ennui du squelette.

Even Maurice Rollinat has admitted that there is always cremation!

Mr. A. E. Housman, however, is not to be counted amongst the 'men of one book,' and I am in hopes that so accomplished a singer will soon cease to derive his chief inspirations from the creak of the gibbet and the odour of the charnel-house. Another young poet, whose last book I have just opened, and one who is also endowed



There is generally more spirit and *joie de vivre* about verses of this calibre when the writer has availed himself of the ballad form, about which there is generally a certain jauntiness of movement, or when he condescends to deal with historical subjects, however distorted, because he is then obliged, for the time being at least, to get outside his own personal sensations, and to cease preying, as it were, upon his own vitals.

From a small volume of Jacobite songs, printed some years ago, and then suppressed possibly out of deference to the feelings of the reigning Royal family, for I have never chanced upon it since, I cull the following gem. The lines are expressive of the passionate love of Flora Macdonald for 'the Young Pretender,' with whom, in spite of her loyal devotion, her relations are known to have been purely platonic :

Oh, 'Charlie, Charlie' with thy face  
So comely and bewitching !  
Of royal race, thy princely grace  
Has set my poor heart itching !

An 'itching' or a 'moaning out' heart : which of the two would be the more undesirable possession ? 'I can't make out ! I can't make out !'

Very different in quality is the spirited ballad of *Perkin Warbeck*, which I find in the distinguished collection of poems entitled *The City of the Soul*.

At Turnay in Flanders I was born,  
Fore-doomed to splendour and sorrow,  
For I was a king when they cut the corn  
And they strangle me to-morrow !

Thus laments poor Perkin in the opening verse, by which it will be apparent that the poet accepts the orthodox historic version of his story.

I was nothing but a weaver's son,  
(he is made to confess later on in the ballad),

I was born in a weaver's bed,  
My brothers toiled and my sisters spun,  
And my mother wove for our bread.

Had this been fully proved, all would have been plain sailing, and the hero of the poem would not have shared with the 'Man in the Iron Mask' the doubtful honour of ranking still as one of the most impenetrable mysteries of European history, for there are many people now living who believe that he was indeed 'the milk White Rose of York' after all, in spite of the confession extorted from him when in prison by the astutest of our Henries. Who can decide, at this distance of time, when, as I read in my morning paper, 'grave doubts' exist as to the death in the Temple of a much more modern scion of ill-fated royalty—the unhappy little Louis XVII., for whose coffin a search



is even now being made 'in the cemetery in which he was probably buried, in order to try and settle, once for all, the question whether it was the poor little King or another who was buried there'? There are 'Perkin Warbecks' too, in America, I am informed, quite ready to prove that they are descended from this later royal captive; and where so much difference of opinion exists as to 'how history was written' in the eighteenth century, I feel that it would be rash indeed to make sure of what may or may not have happened in the reign of the first of the Tudors.

Be this how it may, here are two charming verses. 'Perkin' is again lamenting his hard fate:

For I was not made for wars and strife,  
And blood and slaughtering,  
I was but a boy who loved his life,  
And I had not the heart of a king.

Oh! why hath God dealt so hardly with me,  
That such a thing should be done,  
That a boy should be born with a king's body  
And the heart of a weaver's son?

By a process of thought-transference which will be obvious to the initiated, I am here reminded of the terrible *Ballad of Reading Gaol*, with its splendours and inequalities; its mixture of poetic force, crude realism, and undeniable pathos. Perhaps this hard-featured offspring of genius, begotten in shame and misfortune, ought not, appropriately, to keep company with the pretty effeminate weaklings of which, for the most part, my collection consists, but there it is, nevertheless, standing out, in wan and ghastly pre-eminence, upon the shelf, its brow indelibly branded with the stigma of the 'Broad Arrow.' The genesis of the poem is fraught with tragic interest. It is dedicated by the author (a man of letters, and a poet of culture and refinement, who unfortunately became subject, through his own delinquencies, to the rigours of the law) to the memory of a trooper of the Royal Horse Guards, one 'Woolridge' or 'Wolredge' (as I have lately learnt): a handsome good-for-nothing scoundrel, though a smart soldier when sober, who, after a career of drink and dissipation, ended by cutting the throat of his wife (a deserving young woman, who supported herself by dressmaking at Windsor) with a razor, which he took down with him from Knightsbridge Barracks for the purpose. For this crime, as we read in a preface to the ballad, he was hanged at Reading Gaol on the 7th of July, 1896. Oddly enough, the first line of the poem contains an inaccuracy, due, perhaps, to its

He did not wear his scarlet coat,

For blood and wine are red,

&c. As we are particularly informed, upon the fly-leaf, that the condemned man had been a trooper in the Blues, he would certainly not

have worn a 'scarlet coat' even if blood and wine had changed to some abnormal colour! This error, however, which it would have been easy enough to correct, in no way interferes with the interest of the poem. There is no *joie de vivre* here; none of the careless abandonment of the ordinary narrative ballad. All is grim, concentrated tragedy, from cover to cover. A friend of mine, who looked upon himself as a judge of such matters, told me once that he would have placed certain passages in this poem, by reason of their terrible tragic intensity, upon a level with some of the descriptions in Dante's *Inferno*, were it not that '*The Ballad of Reading Gaol* was so much more *infinitely human*'!

Let those who are inclined to smile at such a comparison read it through, from beginning to end, and then judge for themselves. For my own part, an impression of hopeless and helpless human agony haunted me for days after reading it for the first time: an effect which a descent into the *Inferno* has certainly never yet produced upon me, although I have heard the groaning swing of the great bronze doors at St. John Lateran which are said to have suggested to the immortal Florentine the door over which was written these terrible words, 'di colore oscuro,'

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che 'ntrate.

For Dante's august poem is open, to some extent, to the criticism which Sainte-Beuve applies to *Paradise Lost*. The whole thing is imaginary from beginning to end: a quality common to most works of genius, it may be said, only that of this, in the present instance, for all its beauty and magnificence, the reader is conscious from the first. Even what I may call the *most* 'infinitely human' incident of the *Divina Commedia*—an incident of everyday occurrence in our own times, to which poets and dramatists have clung with so much tenacity—has, I fear, been a good deal coloured by the poet's luxuriant imagination. An Italian *savant*, who had investigated the matter at Rimini and elsewhere, assured me quite lately that Francesca must have been at least forty-five years old at the time of her supposed act of infidelity, which (even assuming that it ever occurred, a very doubtful matter) the brothers Malatesta treated with unconcern, dwelling together afterwards in perfect harmony, whilst the lady died peacefully in her bed at a good old age. I hope with all my heart that this was not the case! Early illusions are precious things, and hard to part with, and for me, at least, the guilty couple will continue to float on together through space, for all time—as depicted in the well-known painting by Ary Scheffer—transfixed by the same rapier, as I saw Signora Duse transfixed, with the young gentleman who acted the rôle of Paolo, after sitting for five mortal hours at the Costanzi Theatre, at Rome, during the first night's performance of Gabriele d'Annunzio's recent drama. But this is a digression.

The author of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, essentially a 'sensitive,' learning what is to be the doom of the unfortunate trooper, who takes his exercise in the same yard, though 'in another ring,' has thoroughly imbued himself with his feelings, or with what he conceives that they must be, and imagines, probably wrongly, that all his fellow-prisoners are similarly impressed. Here is a graphic description of 'the man who has to swing':

He walked amongst the Trial Men  
In a suit of shabby grey;  
A cricket cap was on his head  
And his step seemed light and gay;  
But I never saw a man who looked  
So wistfully at the day.

I never saw a man who looked  
With such a wistful eye  
Upon the little tent of blue  
Which prisoners call the sky,  
And at every drifting cloud that went  
With sails of silver by.

The miserable sensations of a condemned felon are communicated to the reader's mind in all their gruesome intensity. It was *I*, and no other (or so I felt whilst reading), who had to 'die a death of shame, on a day of dark disgrace'; to have 'a noose about' my neck and 'a cloth upon my face,' and to 'drop feet foremost, through the floor, into an empty space'; I became, for the time being, one of those 'souls in pain' whose fate it is, as a beginning of the end, to

. . . sit with silent men  
Who watch him night and day;  
Who watch him when he tries to weep,  
And when he tries to pray,  
Who watch him lest himself should rob  
The prison of its prey.

The shivering Chaplain robed in white,  
The Sheriff, stern with gloom,  
And the Governor, all in shiny black,  
With the yellow face of Doom.

All these seemed to be gathering round me in the flesh in the hour of my agony, whilst

The hangman, with his gardener's gloves,  
Slipped through the padded door.

Then, too, how wonderfully vivid is the description of the long night before the condemned man's execution, when, as we read:

Crooked shapes of Terror crouched  
In the corner where we lay;  
And each evil sprite that walks by night  
Before us seemed to play;

They glided past, they glided fast,  
 Like travellers through a mist:  
 They mocked the moon in a rigadoun  
 Of delicate turn and twist.

What is a 'rigadoun'? Some kind of weird, diabolical *taran-tella*? Perhaps I am writing myself down *ignoramus*, but I candidly confess that I never heard of one before, and I am all the more impressed by the word because I have no notion of its correct meaning. *La femme aime l'inconnu* (as a wise and witty Frenchman has justly remarked), so a 'rigadoun,' whatever kind of measure it may be, will always have a certain mysterious fascination for me, until, as may happen, it becomes a fashionable cotillon figure at balls and *soirées dansantes*.

Let us turn to something less lugubrious, even if it be less 'infinitely human.'

Words of this description, which begin by being merely far-fetched and unusual, and which hence seem to be fraught with something of occult significance to sensitive minds and ears, have always been extremely popular not only with the young 'men of one book,' but with their intellectual superiors. I inquired, the other day, of a singularly intelligent little girl of seven years old, what she took to be the true meaning of the word 'poetry.' She was silent for some time, and then said, as after due reflection: 'I think it must mean beautiful words, and looking upwards': a relief to me, I confess, for I had felt almost certain that she would have fancied that poetry consisted in *rhyme*!

The definition is not at all a bad one, for, in spite of certain modern innovators who take a different view, 'beautiful words,' combined with the power of looking at life from a standpoint inaccessible to the multitude, must ever go far towards the making of a true singer. But surely the most important thing of all must be that the poet should be endowed with that far-reaching human sympathy which enables its possessor to receive and assimilate the subtle influences which produce no impression upon more stolid natures, and which engenders the precious faculty *de tout comprendre et de tout pardonner*, and this the most 'beautiful words' in our language are powerless to supply!

The introduction of words which, independent of actual beauty, were archaic, and out of date, was made fashionable in poetry some thirty or forty years ago by a great singer, whose voice has not been very long silent, and of whom we read—in the interesting biography published, after his death, by his distinguished brother—that he kept a whole list of them in reserve, to be called to the front, like emergency men, when the occasion seemed to require it. I can thoroughly sympathise with the magic spell of the pre-Raphaelite movement: with the peace, and reverence, and far-off, holy calm with which a

return to 'the primitive' in Art or Literature is prone to inspire certain exceptional spirits, and so have more patience than most of my neighbours with the so-called 'affectations' of this particular school.

Lo, only a few strokes, it may be, of an ordinary 'J' pen, and the present, with its fret and turmoil, its shrieking and snorting trains, 'trams,' and abominable motor-cars, seems to shrivel up and disappear like a decayed bat's wing! Once more we are *in pieno quattrocento*, revelling in the vague iridescent hues of early pots, cathedral window-panes, and faded embroideries, or in the cruder smalts, and chromes, and dead gold of the old illuminators. There is no 'gold reef city,' no 'De Beers Consolidated Diamond Company,' and the diamonds of Brazil, with the rubies of Burmah and Ceylon, very seldom find their way to Europe. In the very old days—say about B.C. 41—Cleopatra, as we know, was possessed of a pair of pearl earrings, which, judging by a picture I have seen representing her in the act of dropping one of them into a goblet in order that she may drink it off as a toast to Mark Antony, must have been unusually fine specimens of their kind. But then we must remember that she was a queen and a Ptolemy—a family celebrated for their learned and artistic tastes—beloved, too, of the mightiest conqueror in the world, who, for aught we know, may even have fished up the gems in far-off Britain, his recent conquest, and to which, we read with some surprise, he was originally attracted by the reputation it had acquired for the beauty of its pearls. For a person of so much consideration, slaves were, no doubt, delving and diving all over the world with the object of gratifying her slightest whim. Long after the second Triumvirate, however, Oriental pearls and jewels of the first quality were only 'casual' in their appearance and unattainable save to the monarch upon his throne. Dame or 'damozel' of the Middle Ages, therefore, who wished to set off her 'trailing robes of samite or brocade,' had to content herself with gems of inferior value, such as we may meet with, even now, roughly encrusted in ancient chalices, or in the massive bindings of early missals. In an old family document to which I lately obtained access, a necklace of carnelian 'cut in tables' is deemed worthy of being handed down to posterity as an heirloom, and to such jewels, each one emblematic of some particular virtue, the young poets who are the apostles of sham mediævalism are wont to give, perhaps, a somewhat undue pre-eminence, chiefly because, in so many instances, their names consist of rare and 'beautiful words,' which minister to their craving for the ideal. Thus,

Beryl is a liquid gem;  
Bright and pure as when a beam  
Cleaveth water . . .

writes one of our modern pre-Raphaelites, in a little volume which lies open before me;

Amethyst; a place is set  
For its lovely violet, &c. &c.

Then, too, we have the 'onyx' and the 'sardonyx,' the 'chalcedony' and the 'chrysoprase,' though, for obvious reasons, not unconnected with the exigencies of rhyme, some of our latter-day singers are apt to prefer, for the ending of their lines, the mysterious 'chrysolite,' which is, amongst gems, even as is the 'asphodel' in the poet's flower garden.

Chrysolite for goodness doth  
Sparkle like an oven's mouth, \*

I read in the same little volume, and here it is thrown in gratuitously and entirely independent of rhyme.

We said things wonderful as chrysolites,

writes the accomplished author of *The City of the Soul*, from which I have already quoted, and where we also read of a sword fashioned of the same perishable material.

The above verses, in spite of a few doubtful rhymes, are full of spiritual suggestiveness. All that is vulgar, sensual, 'of the earth, earthy,' seems to crumble away and perish as we read. Nor is the book from which I have made most of these extracts one of those fatherless foundlings to whom I have given a home merely out of charity. The author of its being has set his name upon the title-page like a man; but, alas, this is its sole claim to virility! The contents are emasculate and disappointing for all their prettiness, besides being—as the late Mr. A. W. Kinglake remarked of a certain Parliamentary candidate—'very considerably tainted with purity.'

After all, the world is not wholly composed of saints and ascetics. There are healthy as well as *unhealthy* yearnings in the human heart, which even such pure gems as the chrysolite are powerless to satisfy! 'What man is there of you, of whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?' It is a case of 'beautiful words and looking upwards' with a vengeance. We are almost tempted to wish that the poet had looked *downwards* sometimes for a change, and picked up something a little more 'infinitely human,' even if he chanced upon it in the gutter!

Still, 'good' and 'wonderful,' indeed, is the 'chrysolite' if it can illuminate the souls of the sadder of our poets with its 'oven-mouth' sparkle, and lead them thus decorously and discreetly towards the 'realms of the higher fancy.' I cannot say that I ever remember to have set eyes upon one myself!

Occasionally, when these green or white firstfruits of genius seem to their creators to be too slim and ephemeral to bear the rude buffets of 'this world of Death and Doubt,' they are padded out with a romance in blank verse, or in rhymed heroic measure, divided into 'parts' or 'cantos.' It is from such a volume, and one that was

not published anonymously, either, that I quote the following description of the heroine :

A line of beauty did the eyebrows trace,  
And, like the Grecian fair one, down her face  
In a straight line, *her scenting-organ sped.*

(The italics are my own.) Alas, poor 'scenting-organ'! But for the immortal line describing thee as 'tip-tilted like the petal of a flow'r,' how seldom hath honourable mention been made of thee in Poesy! Eyes, lips, ears, hair, with many *etceteras*, have come in for almost more than their fair share of notice and approbation, and yet, without thee, of what account are any of them? Whilst, when thou surpassesst thy ordinary dimensions by one-fourth part of the traditional inch that is said to be so much 'upon a man's nose,' the courage and chivalry of Cyrano de Bergerac himself can scarcely persuade us to tolerate thee, even upon the boards of the Parisian stage!

This is the same young lady—she of the 'scenting-organ'—of whom we read in the same poem that her

. . . forth-bursting proved her mother's death.

Once more we are treading upon the solid earth. We descend, as it were, with a thud, from the 'realms of the higher fancy'; from the 'protoplasmic substance undefined'; 'indifference articulate'; from 'onyx' and 'sardonyx,' 'chalcedony' and 'chrysolite'; from the æsthetic atmosphere of those who wander aimlessly in the fields of asphodel after having breakfasted off the 'Bodley bun.'

And yet these lines, for all their seeming absurdity, result in reality from 'looking upwards,' and straining after the perfection of expression which seems to demand the employment of 'beautiful words.' 'Dilatation,' 'exaltation of spirit'—we may call it what we like—an inspiration 'of sorts,' are not wanting, but the author has not been endowed with the faculty of discrimination, and so all these go for naught. Still, the man who can so far forget himself and his ordinary traditions as to allude to a nose as a 'scenting-organ,' whilst incurring, it may be, the ridicule of 'the great uninspired,' has soared in spirit to regions that are far beyond reach of the arrows of their scorn, where to describe the feature in question by its usual name would seem almost like an insult and a sacrilege. When he can bring himself to call a nose 'a nose' again, he will have fallen once more to earth, where, I fancy, judging from the rest of the contents of his book, he is likely to abide for ever. How precious, therefore, should be the outward and visible sign of his brief trial trip into the Empyrean if things become valuable merely by reason of their rarity, which everything leads us to believe that they do!

Some of these slender little volumes contain, indeed, the sublimated essence of their authors' poetical being. We hold in our hands,

as we read them, a part of the man's nature which bears no sort of resemblance to his material self, as we may come to know it when once he has 'reverted to the briar.' His 'material self' we may meet, probably, as often as we choose, if such meetings can afford us any satisfaction. We may see it stout, prosperous, complacent, hailing cabs or omnibuses with the well-furled umbrella of conventional respectability, and little suspecting that, for all this, we know for certain that 'in the days that are done' it became responsible—at the instigation of that *other* 'self,' which is now dead and departed—for some such verses as the following :

Our passions sustain us, and move  
To the motion of instinct desire;  
With the rhythmical anguish of love,  
And the heaving of tremulous fire.

The thirst unassuaged yet unsloken  
Will be drowned in the fiercest delight,  
And love will be rent and be broken  
And kissed out of feeling or sight.

(Only this is an exceedingly favourable example.)

But I might as well endeavour to describe the features and complexions of a whole regiment of soldiers, together with those of their commanding officers—for all the minds represented in my collection are by no means upon an equality—as to set down the characteristics of each one of the separate volumes upon my inconveniently crowded shelves. I have quoted from barely a dozen of them, and already time and space are coming to an end, and yet there they stand—many more—in their serried lines, and I am not at all sure that I ought not to have given precedence to some that I have left quite unnoticed, and whose lettered backs, to my sensitive eye, seem suddenly to have assumed a piqued and offended expression.

Then, too, there are the ladies, the female poets, illustrious and obscure, to whom I have not even ventured to allude, but about whom I should like to say just a few words by way of conclusion.

Mr. George Moore, in his *Avowals*, says that woman 'excels in detail, but never attains synthesis, not being herself synthesis' (*sic*); and, furthermore, that 'it were well that the fact were fully recognised that the presence of women in art is waste and disappointment.'

Not for worlds would I enter into controversy with Mr. George Moore, feeling sure that I should be worsted, and fearing that then he might call me bad names—'small, weakly creature, ridiculously shapen, &c. &c.,' as upon p. 328 of the March number of the *Pall Mall Magazine*—or declare, perhaps, that I 'cooked 'inadequately'—a reproach that would really strike home, since one cannot help regarding *cooking* (adequately or 'inadequately'), even in these enlightened days, as rather more of a woman's legitimate vocation than Art or Literature. What I would venture to say, however, is that when we,



take into consideration her limitations—the very limitations alluded to by Mr. George Moore—it has always struck me that, when a woman is impelled to depart from her natural mission—the mission of cooking ‘inadequately,’ let us say—and to plunge into pathways which lead only to ‘waste and disappointment,’ her ‘call’ must be much more definite and imperative than the ‘inspiration’ of a man, although, according to Mr. George Moore, the result is always so unsatisfactory.

A man, fresh from a successful career at one of our great Universities, the swing and rhythm of Greek and Latin verses still ringing in his ears, and imbued, it may be, with the works of the master-singers of antiquity, finds little difficulty, even if he be not a truly inspired poet, in tossing off couplet or epigram, if only with the object of killing time upon a wet day, or when, perhaps, there is nothing else to kill with rod or gun, and so may be induced to write very respectable derivative verse merely from a feeling of *ennui*. He has striven, perhaps, when he was at Oxford, for the ‘Newdigate’; possibly he may even have obtained it. This is enough to stimulate any literary ambition. Why should not the author of *Ravenna* aspire to the same honours that were showered, eventually, upon the head of the author of *Timbuctoo*, seeing that the two prize poems are ‘much of a muchness’ as regards their intrinsic value?

But it is altogether different with a woman. Ten to one that, with a few noteworthy exceptions, she knows little or nothing of the immortal poets of antiquity, and has never breathed, even in fancy, the stimulating atmosphere, or trod

. . . the thymy pasture-lands  
Of high Parnassus.

Even when she is not a professional cook or mere household drudge, compelled to ‘pore over weekly accounts or darn the holes in the family linen, she has so many other ways of profitably passing her time, so many urgent demands upon her sympathy and attention, particularly when she is blessed, or encumbered, with noisy human offspring! The ‘inspiration’ must be a very potent one which can induce her to neglect her so-called ‘duties,’ even her so-called ‘pleasures,’ sometimes, in order that she may be able to satisfy her so-called ‘poetic’ yearnings. She need never write, at any rate, simply from a feeling of *ennui*.

And yet how decently our female poets have acquitted themselves in the glorious reign which has but recently come to a close! (In the face of our stern critic I dare use no more enthusiastic terms.) ‘From Mrs. Browning (the ‘hen-bird, singing to its mate,’ of Mr. George Moore, and to whom my remarks about a defective classical education do not, of course, apply) to the refined and graceful author of *Opals*, there is not much to complain of in the quality or finish of their work.

Daphnis and Chloe, with other impossible shepherds and shepherdesses of the past, have almost entirely disappeared from our midst, together with the paste-board flocks of an artificial Arcadia (though we may, perhaps, purchase the history of their pastoral loves '*traduit du Grec par M. Amiot et un anonyme*, for the sake of its binding by Derôme, or its *petits pieds 'inventés et peints par la main de S.A.R. Philippe Duc d'Orléans, Régent de France'*). But that the more subtle and imperishable Hellenic influences still survive—influences which inspired Homer and Hesiod long before the plague of Egyptian myths and fables—is made apparent whenever we turn to the writings of the greatest of our living bards, and to these the more cultivated of our modern female poets have been by no means insensible. Not to mention the 'hen-bird singing to its mate,' the late Jean Ingelow, to whom we are indebted for that fine poem *The High Tide upon the Coast of Lincolnshire*, is also the author of *Persephone*, with its haunting musical refrain; Mrs. Pfeiffer, Mrs. Meynell, Miss Mary Robinson (who, I am told, prefers still to be known by the maiden name in which she achieved her first triumphs), have all gone to the fountain-head for their inspiration, whilst I have often thought how proud and pleased 'the great god Pan' might well have been,

Down in the reeds by the river,

could he have only foreseen that, even in these far-off, practical days of 'bike' and 'motor,' he would find an enthusiastic admirer and apologist in the charming Lady Margaret Sackville!

And yet Mr. George Moore says that we are not 'synthesic,' and, what is more, that we can never become so! . . . Being, unfortunately, a woman myself, and knowing all our little ways, I will go a step further than Mr. George Moore, and wager that comparatively few of us are even aware of the derivation or correct significance of the term. But then this is just what makes me so particularly proud of my sex, although it is one that has been imposed upon me without the asking. We can make our omelets without eggs, and our bricks without straw, and the omelets are really quite eatable, and the bricks tolerably substantial, for all that. This is our own precious secret, a 'woman's privilege,' and that it should make some people rather provoked with us I can perfectly well understand.

MARY MONTGOMERIE CURRIE.

## INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS AND THE PRESENT WAR

THE present war has already been fruitful in novel questions of international law. A few of the many special questions which have arisen in consequence of the changed conditions of modern warfare I propose discussing. But before doing so I touch upon some of the larger aspects of this war, interesting to the jurist and likely to reappear in the future. One of them is the change to be noted in the policy of neutrals in regard to the action of belligerents at sea: a change in a movement which has long been going on, and an unexpected result or concomitant of the growth of large armaments. For some years the development of maritime international law proceeded along one line. The supremacy of the Navy of this country was either taken for granted as natural in view of its possessions and dependence for food upon foreign supplies, or the day when this supremacy was to be overthrown was regarded as distant and uncertain. The other chief States of the world, possessing great armies, were resigned, for a time at least, to England's predominance at sea. In these circumstances the laws of war at sea were moulded by two forces: England pressing hard and exaggerating the rights of belligerents, while other Powers were the champions of the rights of neutrals. They favoured 'free ships making free goods.' They were jealous of the exercise of the right of search; France carrying that jealousy to the point of suffering for many years the slave trade to flourish in certain waters rather than British cruisers should exercise this right, and again in 1887 declining to be a party to the much-needed convention for the suppression of the sale of liquor among North Sea fishermen by the keepers of floating public-houses, rather than sanction 'a derogation of the fundamental principles of our public maritime law.'<sup>1</sup> Those Powers refused to recognise cruiser blockades, or blockades of which there has been no notification. They were, on the whole, though with oscillations in practice, in favour of a strict limitation of contraband to articles directly of use in war as against the comprehensive conception recognised by England. If there did

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Commission of Chamber of Deputies, 1892.*

not always exist in form an armed neutrality, there was a standing array of interests on the side of neutrals. There was a cloud of writers of the stamp of Dupuis and Hautefeuille who denounced the egotism and tyranny of England. On the whole, until the latter half of last century the belligerents had the best of it. There was some truth in M. Dupuis's remark: 'Dans le compromis que le droit des gens tend à réaliser entre les intérêts contradictoires des belligérants et des neutres, le balance risque fort de pencher toujours quelque peu du côté des premiers.'<sup>2</sup>

But from 1856, when England surrendered one of the sharpest of her weapons, there was a shrinkage in belligerent rights. They were asserted, it is true, with somewhat of the old force, though in new forms, in 1861-64 by the United States. But, on the whole, since that time the disposition has been to insist that, peace being the normal order of things, the interests of neutrals should prevail in a conflict with those of belligerents; that, for example, the intercourse between nations by mail steamers and otherwise should be little obstructed; that only munitions of war and the like should be treated as contraband; and that blockades should be respected only if they were strictly efficacious. It would seem, however, as if there was a recovery in belligerent rights. Perhaps that is only the inevitable outcome of a naval war; belligerents using every weapon in their power, and neutrals not being organised or pressing collectively with equal spirit and zeal their interests. Perhaps it is a consequence or natural concomitant of great armaments. Several States possessing, or aspiring to possess, powerful navies able to cope, single-handed or jointly, with any fleet; the supremacy at sea of any Power being regarded as dangerous; the value of 'sea power' as a factor in warfare realised as it never was before, there is a rise in belligerent rights; a reluctance to propose or assent to any declaration which may fetter the action of the States which have not hitherto possessed maritime power, but which may one day acquire it. If I am not misinformed, more than one Government has, on the advice of its experts, refrained from speaking distinctly as to recent acts which on the face of them seemed to conflict with the plain interests of neutrals. On the outlook for what is to their advantage, they do not know what it may prove to be. There is reluctance to do anything which might hinder Governments in the event of war doing all that expediency may in unforeseen circumstances dictate as to wireless telegraphy or submarine cables. At the opening of this century there seems to be what there was at the beginning of last century, an exaggeration of maritime belligerent rights; with this difference—it is an exaggeration all round.

I note a second peculiarity of this war, and one which has already produced much perplexity and confusion and with far extending con-

<sup>2</sup> *R. G. de Droit International*, 1903, p. 342.

sequences. Usually belligerents fight on belligerents' soil. If they make war on the soil of neutrals, they in effect make war on the latter, or give cause for the latter doing so. The very basis of international law is the assumption that each nation is master in its own house, that its territory is to be respected. But in the present contest this is ignored; all is confusion; it is hard to make out who are belligerents and what is neutral soil. It is true that, with spheres of influence, protectorates, and suzerainties, and military occupations, with such anomalies as the administration of Cyprus, Egypt, and Bosnia, ideas on this point are not as clear as they once were. We have seen of late so much interference by strong States in the affairs of the weak in the name of European concert that one might at times fancy the days of the Congress of Vienna and the 'European police' then exercised over the weak had returned. Things were 'topsy-turvy' in China when the Allies in 1900-1, declaring that they were not at war with her, killed her soldiers and occupied her capital. Manchuria, which is occupied by Russia, is still an integral part of the Chinese Empire. Yet it is treated in many ways as if it were not occupied militarily but actually annexed. Its inhabitants, Chinese subjects, are compelled to guard the Siberian railways. Korea has been alternately a protectorate of Japan and China. Nominally there subsisted a treaty by which Japan renounced its sovereign rights and declared Korea to be a sovereign State, the King subsequently proclaiming himself Emperor in manifestation of his independence. Korea, probably under pressure, has since the war concluded a convention with Japan: a strange incident in a war avowedly begun for the securing of the independence of the former. Instead of conforming, as in theory might have been expected, to the articles in the Hague Convention relating to military occupation, both Powers have treated Korea from the outset very much as if it were belligerent soil. Nor is it satisfactory to say 'Korea is outside the region of international law.' That simplifies the problems here touched, but only by ignoring the difficulties. Nice questions of private law will arise in these circumstances. Suppose that munitions of war were sent to Seoul; may they be lawfully seized as contraband, an essential of which is that they are going directly or eventually to a hostile destination? Would a prize court condemn them, and neutrals acquiesce in such a decision? It is probable that courts would look, as is their inclination nowadays, to the actual condition of things, and have regard to the State which in fact controlled the situation, without reference to the titular sovereign Power. But what is happening there opens up prospects prejudicial to smaller States. 'Buffer States' in particular are likely to have a bad time of it in future wars. The assumption of the equality of the States of the world, always a fiction, promises to become an absurdity.

I note a further characteristic of this war: a set of facts lying

perhaps outside the domain of international law, but affecting some of its problems. Hitherto, at the opening of almost every war, whether the parties to it were civilised or not, it has unconsciously been deemed necessary to resort to an artifice or expedient in order to create (if I may say so) the sort of atmosphere in which two nations of ordinary humanity can contemplate in calmness or without remorse the sufferings inflicted upon an adversary by war—that monster, to quote Bossuet's words, 'le plus cruel que l'enfer a jamais vomi pour la ruine des hommes.' Only, it would seem, when racial hatred had been thus roused could the work be done with satisfaction. And so it has often been the self-imposed mission of a certain class of writers to spread and foster the notion that the people opposed to their own were cruel, or barbarous, or repulsive in their habits, or somehow odious. Almost regularly at the opening of almost every war there has been a flight of such calumnies; the lie patriotic being the necessary concomitant of a declaration of hostilities. It is matter of history that men of genius have stooped to this ignoble traffic in slander. It is a lasting regret to the admirers of Mommsen that he penned an epistle containing insults to the French people in their bitter hour, and that there came from Paris retorts equally calumnious. And as war has gone on, there has generally been developed greed for stories, for the most part unsupported by credible evidence, to the prejudice of the foe and about his treachery and his cruelty. Now, so far, there has been little or nothing of the kind. Both sides recognise the virtues of their opponents. They speak of their bravery and their kindness to the wounded; and there have been fewer allegations of abuse of the white flag than was ever probably known.

What will be the outcome of this? These good signs may disappear if the business drags on; but it is a new factor in war that the spurious and artificial racial hatred which has almost always accompanied it is absent at the beginning. Not more remarkable is the swift assimilation by Japan of the resources of military science than the assimilation, rapid and complete, of the best traditions, the courtesies and amenities of European warfare. Experience shows that if hostilities are long continued, passions kept in check at last break loose; the vanquished are irritated and desperate; the victors become impatient at resistance unreasonably continued. But, so far as things have gone, one may say that a non-Christian State has set an example to Christian nations in the conduct of war (as far as it is possible) on the lines of civilisation. The superior prestige of the West for humanity is gone. Touches of humanity and sympathy, never wanting in war, have abounded. The Japanese have tended their wounded adversaries, and have resorted to no shabby subterfuges; and on the death of Admiral Makaroff they paid the tribute of brave men to a fallen foe. They have paid for what they have taken. They have made friends of the population in which they

moved. Already the ring of European nations whose consent has made international law is broken in upon by the admission of Turkey and Japan. International law cannot be quite what it was if it henceforth expresses the consent of powerful Asiatic non-Christian States as well as of European nations.

The last general remark to be made is this: In view of the swift fate of the *Petropaulovsk* and Japanese transports—hundreds of men destroyed as if by an earthquake or a volcanic outburst such as that of Mount Pelée—is there any limit in modern warfare to the use of destructive agencies which chemistry may devise, provided they are effective? The committee which, in 1847, rejected Lord Dundonald's scheme for destroying by poisonous gases or other agencies whole armies and garrisons, did so mainly on the ground of humanity; it did not 'accord with the feelings and principles of civilised warfare.' Would a military committee of to-day have the same scruples? The Duke of Wellington's objection to the scheme was 'Two can play at that game.' Lord Dundonald's retort, 'Yes, but the first of the two wins,' might be deemed convincing. With torpedoes and submarine mines regarded as part of 'good war,' it seems almost squeamish to stop at anything. All the Powers at the Hague except the United States were against the use of shells containing asphyxiating gases. But there was weight in Admiral Mahan's contention 'that it was illogical and not demonstratively humane to be tender about asphyxiating men with gas when all were prepared to admit that it was allowable to blow the bottom out of an ironclad at midnight, throwing four or five hundred men into the sea to be choked by water, with scarcely the smallest chance of escape.' The compromise which the usages of war have made between what was allowable and what was not was never quite reasonable; it differs capriciously as to land and sea; it does not rest on any real ethical distinction, but is the outcome of historical accidents and traditions; a strange mixture of caste and general morality; it now seems to be hopelessly absurd.

Of the special questions which have pressed to the front since last February, few are yet sufficiently ripe for speaking positively about them. What Colonel Lonsdale Hale calls 'the fog of war' hangs thick over them, and will not completely rise until it is over. One obscure point concerns neutrals. If half of what is stated with respect to the sale of vessels or munitions of war taking place in Germany and Chili be true, there will be a serious case for compensation. To be sure, so far the mercantile marine of Japan has not suffered much from these purchases, if real. But if cruisers traceable to German ports are fitted out or sold to Russia, it would require little ingenuity to figure out a heavy claim for losses and expenses attributable to these vessels. History seems to show that the result of such demands against neutrals depends on the measure of military success of the belligerent. The victor in war has a way of succeeding in arbitrations.

At the outset of hostilities was raised a delicate question, too

lightly settled by many who professed to speak in the name of international law. A formal declaration is not needed to constitute a state of war, with all the results to neutrals and belligerents; <sup>3</sup> and in modern times such a declaration has been rather the exception than the rule. With actual hostilities at once arise all the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals. But this does not completely dispose of the question which has arisen, or justify every attack by surprise. International law offers no excuse for such acts as the invasion of the Palatinate by Louis XIV., or of Silesia by Frederick the Great, without warning, formal or otherwise. An attack without intimating, directly or indirectly, that a refusal of demands is to be followed by war, is criminal in the forum of the jurist as it is according to the consciences of plain men. Some clear indication of what is the alternative to denial of demands is admitted to be essential to loyal warfare. About the 5th of February the Japanese Government, after a long delay of which they had apparently good cause to complain, recalled their Ambassador, and notified interruption of diplomatic relations—a state of things which is not, of course, necessarily equivalent to a state of war, and has not always been followed by it. On the night of the 8th or 9th Admiral Togo torpedoed the Russian vessels at Port Arthur. It was an attack of surprise. Was it a treacherous and disloyal act? The question must be put with the knowledge that a nation which is patient may be duped; that the first blow counts much; and that under cover of continuing negotiation a country unprepared might deprive another better equipped of its advantages. But it is a nice question whether the negotiations had reached on the 8th or 9th of February a point at which discussion had been abandoned, and both sides had accepted the arbitrament of battle. I will only say that the recent precedent is of evil omen, and that it is to be feared that in future we may see blows struck, not merely without formal notice, but while diplomatists are still debating. I am not expressing an opinion on the particular act in saying that there has been an unfortunate—perhaps inevitable—retrogression. Since 1870 there has been a tendency to abide by the old rule, which regarded a war without a declaration or ultimatum as disloyal. For example, notice was given by Montenegro to Turkey in 1876, by Russia to Turkey in 1878, and by the United States to Spain in 1898.

In the absence of trustworthy information there is little use discussing the charge against the Russians of sowing at haphazard mines in the open sea to the peril of neutral shippers. The facts are altogether controverted, and we must wait until the reports of the commanders of neutral fleets are forthcoming. The probability is that

<sup>3</sup> This is not universally admitted. M. Pillet (*Les Lois Actuelles de la Guerre*, 1. 64) says:—'Une guerre sans déclaration n'est pas une guerre loyale.' See Clunet, 1904, 257. Writing in *La Libre Parole* with reference to the outbreak of hostilities, M. Drumont says:—'Le droit international a vécu!'



such mines were placed in the waters contiguous to Port Arthur, and in bad weather drifted out to sea; which happened to the Russian mines laid in the Baltic in 1856; <sup>4</sup> an accident which might give rise to claims for compensation by injured neutrals, just as might injuries done by stray shots or by torpedoes or submarine boats.

Of the special questions which this war has brought forward the most perplexing is that of wireless telegraphy. It confronts international lawyers before they have made up their minds what to say as to the rights and duties of belligerents in regard to submarine cables. Their position in time of war has been more than once discussed at international conferences. But no rules have so far been generally adopted by nations. The Cable Conference of 1884 declined to go into the matter; Article 15 of the Convention says: 'Il est bien entendu que les stipulations de la présente convention ne portent aucune atteinte à la liberté d'action des belligérants.' Apart from the difficulties inherent in adapting old rules to this new mode of communication, a powerful instrument of war as well as a servant of peace, there is another in the disposition to regard the matter as if it were a question of England against the rest of the world. She possesses or controls a large part of the existing cables; many of them pass through or touch her territory; and there is force in the contention that: 'Dans l'état actuel des communications télégraphiques le monde entier est le tributaire de la Grande Bretagne, car c'est à Londres qu'aboutissent la plupart des fils qui relient l'Europe aux autres Continents.'<sup>5</sup>

The Institut de Droit International in 1879 adopted a resolution that in time of war cables connecting neutral countries were inviolable. At its meeting in Brussels the Institut passed a series of resolutions which probably express the general understanding as to what is right and proper. After reaffirming the inviolability of cables connecting neutral territories, the Institut added:

Le câble reliant les territoires de deux belligérants ou deux parties du terri-

<sup>4</sup> See Earp's *Sir Charles Napier's Campaign in the Baltic*, pp. 132, 165, 276.

<sup>5</sup> *R. G. de Droit International*, 1901, p. 682. I quote for what it is worth the statement of M. Rey: 'En 1870, la notification de la déclaration de guerre n'est transmise à l'escadre d'extrême-Orient qu'après avoir été communiquée aux navires de commerce allemands à ce moment dans les ports chinois. Lors de la campagne du Tonkin, en 1885, l'Angleterre se procure la clef du chiffre employé par le Gouvernement français; et prend avant celui-ci connaissance des dépêches de l'Amiral Courbet; de même, en 1893, les instructions envoyées à l'Amiral Humann au conflit franco-Siamois sont communiquées au Foreign Office par les compagnies anglaises chargées de les transmettre. En 1888, un télégramme du Gouvernement du Congo au Roi des Belges au sujet de l'expédition Stanley-Emin Pacha est connu par la presse anglaise avant d'être parvenu à destination; il en est de même du succès de l'expédition du Général Duchesne à Madagascar en 1895. Enfin, en 1894, la mort du Sultan du Maroc, susceptible d'entraîner de graves complications, est dissimulée vingt-quatre heures aux Gouvernements intéressés pendant que le Ministre d'Angleterre à Tanger, pour correspondre avec le Foreign Office, occupe pendant une nuit entière le câble anglais, qui seul reliait alors le Maroc au reste du monde.' (*R. G. de Droit International*, 1901, p. 683.)

toire d'un des belligérants peut être coupé partout, excepté dans la mer territoriale et dans les eaux neutralisées dépendant d'un territoire neutre.

Le câble reliant un territoire neutre au territoire d'un des belligérants ne peut en aucun cas être coupé dans la mer territoriale ou dans les eaux neutralisées dépendant d'un territoire neutre. En haute mer, ce câble ne peut être coupé que s'il y a blocus effectif et dans les limites de la ligne du blocus, sauf rétablissement du câble dans le plus bref délai possible. Ce câble peut toujours être coupé sur le territoire et dans la mer territoriale dépendant d'un territoire ennemi jusqu'à une distance de trois milles marins de la baisse de basse-marée.

Few of those who discuss the subject dwell sufficiently upon the differences between contraband or quasi-contraband and vessels conveying the same and telegrams and submarine cables. Telegraphic communications may be called quasi-contraband. But you do not seize a vessel because it *may* be carrying contraband; you do not destroy it if it does; you do not confiscate it if the owner has acted innocently. Transmitting messages to belligerents may be likened to breaking a blockade. But the analogy is faint. You do not destroy vessels which may break it; you do not capture them, unless the blockade is effective. In a maritime war a cable is something *sui generis*. A belligerent cannot exercise over it any right similar to that of search; it may be an instrument of war much more important than a cargo of contraband or a blockade-runner; the fact to be recognised is that he may be safe only if he cuts it. The hesitation of States unable to foresee circumstances in which interruption to cable communications might be vital to them is natural. Looking to what may hang upon telegraphic communication—transports intercepted, a fleet destroyed, the fate of a campaign affected—it is too much to expect belligerents always to keep within the four corners of the rules which I have quoted. There will be circumstances, it may be anticipated, in which they will not suffer, if they can help it, a telegraphic cable, no matter who is the owner or what are its termini, to be used to their detriment. To whatever rules they assent will probably be added the sacramental formula, 'So far as circumstances permit.'

I put less trust in rules which there may be an irresistible temptation to break or evade than in a proper system of compensation by belligerents not only for structural injuries, but loss of traffic, meted out by a tribunal possessing general confidence. In legal development, when a new principle has not yet been evolved, and when, in the absence of accepted rules, each case depends on its peculiar circumstances, compensation is, as here, the only possible alleviation of hardships. At present, however, there are no settled ideas or practice as to such compensation. The Americans, in their war with Spain, cut the cable of the Eastern Extension Company from Hong-Kong to Manila at the shore end. The company claimed compensation for Admiral Dewey's act of war. English counsel gave an opinion favourable to the claim of the company for indemnity to the extent of the amount expended on repairing the cable cut at Manila. The Attorney-General of the United States advised his Government

that the claim was not maintainable, on the ground that the 'property of a neutral permanently situated within the territory of our enemy is, from its situation alone, liable to damage from the lawful operations of war, which this cutting is conceded to have been, as no compensation is due for such damage. . . . That is a rule applying to property of a neutral which he has placed within the territory of our enemy, which property our necessary military operations damage or destroy. It takes no account of the character of the property, but only of its location. . . . It argues nothing that cables have not heretofore been the subject of any discussion of this rule. The same might be said of many kinds of property, either because they happened not to be injured, or because the rule was so well understood that a discussion was deemed superfluous. . . . It is said that the whole utility of the cable is destroyed for many miles by a cutting within territorial waters; in other words, that the damage extends outside of territorial waters. But is this true? Undoubtedly the interruption of traffic over it does or may extend for many miles; but the interruption of traffic is not the basis of the claim. When repaired, it was repaired, as it had been cut, within territorial waters, and was then the same as before the injury. It was possible to take up the outer end and operate the cable to Hong-Kong from the time it was cut; and it was the sealing of the cable at Hong-Kong, and not the cutting, which prevented this from being done. . . . The obvious difference between a cutting within and a cutting without territorial waters, however it may be equally troublesome to the owner, goes to the foundation of the rule authorising the destruction of property because it is within the territory.'<sup>6</sup>

These reasons are highly technical, and are not convincing. They do not accord with the equity of plain men. The property of an innocent subject of a neutral State—property which he could not remove when war broke out—had been injured. The whole line from Hong-Kong to Manila was rendered for a time useless to the company. It is conceived that a proper system of compensation should provide for such cases and others pretty certain to arise in maritime warfare. It is somewhat a waste of time and ingenuity, I fear, to attempt to determine beforehand with great detail the precise limits of action to which in this matter belligerents may be expected to conform. More pressing is the preparation of a carefully thought-out scheme of compensation.

The reluctance to speak positively as to the use by neutrals on the high seas or on neutral territory of wireless telegraphy is intelligible. Its utility in warfare has yet to be determined. It was absurd to describe, in the language of the Russian note, the telegraphists on board the *Haimun* as 'spies'—a term defined in every military manual.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Opinions of Attorney-Generals*, xxii. p. 315. I gather from the Secretary of the Company that the claim is still under consideration.

<sup>7</sup> See Bismarck's famous note, of November 19, 1870, as to the treatment of aeronauts in time of war.

If there is any doubt as to its meaning, it arises from the modern tendency to greater leniency towards a class of men performing duties which every soldier considers honourable. In these days Major André might not have been executed. He probably would not have experienced the humiliation of being hanged. Wireless apparatus on shipboard could not by any stretch of reason be classed, according to the threat in the Russian note, as contraband; every requisite is absent. Nor is there a recognised doctrine according to which neutrals may be excluded from 'the sphere of military operations' outside the belligerents' territory—a somewhat novel phrase covering a novel doctrine. But all cause for complaint by belligerents is not removed by vessels with wireless telegraphy keeping outside the three-mile line. That for some purposes is a sufficient zone of safety, while it is not so for others; it is a popular error that international law draws a hard-and-fast line as to this. Operation by wireless telegraphy might be on such a scale and in such circumstances as to amount to assisting the enemy. It would be unreasonable to expect a belligerent to look on while a vessel equipped with this apparatus cruised seven or eight miles off shore, collecting military information and transmitting it, directly or circuitously, to the other belligerent; this might be lending aid, and of a most valuable kind, to the enemy. What is at present a small matter might conceivably become by some future development and organisation so serious as to be a breach of neutrality and an offence to be taken cognisance of in an amendment to Section 8 (4) of the Foreign Enlistment Act. What is to be insisted upon as to this and many other points which have arisen in this war is that there is no consensus of nations as to them; and that no one is entitled to say, 'International law condemns this.' That holds good even of such a matter as what is contraband by the law of nations.

One minor matter of some novelty may be mentioned. It is a nice question of casuistry how far it is legitimate to set troops of wholly different degrees of civilisation to fight against each other; and it is a question as to which opinion is apt to be inconsistent. The employment of black troops by the United States was applauded by those who, borrowing Chatham's invectives against the use of the Red Indians in war, denounced the employment of the Turcos in 1870. The Russian Government appear to have done something which is almost as questionable as the conduct of the French. Certain of the convicts detained in the Island of Sakhalin—a particularly bad class of criminals—are, it is said, to be used as soldiers; a revival of a practice not known, so far as I am aware, since in France in 1793 was formed a legion of *forçats*. These recruits are to be employed on what is akin to police duty. But should the tide of war roll in their direction, deplorable things may happen; and in any case it is an unfortunate precedent.

## LAST MONTH

## I

THE Whitsuntide recess, and Ascot, not to speak of the ordinary gaieties of the season, have interfered to some extent with the course of politics during the past month. Possibly, also, our politicians have been glad of any excuse for absenting themselves from the House of Commons. At all events, it has hardly been in the Parliamentary debates that the political interest has centred of late. And yet it is difficult to recall a time when the political situation was at once more difficult and more interesting than it is at this moment. The life of the Ministry and of Parliament seems to hang by a thread. At any moment it may be cut short. But the thread is a tough one, and has successfully withstood so many shocks that wise men have given up speculating upon the precise moment at which it will at last be severed. For the mere partisan the situation is quite simple. The thick-and-thin advocate of the Ministry sees in Mr. Balfour the most adroit of Parliamentary tacticians, and he looks to him to juggle successfully, possibly for a couple of years to come, with the successive difficulties which he has to face. The resolute Liberal, on the other hand, whilst admitting Mr. Balfour's cleverness, maintains, first, that the cleverness is not in itself very reputable; secondly, that, after all, the Prime Minister is not a free agent, but is compelled to keep measure to the tune played by Mr. Chamberlain; and, finally, that it does not matter a rap with what skill Mr. Balfour glides over thin ice, so long as public feeling out of doors rises daily and perceptibly against him. These, however, are only the crude outward features of the situation. *Beati possidentes!* No doubt it gives much comfort to the average Ministerialist to know that his party is still in possession of power, and that no day for its ejection has as yet been fixed. No doubt, also, the sturdy member of the Opposition is equally satisfied by the testimony of the by-elections, and the proof forthcoming on all hands of the grotesque failure of the raging and tearing agitation which he feared so greatly twelve months ago. But behind these obvious facts lie others of greater importance, which the events of last month have forced into prominence.

To begin with, it looks, at the moment at which I write, as though there must be an early end to what has been widely, but not inaccurately, described as the farce of Mr. Balfour's fiscal policy. The Prime Minister has successfully evaded every attempt made in the House of Commons to extract from him a frank and intelligible definition of that policy. He still sits triumphantly upon the fence, and neither the reproaches of his opponents nor the entreaties of his friends have caused him to descend from it. But apparently pressure has been brought to bear upon him from another quarter, and it is pressure to which he may yet have to yield. The Duke of Devonshire has been formally ejected from the Presidency of the Liberal Unionist Association, and his place, we are now told, is to be taken by Mr. Chamberlain. No one can reasonably object to this step. Mr. Chamberlain is, without doubt, the most powerful and important person left in the Liberal Unionist party, and he is certainly entitled to succeed the Duke in the office of President. But with him are to be associated as Vice-Presidents two members of the Cabinet, the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Selborne. This in itself is a quite unobjectionable arrangement. But if it be true, as semi-official announcements declare, that the first step of the reorganised Liberal Unionist Association will be to pronounce strongly in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy, it is difficult to see how an acute crisis is to be avoided in the Ministerial ranks. The Free Traders in those ranks are hardly likely to accept with equanimity a declaration in favour of Protection from a body two of whose officials are Cabinet Ministers of the first rank. The bland assurances which have hitherto sufficed to avert an open rupture among the majority in the House of Commons will scarcely carry weight in face of the capture by the Protectionists not only of the Liberal Unionist organisation, but of members of the Cabinet so distinguished as Lords Lansdowne and Selborne. I have never, in these pages, dwelt upon the gossip which at all times runs riot in the lobbies at Westminster. Most of it is foolish, and it is generally based upon the slightest of foundations; but it is impossible for anyone to close his ears to the rumour which asserts that this new step on the part of Mr. Chamberlain in the reorganisation of the Liberal Unionist Association is the result of a determination on his part to force the running, and to commit, so far as he can, the whole Ministerial party to his fiscal policy. He has had to submit to many mortifications of late, and his is by no means a nature that loves to kiss the rod. It must be bad enough for him to see election after election resulting in the return of those who are opposed tooth and nail to his food-tax; but what must be infinitely worse is the fact that his own chosen candidates resolutely shrink from being publicly identified with his policy. The Balfour umbrella, to revive an illustration of old Gladstonian days, furnishes them with a shelter of which they eagerly avail themselves—not, apparently,

with great success so far as electoral results are concerned. It is easy to understand that this is not a state of things pleasing to the ex-Colonial Secretary. In his eyes, those who are not for him are against him, and no one can be surprised if he should have resolved that a farce which has been somewhat unduly prolonged should be ended with as little delay as possible. It thus seems not impossible that before another month has passed over our heads we shall be brought face to face with a change in the political situation which may alter many things.

It is not to the current and open events of the past month that we have to look for real light upon the great political movements of the time. So far as these events are concerned they are almost wholly unfavourable to Mr. Chamberlain. The by-elections have proved once more that the masses of the electors have not only been unaffected by his strenuous appeals, but are still resolutely opposed to his reactionary ideas. Fiscal reform has even, it is said, ceased to be popular in smart society, where a year ago it was the fashionable cult. The Cobden centenary celebrations, though they may have had the defects common to all popular celebrations of the kind, have undoubtedly shown how strong a hold Cobdenism has secured upon the nation. Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Commission, it is true, is still at work, and I am told by those who ought to know that the new Protectionists expect much from the result of its labours. But for the present it conducts its proceedings with a decorous privacy, and the bomb which it is to launch against Free Trade has still to be fashioned. But behind the labours of the Cobden Club on one side, and of the Tariff Commission on the other, the real forces are silently at work; and among these none is more potent than the personality of Mr. Chamberlain himself. Whatever he may have lost in prestige by his abortive agitation in the country, he has certainly not lost the unique power which he wields within the Ministerial ranks in Parliament. The Government depends for its continued existence upon his support, and though it is natural to conclude that he would be loth to pass sentence of death upon an Administration of which his son is a member, no outsider can venture to predict when the psychological moment may arrive when he will decide that, for the benefit of his cause, the curtain ought to be rung down upon the present act in the drama. His speech at the City dinner to the Chancellor of the Exchequer suggests that he has already framed a new plan of campaign, and that his present idea is to ask the country for its confidence on the strength of his assumed ability to provide it with new sources of revenue, the burden of which will fall, not upon us, but upon the stranger outside our gates. That we shall have to discover new sources of revenue, if our trade does not improve and there is to be no reduction of our expenditure, is only too certain; but that we are in a position to compel other people to provide us with the money we need is a pro-

position that Mr. Chamberlain will find it somewhat difficult to induce the country to accept. Even Mr. Gladstone, as we know, failed signally on the one occasion on which he made an appeal to the mercenary instincts of the electors, and in matters of finance Mr. Chamberlain's warmest admirer will admit that he is not Mr. Gladstone. Still, the fact remains that we seem to be entering upon a new phase of the great controversy, a phase in which our unbridled expenditure and the trade depression so largely due to the losses of the South African war will be claimed as assets by the fiscal reformers. It is not impossible that one of the consequences of this change of tactics will be an earlier dissolution than many seem to anticipate.

Rumour—one must again apologise for referring to so very doubtful an authority—has for months past informed the world that Mr. Chamberlain does not look for a Ministerial victory at the next General Election. In this instance the rumour is not, I believe, unfounded. What Mr. Chamberlain anticipates is a Liberal majority of somewhat uncertain extent. The Opposition is then to come into power, and is to remain in office for a very limited period, not exceeding two years. This is the forecast of one who is both a shrewd judge and a pronounced adversary of the Liberal party. This being the case, it cannot be presumptuous to deal with the prospects of Liberalism, more especially since, during the last month, some light has been thrown upon those prospects by Lord Rosebery's speech at the Queen's Hall. I need not discuss that speech at length. Whatever else may be said about it, it was at least the speech of one who, whatever may be the number of his followers, undoubtedly spoke as a leader. His survey of the general situation was wide and luminous, and even those Liberals who have the least sympathy with his opinions upon some subjects would be very ill-advised if they failed to benefit by it, and by the general tenor of the advice which he gave them. But the great merit of Lord Rosebery's declaration was the emphasis with which it drew attention to that which is, after all, the *crux* of the situation, so far as Liberalism is concerned. The party must, before long, make its great appeal to the electors. It has enough, and more than enough, in the Ministerial blunders of the last nine years upon which to found its claim to a vote of confidence from the public. The old khaki cry is dead; how completely dead it is was proved by the Market Harborough election, in which a typical representative of those whom their opponents were wont to describe as pro-Boers secured a much larger majority than any Liberal had ever before obtained in the constituency. But if this cry is dead, another, and a still more formidable one, remains. What is to be the policy of a Liberal Government, supposing one to be formed as the result of the General Election, with regard to Ireland? Upon some points there need be no hesitation in answering this question. Administrative reform, sorely needed in all parts of the United Kingdom, is nowhere.



needed so urgently as in Ireland. Upon that point the Liberal party in all its branches is united. The sympathetic treatment of all reasonable Irish demands with a view to giving the country, so far as justice permits, the government which it desires, and without which it will never be content, is another question upon which there is but one opinion in the ranks of Liberalism. But are the Liberals, if they should return to power, to take up the thread broken in 1894, and to seek to revive that Home Rule legislation which they pursued with so much ardour, and at so great a cost to themselves, during the latest years of the Gladstonian régime? This was really the question discussed briefly but clearly by Lord Rosebery in the Queen's Hall speech. There is no need to say how he dealt with it. He declared plainly that the next Parliament, if it had a Liberal majority, neither could nor would deal with the question of Home Rule. His views are those which I feel convinced are held by the overwhelming majority of Liberals, certainly by all who care to look the facts in the face. We cannot revive the passionate pilgrimage of the years between 1885 and 1894; and if we could, there is no reason to suppose that public opinion in Great Britain has changed to such an extent as to support a renewed Home Rule policy, or that the House of Lords has repented of its rejection of Mr. Gladstone's scheme. To seek to revive that scheme under present conditions would be an act of suicide on the part of the Liberal leaders. They have work of their own to do for Great Britain and the Empire as a whole, more important and more pressing than anything they can hope to do in the next Parliament for Ireland. Mr. Birrell, who, as President of the National Liberal Federation, speaks with authority, has been almost as emphatic in proclaiming this truth as Lord Rosebery himself. The misfortune is that there are still many Liberals who, if they could, would revive the ten-year-old shibboleth, and seek to burden themselves with it, to the detriment of their party and their cause. For those who feel so strongly on this subject that they insist upon being Home Rulers and nothing else, one can only feel sincere respect, even though their worldly wisdom may not be very obvious. But the Home Rule cry has other supporters, who regard it as being not so much the embodiment of a sacred principle as an instrument for electioneering purposes. They believe but faintly in the possibility of securing a Liberal majority in the next Parliament without the help of the Irish, and it is their desire to secure the Irish vote that makes them stick to Home Rule. Naturally, they are furious against Lord Rosebery for his distinct refusal to countenance the idea of an alliance between British Liberals and Irish Nationalists, or the formation of a Ministry which would depend for its existence upon the support of the latter. This, as I have said, is the *crux* of the question with which the Liberal leaders and the Liberal party have now to deal. To me it seems that Lord Rosebery spoke both as a statesman and

a patriot. It would be impossible for the Liberal party to do the work which now lies before it, work dealing more particularly with free trade, education, and licensing reform, if it could only carry out its policy by the aid of the Irish members; whilst no position could be more intolerable or more humiliating for any English Ministry than that of having to rely upon an Irish alliance, unless it were in a Parliament elected *ad hoc* for the purpose of dealing with the Irish question. All this is so obvious that it seems to be a truism, and yet it is a truism upon which depends the future of Liberalism in the next House of Commons. To play with the question in any way, or to try to evade it by means of soothing commonplaces which deceive nobody, would be to betray the interests not merely of the party, but of the country. The greatest misfortune that could happen to the nation as the result of the next General Election would be a condition of things in which the Irish members would hold the balance of power. Lord Rosebery's purpose at the Queen's Hall was to point to the existence of this danger, and to warn his fellow Liberals against those who would lightly expose themselves to it. He deserves the thanks not only of Liberals but of the whole country for the courage with which he has spoken the truth on a delicate and serious question, without stopping to consider the misconceptions to which such plain-speaking was certain to subject him.

The Prime Minister referred at least once during last month to the alleged lists—'alternative lists,' I think he called them—of the next Administration which are popularly supposed to be enshrined in the cabinets of certain prominent members of the Opposition. Personally, I know nothing even as to the existence of these lists; but I do know that a great many people believe that they are actually in being, and they undoubtedly form a topic which seems to interest all classes of politicians. The forming of imaginary Cabinets is always a fascinating amusement, especially to those who are not too far off the sacred circle to feel a personal interest in the game. But in the case of the next Liberal Government so much depends upon the choice of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary that, until the allotment of these posts has been definitely settled, no good can be done by speculation as to minor appointments. That there are alternative Governments ready to step into the shoes of Mr. Balfour and his colleagues in the present Ministry is certain; and Liberals, at all events, believe universally that no new Government, whatever might be its general character, could possibly be worse than the present one, or could blunder so conspicuously and so constantly as the oft-transformed Cabinet of 1895 has done. But what is to be the special brand of Liberalism that the next Ministry will represent? There are writers in the Press and a few speakers on the platform who insist that it must be openly and strenuously anti-Imperialist in tone, and must renounce not only the jingoism of the khaki days, but the 'sane

Imperialism' of the Liberal League. There are others who hold that even the least infusion of the 'Little England' spirit into the new Government would certainly discredit it, and probably bring about its destruction well within the brief term of life which Mr. Chamberlain and his friends have assigned to it. The truth, of course, lies between these two extremes. The policy of ostracism for which a few extreme Radical writers, possessed of greater fluency than influence, are always clamouring, is one that under present conditions the Liberal party is certainly not in a position to adopt. The next Ministry will contain the representatives of all the sections into which the Opposition has been split during its long years of wandering in the wilderness. But its predominating character can only be decided when it is known who is to be at its head, who is to hold the Foreign Secretaryship, and what is to be its attitude towards the Irish question. Until these points have been settled—and they can hardly be settled before the General Election has taken place—it is sheer waste of time to speculate on the contents of those mysterious lists to which Mr. Balfour referred. The only point that emerges clearly from the turbid sea of speculation is the fact that, upon whomsoever the duty of forming the next Liberal Administration may fall, there is no one who is likely to envy him his task.

The question of the Army and the defensive forces of the country has been very much in men's minds during the month. The Report of the Royal Commission upon the Volunteers, with its rather crude conclusion in favour of conscription, startled everybody, and apparently was most startling to those who in the Press and in Parliament have long been dallying with the subject in an amateurish fashion. Seldom has a document of this importance been received with such general and outspoken condemnation. A couple of days sufficed to establish the fact that, at the present moment, the nation will not stand the idea of conscription at any price. The Report of the Commission was blown into the air by a gust of almost universal indignation, and Ministers made haste to declare that they had no intention of acting upon its proposals. If, as seems by no means improbable, the Report was in the nature of a *ballon d'essai*, sent up on behalf of the Ministry, it undoubtedly served its purpose, and for some time to come we are little likely to hear anything further on the subject of compulsory military service. But there are some who suggested from the first that, in procuring this declaration of opinion from the Royal Commission, Ministers were not so much trying to ascertain the true views of the public with regard to conscription, as seeking to furnish themselves with a weapon by means of which they could induce the House of Commons to accept fresh proposals of theirs on the subject of the Army. It is unfortunately evident that the present condition of the Army is deplorably bad. Between the havoc wrought by the war and the still greater mischief caused by Mr. Brodrick's

alteration of the terms of enlistment, the ranks of our regiments are being quickly depleted, and it is impossible to find recruits to take the places of the men who insist upon returning to civil life. The subject is not one upon which I wish to dwell. Probably the less it is discussed in public the better. But it is known only too well that we are within a few months of a crisis in the history of our Army such as we have never had to face before. Ministers seem to have one remedy, and one only, for this deplorable state of things. It is the old remedy of increased expenditure. With the Report of the Volunteer Commission in their hands, they can go to Parliament and say, 'Here is a proposal for conscription; but you will not even look at it; that being the case you must face the only alternative, and provide sufficient money to enable us to compete successfully for our recruits in the open labour market.' Such, at least, is the explanation which some give of the origin of this very remarkable Report.

But, in the meantime, what of that great scheme of War Office reform which was to give us the efficiency in military administration that we need so badly? Everybody rejoiced at the business-like promptitude with which Mr. Arnold-Forster, after his installation in office, brought the Esher Committee into existence, and we rejoiced even more gladly when that body turned out its sweeping scheme of reforms with such unexampled celerity. But months have elapsed since the historic documents revolutionising our system of Army administration were given to the world; it is even months since we were practically assured by the Secretary for War that the scheme had been adopted and was in process of being put in force. Where is it now? Many wild rumours are current as to its fate, but they are not rumours that one need pause to examine here. One thing, however, has happened during the past month that is distinctly ominous. It was announced that on the 16th of May Mr. Arnold-Forster would take the House of Commons into his confidence, and make his eagerly-expected statement with regard to the position of his great scheme. The spirit of the reformers rose at this announcement, and the prophets of evil, who had been trading on the rumours to which I have referred, were correspondingly depressed. But alas! on the eve of the date mentioned the Prime Minister, in an apologetic statement worded so curiously that it could not have failed to create suspicion in the minds of those who heard it, intimated that a mistake had been made—a mistake the sole responsibility for which rested with himself—and that Mr. Arnold-Forster would not be in a position to make his promised speech on the day fixed. Then, indeed, did the flood of rumour that had been gathering so long burst all bounds, sweeping everything before it. Not merely the loss of the Esher-Clarke scheme, but even the downfall of the Ministry itself, were declared by the quidnuncs to be impending; and tales of a prolonged fight within the Cabinet, waged with a desperate resolution worthy of

General Kuroki himself, filled all mouths. Perhaps by the time that these lines appear in print the truth may have been made manifest. One hears many versions of it ; but it is no business of mine to pervey the gossip of the clubs. For the present I am content to note the fact that as last month drew to a close the hopes both of Army reformers and of economists seemed to sink to the lowest point at which they had stood since Mr. Brodrick retired from his throne of thorns in Pall Mall.

Parliament has been engaged during the month with the Licensing Bill, and other measures for the most part of secondary importance. On the Licensing Bill, Ministers have so far held their own, and have successfully resisted even the attempt, strongly supported on their own side of the House, to induce them to impose a time limit on their measure for conferring a practical endowment on the publicans. But their success in the House of Commons has not followed them into the country, where public opinion is steadily growing more hostile to the Bill. The bishops and clergymen of the Church of England have come forward to protest against it, and popular demonstrations for the purpose of denouncing it have been held in many of the large towns throughout England. The demonstrations may not in themselves be immediately operative ; but they undoubtedly swell the tide of resentment against the Government which is growing so steadily in all quarters. More important, perhaps, than any individual measure dealt with during the month is the movement within the House of Commons which has been caused by the systematic attempt of certain members to deprive the House of its liberty of action, in the interests of particular parties. Debate, on a motion for the adjournment of the House, is not, under the rules, permitted on any question with respect to which a notice of motion is standing on the paper. In itself there are doubtless good reasons for this rule, but it is deliberately abused by members who put down what can only be called sham notices of motion for the purpose of preventing any real debate upon the questions with which their notices deal. It seems intolerable that the freedom of Parliament should be curtailed in this matter by the hacks of parties or the advertisers of their own names. The Prime Minister has undertaken, at the request of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to consider how this scandal may be dealt with. Public respect for the House of Commons will hardly be increased if it should prove to be powerless to protect itself from this gross infringement of its rights.

The 'Dundonald incident,' as it has been called, is one of the least pleasant features of the history of the month. The Earl of Dundonald, a soldier of brilliant reputation, was appointed, after the South African War, General in command of the Canadian Militia. Recently, in that capacity, he nominated certain persons for commissions in one of the regiments of militia. One at least of these

nominations was rejected by Mr. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, to whom the matter was referred by the Minister to whose department questions connected with the national defence belong. Lord Dundonald thought he had reason to believe that Mr. Fisher acted from motives connected with party politics, and he made a speech on the subject at a public gathering, in which he protested strongly against the intrusion of politics into matters of military discipline. There is no doubt that he committed an indiscretion in taking this action, and that he showed his failure to appreciate the constitutional laws by which he, in common with other persons, must be content to be governed. But his indiscretion was not treated generously or even leniently by the Dominion Government, whilst Sir Wilfrid Laurier's reference to this distinguished British soldier as a 'foreigner'—an indiscretion, it is true, immediately repented of—leaves a very bad taste in the mouth. The incident ought to be a lesson to the politicians who, ignoring the advice of the wise men of the past, are anxious to anticipate the work of time in cementing a closer relationship between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Of other incidents of the month, two which must be noticed in this chronicle are the assassination of General Bobrikoff, the Governor-General of Finland, by an official of the Finnish Administration who afterwards committed suicide, and the terrible fire on a pleasure-boat in East River, New York, by which some 900 lives, chiefly those of children, were lost. So far as the tragedy at Helsingfors is concerned, public opinion in this country seems to be divided between our righteous abhorrence of assassination as a weapon in political warfare, and our indignation at the harsh and arbitrary way in which the Government at St. Petersburg has for years past been engaged in the attempt to substitute autocratic rule for the once free constitution of Finland.

The war between Russia and Japan has undergone a great development during the month, and has now attained proportions which irresistibly recall the mighty conflict of 1870. With one exception, all the events of the month have been unfavourable to the arms of Russia. This exception is the successful raid of the Vladivostok fleet into Japanese waters, where the swift Russian cruisers were able to inflict serious damage upon a fleet of the enemy's transports. The loss of life was great, and the interruption to the Japanese operations has been considerable. The Russian vessels were exceptionally fortunate in being able to evade the Japanese squadron, and to return to Vladivostok in safety. But, though the Russians have been naturally cheered by this, their first successful operation during the war, the record of the month has been, in all other respects, uniformly adverse to them. The investment of Port Arthur was completed on the 4th of June, and the Japanese armies began at once to move northwards in the direction of Mukden. A desperate attempt was made by General Kuropatkin, at the urgent instigation of the authorities in

St. Petersburg, to send a relieving force to Port Arthur. The result has been at least one pitched battle, and a series of sanguinary engagements. The pitched battle resulted in the complete defeat of the Russians, with a loss that has been estimated at as high a figure as 10,000, and that probably does not fall far short of that number. Since then there have been rumours of another engagement scarcely less disastrous to the armies of the Czar, and the position of the corps which made the abortive attempt to relieve Port Arthur is extremely precarious. Not merely in scientific strategy, but in power of endurance on the field of battle, the Japanese continue to manifest their superiority to their foe, whose unquestionable valour seems of little avail against the desperate courage and better generalship of the enemy he has to face. General Kuropatkin is apparently being reinforced as rapidly as possible, but the Russian position in Manchuria is not more hopeful than it was, and we seem to be on the eve of grave, possibly even of decisive, events.

WEMYSS REID.

## *LAST MONTH*

### II

‘As far as possible all actions of the Chinese Government are regulated by precedents reaching back thousands of years, and a board of the highest officials have to watch that all edicts and proclamations conform in style, spirit, and substance with the ancient dynastic regulations and Confucian precepts.’ Only the other day I read this sentence in an able article about the Yellow Peril, published last month in this Review. In common with most of my brother publicists my mind, such as it is, has been of late so much occupied with the fiscal controversy that whatever I am reading I find myself reverting to Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League. My first impression on reading this passage was that by some printer’s error the words China and Confucius had been substituted for England and Cobden. A second perusal dispelled this illusion; but, as I read on, I learnt that the writer of the article in question attributed the decay of the Celestial Empire to the persistency with which the Chinese direct their policy, and regulate their action, in accordance, not with the conditions of the present day, but with theories laid down and promulgated by teachers in the bygone past. A subsequent study of the speeches delivered by the pundits of Liberalism on the occasion of the centenary of Cobden’s birth has caused me to feel deep anxiety about the extent to which the Liberal party are adopting similar principles of government to those which commend themselves to the collective wisdom of China. Like causes produce like results; and if, as I am daily assured, the control of the British Empire is about to pass into the hands of a party whose one article of faith is the infallibility of Cobden, I can only come to the conclusion that sooner or later Great Britain must incur the fate which has befallen the nation whose faith is pinned to the omniscience of Confucius. The French have a proverb that ‘so long as you live, you have got to live with the living, not with the dead,’ and the truth conveyed in this proverb is violated by any country which refuses to deal with the present and adheres to the past. In order to show how far the Cobdeniat and the Confucian evangels



resemble each other it may be well to quote a few flowers of rhetoric culled from the adulatory speeches of the leaders of the Liberal party during last month's commemoration of the centenary of Cobden's birth.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave the note of the Cobden demonstration by calling on his audience at the Alexandra Palace 'to declare their adherence to the doctrines which Cobden taught and their determination that the power of these doctrines should not, God helping them, be impaired.' In respect of Cobden Sir Henry seems to be what it is the fashion of the Liberals of to-day to call a 'whole hogger.' He not only pins his salvation to the faith of Free Trade as expounded by the some time member for Stockport, but he swallows without flinching the peace dogmas of which his guide, philosopher, and friend was the exponent. He informs us that 'Cobden's belief in Free Trade was not a mere isolated doctrine standing forlornly by itself; it was part, and an essential part, of his general outlook on the world. He saw the nations separated by their selfishness and their suspicions; he saw that militarism and protection went hand in hand.' Even Sir Henry's enthusiasm could not quite blind him to the fact that, though England under Cobden's advice had adopted Free Trade for the last sixty years, militarism has increased instead of declining. In order to meet this obvious objection he informs his listeners that 'they were to assert, not with bated breath, but in confident tones and in accents of triumph, that Cobden's dream was no illusion, and that the strength of the country depended not upon war equipment, not upon fleets and armies, but upon peace equipment.' In plain language, the policy, in virtue of which the eulogist of Cobden's foresight (the Minister of War under the last Liberal administration and the nominal leader of the Liberal party) proposes to secure to England the blessing of peace, is to reduce our armaments, to leave our shores and harbours unprotected, on the strength of his own conviction that Cobden was no dreamer of dreams, but was right in his theories, however facts may have gone against their realisation. Sir Henry's pompous eulogies were supported by a claptrap speech of Mr. Winston Churchill, who ignored Cobden, except as far as he dwelt upon the importance to Free Trade of his own conversion to Cobdenian orthodoxy, and wound up with a stirring peroration, in which he described the Unionists, whom he had just deserted, as 'a capitalist party, the mere washpot of plutocracy, the engine of the tariff and the trust, a hard confederation of interest and monopoly banded together to corrupt and to plunder the Commonwealth.'

At Birmingham Mr. Morley had the good sense to admit that the sudden desire exhibited by the Liberals to resuscitate the somewhat faded memory of Cobden was 'not a purely ceremonial tribute to a great public servant.' He had the good taste also to avoid any personal attack on the member for West Birmingham. With a total disregard, however, of historical proportion he poured forth his gall upon

Prince Bismarck, and described the statesman who created a United Germany as being a far less important personage than the politician who founded the Anti-Corn Law League. 'What,' he asked the operatives of Birmingham, 'was the use of stirring the people to-day with German professors or economics of the moon?' No answer being forthcoming to this inquiry, he proceeded to state 'that the German nation had lost all confidence whatever, if they ever had any, in these economics of the moon, which Prince Bismarck planted on them twenty-five years ago.' In confirmation of his assertion that Cobden's prophecies, however they had been discredited by the course of events, must and would come out right in the end, he repeated a remark made, or said to have been made, by Lord Melbourne three-score years ago to the effect that 'it is madness to think you can ever repeal the Corn Laws.' I should have thought myself that, as the Corn Laws were repealed a few years later, this saying was a proof of the folly of making prophecies as to the durability of any policy or institution. Everything changes; and yet Mr. Morley makes a strong demand upon the credulity of his fellow countrymen when he asks them to believe that the policy of Free Trade is the only thing immutable in a world of change. In like fashion Sir Robert Giffen informed the electorate of Hayward's Heath that 'no one can deny the past . . . and that Cobden's work in the matter of commercial policy was for all time.' At Carlisle the same dogma was affirmed by Sir Robert Reid when he stated that 'the lessons which Cobden taught our fathers were not lessons merely of passing value; they were founded on principles which were true for all time.' Freedom of trade was declared by the Solicitor-General of the last Liberal Government to occupy the first place in the category of 'things upon which the true stability of this country depended.' To speak the plain truth, the centenary celebration of Cobden's nativity was a happy thought devised by the guiding spirits of the Liberal party in order to discredit the cause of Tariff reform under the pretence of commemorating the public services of a well-nigh forgotten politician. The more indiscriminate and the more exaggerated were the eulogies showered upon Cobden and his policy, the more obvious was the inference that Mr. Chamberlain was not deserving of public support. If once it could be accepted as an article of faith that the authority of Cobden in matters of trade must be accepted as final and conclusive, it follows logically that there is no necessity even to consider the arguments which prove, or try to prove, that a system of trade which may have been beneficial to the community sixty years ago has, owing to altered conditions, become prejudicial in the present year of grace. When in the heyday of the Papacy the Sacred College closed any controversy by the formula, '*Roma locuta est*,' there was no more to be said. In like fashion our latter-day Liberals seem to think that, as the theories of Cobden are to dictate the commercial policy of this

country for all time, there is an end of all further discussion about Tariff reform.

I doubt, however, whether these tactics will meet with the success deserved by their ingenuity. There is great truth in the old saying that a live dog is better than a dead lion. Without admitting that canine or leonine characteristics can fairly be attributed to Cobden or to Chamberlain, it is certain that the latter is very much alive, and that the former is not only dead himself, but belongs to a dead past. When the constituencies are called upon to vote, one speech of Mr. Chamberlain's will exercise a greater influence on public sentiment than a score of eulogies on Cobden's services in having brought about the repeal of the Corn Laws. There was little or nothing about Cobden to appeal to popular imagination. He was a kindly, worthy man, honourable, both in his public and private life; an energetic organiser of political agitation; an excellent expositor of other men's ideas; an earnest worker on behalf of any cause he espoused, though his earnestness owed more than half its effect to his inability to realise that there are always two sides to every question. Of genius he had not a touch. The accident of fortune associated his name with the Anti-Corn Law crusade, but in reality Adam Smith, Sir Robert Peel, John Bright, George Thompson, and Charles Villiers played equally important parts in the establishment of Free Trade as the basis of our fiscal policy. This policy, I would add, owed its success far more to the Irish famine than to the efforts of any individual, however meritorious. Even the high literary ability and the charm of style possessed by my friend John Morley proved insufficient to make the *Life of Richard Cobden* interesting to the general reader. To sum up, Cobden's is not a name to conjure with, and I believe before many months are over the truth of this opinion will be made manifest in a way to which even the Cobden Club will be unable to shut their eyes.

The sentence with which I commence this article reminds me of another instance in which the example of China seems to have commended itself to the approval of our Liberal mandarins. I am informed by persons well acquainted with the Celestial Kingdom that though the Chinaman under intelligent discipline will make an efficient soldier, any real reorganisation of China as a military Power is rendered impossible by the extraordinary respect and reverence entertained for education by all classes in the Empire. From the days of Confucius the literati amongst his fellow countrymen have been taught to believe that war is an occupation unworthy of a rational human being, that the study of killing is one which could not be pursued without loss of self-respect, and that proficients in the degrading art of war are not fit to associate with men who have earned distinction and fortune by passing successful examinations. This teaching has so impressed itself upon the Chinese mind that no man of any social position or standing will ever consent willingly to enter the army

as a profession. To become an officer is to lose caste, to bring disgrace upon your relatives and even your ancestors. The result is that the officers of the Celestial army are to-day, and have been for centuries, men of no character, who have enlisted in order to save themselves from destitution, and whose sole ambition is to add to their inadequate pay by corruption and speculation. It would be absurd to say that a similar danger threatens the military power of England. The fighting instincts of our race are happily too strong to allow of our ever learning, as a nation, to look with contempt on the trade of soldiering. Our robust common-sense leads us to recognise the absurdity of the saying, so fashionable in the 'forty years of peace' era, that the pen is stronger than the sword, or to believe that courts of arbitration will ever remove the necessity for standing armies. Still, it is impossible for any impartial observer to be blind to the fact that the tendency of the English Liberals, as a party, is to decry militarism, to deprecate Imperialism, to spread abroad the conviction that the first duty of English statesmanship is to occupy itself with domestic reforms, and to remove social abuses rather than to provide for the safety of Great Britain and the British Empire. When war is described as consisting, to use Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's phrase, in 'methods of barbarism,' when the mere suggestion of a resort to conscription is denounced by the organs of Liberalism as being an outrage upon the working population of the United Kingdom, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the party which associates itself with the traditions of Cobden is treading in the footsteps of Confucius. I do not dispute the genuineness of Cobden's convictions. What I object to is the assumption that these convictions were the result of deep study or of any profound insight into human nature. The basis of his fiscal policy was that it would be for the good of humanity if every nation devoted itself to the cultivation of those products it was best fitted to produce by its natural conditions. According to his theory England, which, in virtue of her possession of coal and iron, was then the chief, almost the sole manufacturing Power in the world, was to make herself the workshop of the globe and to retain her monopoly of production by throwing open her markets to all countries who in return would supply her with bread stuffs.

Owing to Cobden's utter inability to comprehend the force of nationality he failed to perceive that other nations were not prepared to forego the advantage of having factories and workshops of their own in consideration of gaining a higher profit on their agricultural exports. The result was that his scheme ended in signal failure. The policy of open markets propounded by the Anti-Corn Law League, instead of converting other nations to Free Trade, caused them, without exception, to adopt the system of Protection, under which they have developed manufactures of their own capable of underselling the manufactures of England in her home markets. In like

fashion Cobden was unable to comprehend that cheap food would not prove a sufficient boon to induce British workmen to forego the prospect of earning higher wages by forming trade unions, whose reason of being is to raise the profits of the workman at the cost of his employer. Throughout his public career Cobden never concealed his want of sympathy with the attempts made by working men to better their condition through co-operation. Whether his views on this point were right or wrong is not the question under consideration. My only reason for alluding to the subject is to show how little he understood the nature of the British working classes if he believed that to them cheap bread was the one thing needful. If proof were needed of the weakness of the Liberal party it would be found in the fact that they have attempted to win over the working class electorate by retalling the memory of Cobden as that of an authority which outweighs any possible argument in favour of tariff reform. If they are again to regard the cheap loaf as their *in hoc signo vinces* they will not be long in finding out their mistake. I should, therefore, recommend them to study the example of the Chinese in simply reciting the greatness of Confucius without giving reasons for their belief. I learn that the following eulogy of the sage is one still popular in the Celestial Empire :

Confucius ! Confucius ! How great was Confucius !  
 Before him there was no Confucius ;  
 Since him there has been no other.  
 Confucius ! Confucius ! How great was Confucius !

I venture to suggest that if for Confucius the celebrators of the recent centenary had substituted the name of Cobden, and had recited a like stanza at their demonstrations, they would have saved themselves an unnecessary outpour of words and have done more to impress upon their audiences the claim of their hero to be regarded as a man whose wisdom was above discussion. If for the sake of euphony they should Latinise the name of Cobden and call him Cobdenius, the change would improve the euphony of the stanza, without detracting from its intrinsic value.

In connection with this subject I trust I may be permitted to say a few words as to certain strictures on the present writer which have recently been made by Lord Avebury in his treatise on *Free Trade*, and which have been reproduced with warm approval in the *Spectator*. There is nothing in those strictures of which I have any cause to complain, except that they are utterly irrelevant to the question at issue. I do not profess to be an authority on questions of political economy. All I claim is to be an authority, though on a small and humble scale, on questions of common-sense. I am not sufficiently conversant with trade matters to decide between the merits or demerits of Free Trade as a working system. All I contend is that Free Trade is not a dogma which cannot be called in question ; and that the issue

between restricted and unrestricted competition must as a matter of right, as well as of fact, be ultimately decided by the voice of the country, not by that of its self-constituted pedagogues. In support of this contention I have dared to point out that Cobden, whatever may be the value of his opinions enunciated threescore years ago, is not entitled to credit as a prophet. I am asked by Lord Avebury to recant my words and to acknowledge Cobden's claim to prophetic wisdom because he foresaw that Free Trade would be good for England. To put forward this statement as self-evident is to beg the question, a mode of argument unworthy even of the Cobden Club. Lord Avebury proceeds to dispute another statement of mine made also in these pages; that 'the opinion of the "civilised world," about which we used to hear so much during the Boer war, is dead against Free Trade.' His Lordship admits that 'in practice, no doubt, most countries are Protectionist.' He retorts with a *tu quoque* remark that I am not justified in making this statement, because I attached no value to the opinion of the civilised world concerning the Boer war. The fallacy of this retort is too obvious to be overlooked even by Macaulay's typical schoolboy. Let me say in passing from this subject that Lord Avebury's treatise on *Free Trade* is free from the personal vituperations of Mr. Chamberlain which, as a rule, discredit the utterances of the Unionist Free Fooders.

I note one feature in the speech delivered last month by Lord Rosebery at the Liberal League for which I must express my sincere gratitude. I do not find a single reference to Cobden or his centenary contained therein. The omission, I think, can best be accounted for by the supposition that his Lordship is alive to the fact that nowadays the name of Cobden is not a trump card even in the Liberal pack, and that if the Liberals hope to win the day at the next general election the less they say about the Anti-Corn Law League the better for their prospects of success. The Liberal League was, if my memory serves me rightly, founded during the war by a small section of the Opposition who were unable to join the hostility of the Liberals to the Boer war, and who were anxious to dissociate themselves from the Anti-Imperialist policy espoused by their Radical colleagues. Having formed the league, and having thereby recorded their protest against being described as Pro-Boers and Little Englanders, they felt under no obligation to take any further steps to convert their fellow Liberals to sounder views of policy. They considered themselves to be the *élite* of Liberalism; and they were convinced the presence in their ranks of Lord Rosebery would suffice, to quote his own words, 'to rescue and differentiate sane Imperialism from shoddy Imperialism.' Having thus vindicated the orthodoxy of the League in Imperial matters, the ex-Premier proceeded to declare that 'in no case he was aware of, and on no occasion, has loyalty to the Liberal League conflicted in the slightest degree with loyalty to the leaders and the policy

of the Opposition.' In other words, the Liberal League supports Imperialism in the abstract, but declines to support it in the concrete. Such an attitude undoubtedly avoids the necessity of taking any action which might commit the League definitely to the cause even of sane Imperialism. Nothing can be more comprehensive than Lord Rosebery's statement of the terms on which outsiders can obtain admission to the League. 'You' (the Liberal Leaguers) 'want everybody that you can rally to your standard—Liberal Leaguers or official Liberals, or the various other leagues that exist, and besides those let me say that you require, when you can secure them on anything like fair terms, all the support of those Tories who have fought for Free Trade under circumstances so difficult and dangerous to themselves.' We know what the standard is under which Liberals of all sorts are invited to enlist; we need no telling that the object of the campaign is to turn out the Government and to place the Liberals in office. But as for what ends and for what purposes their tenure of office is to be employed is a matter concerning which we are left in utter ignorance. We are furnished instead, by Lord Rosebery, with a series of prolix platitudes. We are assured that efficiency is to be the dominant feature of the coming Liberal Administration; that opportunism will not be excluded from consideration, and that 'Liberalism is no particular measure, but it is the frame and spirit of mind in which we approach great political questions. . . . Liberalism is the readiness to accept and to assimilate the best ideas of the time, and to apply them honestly in action.' As to this definition of Liberalism, I need only remark that it is a repetition of the stock phrases by which every Ministry, Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative, Unionist or anti-Unionist, has heralded its accession to office. If the end and aim of the Liberal League is to furnish Lord Rosebery with an opportunity for uttering commonplace truisms in a graceful manner there is no more to be said, except that his Lordship has an unlimited flow of words, and that his followers have a still more unlimited store of patience. If, however, I am rightly informed, the real reason which justifies the existence of the Liberal League is the necessity of not allowing Lord Rosebery's claims to the next Liberal Premiership to drop out of sight. The League is, in fact, an agency for the advancement of Lord Rosebery's candidature in the event of the Premiership being thrown open to competition. Fortunately, perhaps, from a Conservative point of view, his Lordship has an invincible repugnance to putting himself forward as the leader of his party. He is eager to secure the apples of office, but he insists that the apples should fall into his mouth, and even declines to take any part in shaking the apple tree. This is the explanation of the revival of the Liberal League. The muster-roll has been called. Sir Edward Grey, Sir Henry Fowler, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, and some sixteen members of Parliament have responded to the call, and the Radical section of the Opposition

have been given to understand that if they want to see a Liberal administration in office they can only do so on condition that they are willing to accept Lord Rosebery as the future Premier. If we are to have a Liberal Ministry in office after the General Election I should prefer either Lord Rosebery or any of his squires to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. But at the best the choice between a Rosebery or a Campbell-Bannerman Ministry would only be a choice of evils. For my own part I distrust the good faith or the sagacity of a statesman who, while he acknowledges that the support of the Irish Nationalists is essential to the maintenance of the Liberal party in office, seriously informs his personal supporters that the policy of a Liberal administration with respect to Home Rule will not be affected by the necessity of conciliating the Home Rule vote. Hitherto, whenever any criticism has been made as to the qualifications of the various politicians who are destined in their own opinion, and in that of their followers, to occupy prominent positions in the Ministry which is to replace the Unionist Government, the critics were met with one stock rejoinder. If we doubted the special fitness of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to become once more Secretary of State for War; if we were not confident as to Mr. Asquith being competent to discharge the duties of the leader of the House of Commons; if we ventured to suggest that Mr. Lloyd George might cut a sorry figure as a Cabinet Minister, or if we raised some other equally frivolous objection, we were told that at all events Lord Rosebery was pointed out by the consensus of public opinion as the ideal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Even this consolation is no longer forthcoming. The ex-Premier went out of his way, while expatiating to the Liberal League upon the imminence of a great Liberal reaction, to denounce the Anglo-French compact by saying that 'no more one-sided agreement was ever concluded between two Powers at peace with each other.' In order to leave no doubt in the minds of the Liberal Leaguers as to which side had had the worst of the bargain, his Lordship proceeded to drive home his assertions by remarking: 'I hope and trust, but I hope and trust rather than I believe, that the Power which holds Gibraltar may never have cause to regret having handed Morocco over to a great military Power.' Now, if words have any meaning, these words mean that France purports to employ the free hand we have accorded to her in dealing with Morocco to deprive us of our naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Even if this insinuation were based upon any serious foundation there was no possible good to be gained by throwing doubt on the good faith of France, and the very last man in the whole of the United Kingdom who could have been justified in making such an aspersion is the predecessor of Mr. Balfour in the Premiership and of Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office. Both as Prime Minister and as Foreign Secretary Lord Rosebery must have had ample opportunities of observing how seriously England was hampered in consolidating



her authority in Egypt by the constant hostility of France. Yet, knowing what he does, he has deliberately striven in his address to the Liberal League to depreciate the advantages England derives from having France with her, instead of against her, in her administration of Egyptian affairs. Since his retirement from office his Lordship has lost no opportunity of dilating on the arduousness of his labours in Downing Street. Possibly, if he had worked fewer hours and indited fewer despatches, he might have acquired a better knowledge of foreign affairs than he now seems to possess. The only explanation of the extraordinary indiscretion thus committed by Lord Rosebery is that he was led astray by his desire to disparage an agreement which he is shrewd enough to see has done much to influence popular opinion in favour of the Government under whose control a cordial understanding has been established between France and England. So long, however, as he could at last convey the impression how much better a bargain he could have made for this country, supposing he had been in command at Downing Street, he was apparently indifferent to minor considerations. Such at least is the best excuse I can suggest for a speech that never ought to have been spoken, and above all not by the speaker who gave it utterance.

Somehow or other neither the resuscitation of Cobden nor the re-appearance of Lord Rosebery as a candidate for the Premiership seems to have got matters much forwarder in our home politics. The Opposition appears for the time to have lost heart, while the Ministry are sanguine as to their retention of power till after the close of the Session, and of their being able before Parliament is prorogued to show a satisfactory record of legislation. Personally I attribute the lull of public interest in political controversies to the fact that the fortunes of the war now waging in the Far East monopolise popular attention. The more protracted the war seems likely to become the more men's thoughts are turned to the effect the campaign, whichever way it may end, must necessarily produce on the fortunes of all non-belligerent States, and especially of the British Empire.

The war in the Far East seems to me likely, in the near future, to bring about indirect results of far graver importance than its direct effects on the fortunes of the two belligerents. Even if Russia, as now seems daily less probable, should come out victorious from the conflict the world will be confronted with the hard fact that an Oriental nation, with a code of religion and morality utterly different from, if not antagonistic to, our European ideas, has attained a standard of patriotic altruism far exceeding any ideal attained before or even conceived as possible in this old world of ours.

EDWARD DICEY.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXX—AUGUST 1904

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*JAPAN AND THE COMMENCEMENT  
OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA*

AMONG other questions raised by an article from the pen of Sir John Macdonell, in this Review for July, on 'The Present War,' there is one on which I should like to offer some observations from a Japanese point of view.

Sir John Macdonell appears to think that our attack came to Russia as a surprise, and was therefore unjustifiable; and whilst he makes reservations on account of his lack of accurate information concerning the actual state of affairs at the commencement of the war, he proceeds to argue that it was a nice point whether the negotiations had or had not, on the 8th or 9th of February last, reached a stage at which discussion had really been abandoned, and both sides had resolved to accept the arbitrament of battle. Sir John seems to consider that notice should be given to an adversary, before beginning a war, that hostilities have become inevitable.

I will not say anything about the fact that the first shot was fired by the Russians on the Japanese vessels at Schimulpo; nor is it my

intention to enter upon any justification of Japan's course of action on the common theory of international law, or on the basis of the prevailing practice in such cases, or it could be shown that a formal declaration is not needed to constitute a state of war. On the contrary, I rather appreciate Sir John's contention that no blows should be struck without adequate warning, or while diplomatists are still debating the matters in dispute. And it is my desire to prove that Japan, far from taking her enemy unawares, did actually do precisely as Sir John Macdonell is anxious to show she ought to have done, and that, in the sense of his comment on the operations, there was no room for the Russians to be surprised in any degree whatever.

I will first endeavour to demonstrate the truth of this proposition by recalling the successive stages of those negotiations which culminated in hostilities; but it is unnecessary to dwell upon the earlier part of the diplomatic correspondence, nor is it worth while to enlarge either on the flagrant neglect of Russia to fulfil her own pledges, or on the persistency with which she sought to (the expression may be pardoned, since there is no other term that applies equally well) make a fool of Japan throughout the protracted negotiations. It may suffice to point out that, from the very nature of those negotiations, any failure to arrive at a satisfactory understanding was tantamount to an admission that war was inevitable.

The most acute phase was reached in November 1903, as was plainly indicated in the telegram despatched on the 21st of that month to Mr. Kurino, the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, by Baron Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Government of Tokio, in which the following passage occurs :

Baron Rosen added that he had not yet received any instructions on the subject of the counter-proposals, consequently you are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible, and after explaining to him Baron Rosen's statements, as above, you will say that *the Japanese Government are anxious to proceed with the negotiations with all possible expedition*, and you will urge him to exert his influence to secure the early despatch of instructions to Baron Rosen, in order that negotiations may be resumed and concluded without delay.

This view was, of course, communicated to the Russian Foreign Minister, and after further futile endeavours on Japan's part to elicit an early reply, Baron Komura telegraphed to Mr. Kurino on the 1st of December 1903, again urging the importance of a speedy solution of the question at issue, in yet more plain-spoken fashion; and he wound up his despatch thus :

In these circumstances the Japanese Government cannot but regard with grave concern the situation, for which the delays in the negotiations are largely responsible. You are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible, and place the foregoing considerations before him in such form and manner as to make your representations as impressive as possible. You will add that the Japanese Government believe they are rendering a service to the general interest in thus frankly explaining to the Russian Government the actual state of things.

When Mr. Kurino made these representations, which could scarcely have been more explicit, to Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Minister said that 'he would fully explain the urgency of the matter on the occasion of his audience on the following Tuesday'; but things in reality were made to drag on, and the Russian preference for the game of diplomatic seesaw was exemplified to the full, until at last, on the 23rd of December, when three whole weeks had been frittered away, Mr. Kurino, reporting to Baron Komura an interview which he had just had with Count Lamsdorff, thus ended his despatch :

In conclusion, I stated to him that under the circumstances it might cause serious difficulties, even complications, if we failed to come to an *entente*, and I hoped he would exercise his best influence so as to enable us to reach the desired end.

On the 6th of January 1904 a Russian reply was handed at Tokio by Baron Rosen to Baron Komura, but in substance it amounted to little more than a repetition, save for mere changes of wording, of what had gone before, and the attitude of Russia, it was plain, had undergone no sensible alteration. Speaking candidly, there was an end to all hope; but the Government of Tokio, still willing to exert itself, and even to make some concession, again invited the Russian Government, on the 13th of January, to reconsider the matter, in terms which, though conciliatory enough, constituted practically an ultimatum. In the despatch conveying this decision to the Russian Government the subjoined phrase occurred :

The grounds for these amendments having been frequently and fully explained on previous occasions, the Imperial Government do not think it necessary to repeat the explanations. It is sufficient here to express their earnest hope for reconsideration by the Imperial Russian Government.

And again :

The above-mentioned amendments being proposed by the Imperial Government entirely in a spirit of conciliation, it is expected that they will be received in the same spirit at the hands of the Imperial Russian Government; and the Imperial Government further hope for an early reply from the Imperial Russian Government, since further delay in the solution of the question will be extremely disadvantageous to the two countries.

Even in the face of such earnest representations of the danger of procrastination Russia still dallied, and on the 23rd and 26th of January 1904 Baron Komura successively telegraphed to Mr. Kurino, pressing for a prompt response. In one of the telegrams Mr. Kurino was instructed to seek an interview with Count Lamsdorff and state to him, as a direct instruction received from the Japanese Government, that,

in the opinion of the Imperial Government, a further prolongation of the present state of things being calculated to accentuate the gravity of the situation, it is their earnest hope that they will be honoured with an early reply, and that they wish to know at what time they may expect to receive the reply.

On the 28th of January Mr. Kurino reported to Baron Komura his interview with Count Lamsdorff, in which he explains how

He (Count Lamsdorff) stated that the Grand Duke Alexis and the Minister of Marine are to be received in audience next Monday, and the Minister of War and himself on Tuesday, and he thinks an answer will be sent to Admiral Alexeieff on the latter day. I pointed out the urgent necessity to accelerate the despatch of an answer as much as possible, 'because *further prolongation of the present condition is not only undesirable, but rather dangerous.*' I added that all the while the world is loud with rumours, and that I hoped he would take special steps so as to have an answer sent at an earlier date than mentioned. He replied that '*he knows the existing condition of things very well*, but that the dates of audience being fixed as above mentioned, it is not now possible to change them'; and he repeated that 'he will do his best to send the reply next Tuesday (the 2nd of February).'

Upon this Baron Komura, still anxious beyond measure to avoid the risks attendant upon these indefinite conditions, again telegraphed, on the 30th of January, to Mr. Kurino to see Count Lamsdorff at the earliest opportunity and state to him that :

Having reported to your Government that the Russian Government would probably give a reply on next Tuesday, you have been instructed to say to Count Lamsdorff that, being fully convinced of the serious disadvantage to the two Powers concerned of the further prolongation of the present situation, the Imperial Government hoped that they might be able to receive the reply of the Russian Government earlier than the date mentioned by Count Lamsdorff. As it, however, appears that the receipt of the reply at an earlier date is not possible, the Imperial Government wish to know whether they will be honoured with the reply at the date mentioned by Count Lamsdorff, namely, next Tuesday (2nd of February), or, if it is not possible, what will be the exact date on which the reply is to be given.

On the evening of the 31st of January Mr. Kurino saw Count Lamsdorff, who said that he

*fully appreciated the gravity of the present situation*, and was certainly desirous to send an answer as quickly as possible, but that the question was a very serious one and not lightly to be dealt with. The opinions of the Ministers concerned and of Admiral Alexeieff had to be brought into harmony—hence the delay. As to the date of sending an answer, it was not possible for him to give the exact date, as it entirely depended on the decision of the Emperor, though he would not fail to use his efforts to hurry the matter.

It was not until the *fifth* day after this interview which Mr. Kurino had with Count Lamsdorff, and the *third* day after the reply had been promised to be given, namely, on the 5th of February 1904, at 2.15 P.M., that Baron Komura telegraphed to Mr. Kurino as follows :

Further prolongation of the present situation being inadmissible, the Imperial Government have decided to terminate the pending negotiations and to take such independent action as they may deem necessary to defend their menaced position and to protect their rights and interests. Accordingly, you are instructed to address to Count Lamsdorff, immediately upon receipt of this telegram, a signed Note to the following effect :

'The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, has the honour, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, to address to his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias the following communication :

'The Government of H.M. the Emperor of Japan regard the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of Korea as essential to their own repose and safety, and they are consequently unable to view with indifference any action tending to render the position of Korea insecure.

'The successive rejections by the Imperial Russian Government, by means of inadmissible amendments, of Japan's proposals respecting Korea, the adoption of which the Imperial Government regarded as indispensable to assure the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire and to safeguard Japan's preponderating interests in the peninsula, coupled with the successive refusals of the Imperial Russian Government to enter into engagements to respect China's territorial integrity in Manchuria, which is seriously menaced by their continued occupation of the province, notwithstanding their treaty engagements with China and their repeated assurances to other Powers possessing interests in those regions, have made it necessary for the Imperial Government seriously to consider what measures of self-defence they are called upon to take.

'In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained, and naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial Government have exercised in the pending negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe affords abundant proof of their loyal desire to remove from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding ; but, finding in their efforts no prospect of securing from the Imperial Russian Government an adhesion either to Japan's moderate and unselfish proposals, or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the extreme East, the Imperial Government have no alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations.

'In adopting that course the Imperial Government reserve to themselves the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests.'

Simultaneously with the presentation of this Note Mr. Kurino was instructed to address Count Lamsdorff in writing to the following effect :

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary, &c., &c., has the honour, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, to acquaint H.E. the Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., that the Imperial Government of Japan, having exhausted, without effect, every means of conciliation, with a view to the removal from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government of every cause for future complications, and finding that their just representations and moderate and unselfish proposals in the interest of a firm and lasting peace in the extreme East are not receiving the consideration which is their due, have resolved to sever their diplomatic relations with the Imperial Russian Government, which for the reason named have ceased to possess any value.

In further fulfilment of the command of his Government, the undersigned has also the honour to announce to H.E. Count Lamsdorff that it is his intention to take his departure from St. Petersburg, with the Staff of the Imperial Legation.

These Notes were presented to Count Lamsdorff by Mr. Kurino on

the 6th of February, at 4 P.M., and on the same day Baron Komura conveyed a formal intimation to Baron Rosen, in Tokio, in the sense that

Whereas the Japanese Government had made every effort to arrive at an amicable settlement of the Manchurian question with Russia, the latter had not evinced any disposition to reciprocate this peaceful purpose. Therefore Japan could not continue the diplomatic conferences. She was regretfully compelled to take independent action for the protection of her rights and interests, and she must decline to accept the responsibility of any incidents that might occur in consequence.

A dispassionate perusal of all the foregoing despatches cannot fail to lead the student of history to the conclusion that repeated warnings were given by Japan in the successive stages of the negotiations, and that the last two despatches, dated the 5th of February, left absolutely no room for doubt that Japan had finally, though reluctantly, arrived at the conclusion that war was inevitable. The wording is polite, but who can doubt that it was a clear notice of war?

I must go farther than this; and it will, I think, be equally plain when I have finished that not only had Japan made up her mind upon this point, but that Russia by her actions—which ‘speak louder than words’—conclusively manifested that her intentions were warlike too. First, let me mention that the day on which Count Lamsdorff had led Mr. Kurino to expect that the reply would be ready was Tuesday, the 2nd of February. The day on which negotiations were finally broken off was Saturday, the 6th of February. On the intervening Thursday the Russian fleet at Port Arthur suddenly emerged from harbour and steamed out for hours to the south-eastward, ultimately returning to port. For what purpose this cruise was undertaken could not be divined, but it created of necessity intense excitement and anxiety in Japan, where it was interpreted as the prelude to some desperate measure, and the activity of the Russian naval squadron, thus exemplified, is wholly inconsistent with the theory of unpreparedness. It should be remembered that for a long time before this Russia had been pouring regiment after regiment into Manchuria, her Cossacks had invaded Korea, warship after warship had been despatched from Western waters to reinforce the fleet which she already had in Far Eastern seas, and in her diplomacy she had displayed a persistent arrogance which contrasted strongly with the conciliatory attitude of Japan.

But this is not all: At the moment when Admiral Togo actually made his attack *the Russian ships lay outside the harbour in a perfect battle array*, in front of the shore forts and batteries of the fortress, a position that they had taken up on their return from their cruise to the south-eastward. Wherein was the unpreparedness? If the officers of the Russian ships were caught in an unguarded moment, blame must not be imputed to the Japanese. The cause must rather be sought in a misconception on the part of the Russians of the watchful

strategy which the situation demanded. The facts are, moreover, that the Russian ships had lain under a full head of steam for days off the Port Arthur entrance, had been continually using their search-lights as though they apprehended an attack, the battleships had their decks cleared for action, and the instant that the first torpedo was launched the Russians opened fire on the Japanese boats.

These remarks should alone suffice to show that Russia was *not* taken by surprise; but I will show a few well-authenticated figures in addition. Her warlike preparations in the Far East had been going on from the previous April, when she ought by right to have been completing the evacuation of Manchuria in accordance with her solemn pledges. In the remaining months of 1903 she despatched to Far Eastern waters

	Combined Tonnage
Three battleships . . . . .	38,488
One armoured cruiser . . . . .	7,727
Five other cruisers . . . . .	26,417
Seven destroyers . . . . .	2,450
One gunboat . . . . .	1,844
Two mine-laying craft . . . . .	6,000

Seven other destroyers were sent by rail to Port Arthur and there put together, and two vessels of the 'Volunteer' Fleet were armed and hoisted the Russian naval ensign at Vladivostock.

On land the increase of the Russian forces was equally marked. The known augmentations, subsequent to the end of June 1903, were two infantry brigades, two artillery battalions, and a large force of cavalry. The total was continually being increased by troops being sent by train from Russia, up to 40,000, and plans were made for despatching over 200,000 more men. In October a train of fourteen cars was hurriedly sent off, laden with the equipment of a field hospital.

On the 21st of January two battalions of infantry and a detachment of cavalry were sent from Port Arthur and Dalny to menace the northern frontier of Korea. On the 28th of January Admiral Alexeieff gave to the Russian forces then stationed in the vicinity of the Yalu River orders to prepare for war. Troops were advanced in large numbers at the same time from Liao-Yang towards the Yalu. And on the 1st of February the military commandant at Vladivostock formally requested the Japanese Commercial Agent at that port, by order of the Russian Government, to notify Japan that a state of siege might be proclaimed at any moment. This was five days, before it observed, before Japan broke off diplomatic relations.

Sir John Macdonell says :

It [the first torpedoing the Russian vessels] was an attack of surprise. Was it a treacherous and disloyal act? The question must be put with the knowledge that a nation which is patient may be duped; that the first blow counts much; and that under cover of continuing negotiations a country unprepared might deprive another better equipped of its advantages.



All that I have said above would be sufficient to solve these points of the question. The attack on Port Arthur was not an attack of surprise in the sense of international law. It can be at the most spoken of as an attack of tactical surprise, though it was not also the case. The party who was defeated can complain of it no more than he can complain of the defeat of the Yalu or Kinchow. The Russian plan was to deprive Japan of her chance, and either to bluff her off to the end or to fight at the hour of their own choice. Japan was patient enough; if she were patient longer she would have been completely duped. As a matter of fact, there was some report that the plan of the Russians was to make a sudden raid on Japan on about the 20th of February, and that was not at all improbable. Some Russians say that Russia never meant to go to war, and that the very fact that she was not at all prepared to cope with a little nation like Japan is the best proof of it. This does not follow at all, and nothing is more foreign to the fact than to imagine that Russia was sincerely anxious to maintain peace. In the eyes of the Russians there was no such Japan as they have, or rather the world has, begun to see since the opening of the war. They trusted, no doubt, either to be able to bluff through or crush at a blow if necessary. Even in the battle of the Yalu, nay, even in the battle of Kinchow, or Wafangu, they were unable to believe that the Japanese were not after all 'monkeys with the brain of birds'! Only a little time ago an eminent French statesman told me that France understood Japan little; Russia still less. It was the sole cause of the present unfortunate war. 'In that respect,' he continued, 'England was sharper, for she understood the Far East, and, consequently, the changing circumstances of the world, before any other Occidental nation.'

There is, I believe, a good deal in it.

SUYEMATSU.

## *OUR BI-CENTENARY ON THE ROCK*

ON the 4th of August 1704 (New Style), the Rock of Gibraltar was captured by Great Britain, and it has remained in her possession from that day to this. Among the many possessions scattered all over the globe that are comprised in the British Empire to-day, there is none that the nation holds with greater tenacity for reasons both of sentiment and of material interest, and none that it would lose with more poignant shame and sorrow, than the redoubtable stronghold we took from Spain at the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne. Short-lived indeed would be the Ministry who, in some amicable settlement of long-standing disputes, proposed to hand over Gibraltar to its original and (in a geographical sense) natural owners or to any other Power ; and the pride and strength of England would have to be humbled to the very dust in war before the surrender of the Rock could be included in any conditions which a British Government would so much as take into consideration as the price of peace.

The fact that throughout the eighteenth century, when so many conquests in both hemispheres changed hands backwards and forwards in successive wars and under successive treaties, Gibraltar remained permanently in the keeping of England, might seem to prove that British sentiment with regard to it was from the first the same as it is to-day. But this is far from having been the case. For, although at the end of two hundred years of our possession of the fortress, at a time when the Imperial instinct of Englishmen has become more consciously developed and more deeply ingrained than ever before, and at the same time more intelligently appreciative of the true meaning of sea power and alive to the strategical requirements of its maintenance, the retention of the key of the Mediterranean has become an essential article of our political creed, it was a considerable time before the immense value of the acquisition was fully realised by British statesmen. It seems strange enough to us to remember that King George the First and his Ministers were ready to give up Gibraltar merely to secure Spain's acquiescence in the arrangement by which the Quadruple Alliance was anxious to make some pettifogging modifications in the shuffle of territories effected by the Treaty of Utrecht ; but it is still more extraordinary that so clear-sighted, patriotic, and

high-spirited an empire-builder as Lord Chatham himself should have made a similar offer as an inducement to Spain to help us to recover Minorca—and this, moreover, at a time when the fortress had been in our hands for more than half a century, and its vital importance to our growing maritime supremacy had already been abundantly proved in the naval wars of the period. Happily the Spaniards were as blind as ourselves to the supreme importance of the position commanding the road from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Their pride was, it is true, grievously wounded by its loss, and throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century its recovery was one of the most cherished aims of their policy and of their warlike efforts; but they clung to the hope that fortune would restore it to them without requiring them to pay even the paltry price demanded on different occasions by England. At all events, the continual readjustments of territory elsewhere in Europe made or proposed to be made in the interests of the various reigning dynasties were deemed by Spain of greater immediate moment than the ownership of Gibraltar. England's short-sighted proposals to part with its possession were therefore once and again rejected, with the fortunate result that we are this month entering on our third century of occupation of the Rock.

The truth is, as readers of Mahan do not need to be reminded, that the importance of sea power and the nature of the foundations on which it is based were very imperfectly grasped even by England in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, and scarcely at all by any other European Power. Occasionally, at intervals, some statesman like Colbert in France or Alberoni in Spain had more than an inkling of the truth; but no nation except England made deliberate and sustained efforts with a view to maritime development. Even England did so rather by instinct than by insight. Instinct led her to take measures, first for expanding, and secondly for protecting her sea-borne trade; and these measures proved to be just those required for the establishment of a world-wide Empire based on sea power. But it was only by slow degrees that she gained insight into the significance of this commercial policy in relation to empire.

Of this blindness to the true principles of maritime policy, the taking of Gibraltar and its history during the following three-quarters of a century afford a striking illustration. Just as the vast importance of its acquisition was at the time underrated both by England and Spain, so its actual capture by the former was an afterthought, and (it may almost be said) an accident. It became a British possession in the first instance because at a time when we happened to be at war with one of the rival claimants to the Spanish throne our admiral in the Mediterranean happened to have no particular objective in view, and, having failed in his only enterprise of that year, was

unwilling to return home with a fine fleet that had done nothing for the honour of the flag. So he thought he might as well make an attack on Gibraltar as do anything else. Nevertheless, his action has to be reckoned among the notable 'deeds that won the Empire,' and one that on its bi-centenary deserves to be had in remembrance. Compared with Wolfe's memorable exploit fifty-five years later, Rooke's achievement in 1704 was less heroic and illustrious in a military sense, and produced results less conspicuous at the moment. But if it did not, like the storming of Quebec, accomplish the conquest of half a continent, nor add an immense territory to the dominions of the Crown, the acquisition of Gibraltar was destined to have a still more far-reaching influence in building up and rendering secure for the future the maritime power, and with it the over-sea empire, of Great Britain.

England became involved in the war of the Spanish Succession, in which this famous episode occurred, within two months of the accession of Queen Anne. One of the first acts of the new Sovereign was to appoint her consort, Prince George of Denmark, to the office of Lord High Admiral. At the same time Sir George Rooke became 'Vice-Admiral of England,' and received in addition the high-sounding title of 'Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England and Lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this Kingdom.' He was also made a member of a Council established to assist Prince George in the execution of his office. His administrative duties at the Admiralty did not, however, prevent his taking command of a fleet as soon as war was declared. Sir George Rooke was at this time an officer who had seen a lot of active service in which he had won distinction, though for political reasons he had not received as much credit as he deserved. Thirty years before, while still a lieutenant, he had made his mark in the wars against the Dutch. He it was who as Commodore commanded the squadron that convoyed Kirke to the Foyle in 1689, and raised the siege of Londonderry. In the following year, having been promoted to flag rank, he took part in the battle of Beachy Head, and at La Hogue he performed a brilliant exploit in following the French inshore and burning their men-of-war and transports—a service for which he was rewarded by the honour of knighthood from William the Third when the King shortly afterwards dined on board his flagship at Portsmouth. Since that date Rooke had been in command of fleets in the Mediterranean and the Channel, besides holding the appointment of a Lord of the Admiralty; and so recently as the year 1700 in conjunction with a Swedish squadron had forced the Danes to come to terms with Charles the Twelfth.

There was therefore no British naval officer with a higher reputation than Sir George Rooke when the disputed succession to the Spanish crown led to a declaration of war by England against France and Spain on the 14th of May (N.S.) 1702. The events of the first

two years of the war do not concern us here, though it may be mentioned that Rooke received the thanks of the House of Commons—he was himself member for Portsmouth—for his success in destroying the Spanish treasure-ships in the harbour of Vigo. In the beginning of 1704 he was ordered to escort to Lisbon the Archduke Charles, who had proclaimed himself King of Spain and had resolved to proceed in person to the Peninsula to assert his rights. A powerful fleet was commissioned for this service, but it was found impossible to fit out all the ships by the appointed date, so Sir Cloudesley Shovel was placed in command of a second squadron with orders to follow the Commander-in-Chief as quickly as possible. After Rooke sailed information reached the Admiralty that a French fleet was preparing to sail from Brest. Shovel thereupon received fresh orders to proceed to Brest and blockade it. He was too late, however, to do this, and was obliged to follow in the wake of the French in the hope of eluding them and effecting a junction with Rooke somewhere near the Straits of Gibraltar. Rooke, meantime, had reached Lisbon without falling in with an enemy, and landed the Archduke ‘after two days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial’ for conducting ‘His Catholic Majesty Charles the Third’ from the flagship to the shore. The admiral then spent a month cruising off the Spanish and Portuguese coasts in search of a Spanish fleet returning from the West Indies. But early in May orders reached him from home to go on to the Mediterranean to relieve Nice and Villafranca, which were in danger of falling into the hands of the French. This move was not at all to the liking of Charles the Third, who was chiefly intent on securing his own position in Spain, and accordingly ‘the admiral was extremely pressed by his Catholic Majesty to undertake somewhat in his favour.’ Rooke’s orders were explicit, and he knew he might incur a heavy responsibility by delaying their execution. But he was hampered by the additional absurd instructions to undertake nothing without the consent of the Kings of Spain and Portugal, who could seldom agree on anything whatever. Anyhow, he consented to make an attempt on Barcelona, where it was represented to him that the inhabitants were ready to declare for the Austrian candidate as soon as he appeared before the city. This soon proved to be a complete delusion, and the attempt to reduce the place was a fiasco.

Ten days after this abortive undertaking Rooke learnt the whereabouts of the French fleet from Brest, and, although still without Sir Cloudesley Shovel’s reinforcements, he gave chase to the French and succeeded in driving them into Toulon. He next passed the Straits into the Atlantic once more, and on the 26th of June was joined at last by Shovel’s squadron off Lagos. The combined fleet then continued aimlessly cruising about while awaiting orders from home. But, as the old eighteenth-century naval chronicler puts it, ‘Sir George Rooke being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him,

if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance,' he called a council of war in the Tetuan roadstead on the 27th of July. Several schemes for doing 'something of importance' were discussed and found impracticable; the admiral 'declared that he thought it requisite that they should resolve upon some service or other, and after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar.' Three reasons were given for this decision. 'First, because in the condition the place then was, there was some probability of taking it; which in case it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garrison, would have been impossible. Secondly, because the possession of that place was of infinite importance during the present war. Thirdly, because the taking of this place would give a lustre to the Queen's arms, and possibly dispose the Spaniards to favour the cause of King Charles.'

On the 1st of August the fleet, which included a few Dutch ships, appeared off Gibraltar. The tactics to be employed for reducing the stronghold were dictated by the configuration of the promontory. Nor was it the first time that such a plan for its capture had been devised by an English admiral. Half a century earlier, in Cromwell's time, Admiral Montague, when serving under Blake in the Mediterranean, had sent a memorandum to Secretary Thurloe containing a proposal for an attack on Gibraltar 'as a place that would be of great utility in case it could be reduced.' The only way of taking it, he added, was 'to land a body of forces on the isthmus, and thereby cut off communication of the town with the main; and in this situation to make a brisk attempt upon the place.' Curiously enough this suggestion came to nothing in 1656, because soldiers were not to be had for the purpose and the British sailors of that day could not be trusted, since 'the hasty disposition of the seamen rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore.' But in 1704 things had changed in this respect, and Rooke put in execution with complete success Montague's plan, which it will have been noticed was similar in principle to that of the Japanese at Port Arthur two hundred years afterwards. Accordingly the same day that the fleet arrived a force of 1,800 English and Dutch marines under the Prince of Hesse were put ashore 'on the neck of land to the northward of the town.' How strange, it may be observed in passing, it must have seemed to English and Dutch sailors of that day to find themselves actually fighting together as allies of 'his Catholic Majesty' of Spain, in whose name the Governor of the fortress was called upon to surrender it to the Prince of Hesse. This demand being of course refused, Sir George Rooke ordered his captains to take up positions for bombarding the place next day. In the morning of the 2nd of August the wind was unfavourable for the necessary evolutions of the ships, so it was late in the afternoon before they got into their appointed places.

Meantime, 'to amuse the enemy,' as Rooke quaintly phrased it in his despatch, 'Captain Whitaker was sent in with some boats who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns at the mole.' At daybreak on the 3rd the bombardment began. So furious was the cannonade that we are told more than 15,000 rounds were fired in five or six hours; 'insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the South Molehead.' At this juncture Rooke signalled to Captain Whitaker—presumably for the better 'amusement' of the enemy—to take in all the boats and drive the defenders from their fortified position on the mole. This order was so promptly obeyed by two captains, Jumper and Hicks, who were already close inshore with their pinnaces, that before the rest of the boats could take part the fortifications were in their possession, though with the loss of two lieutenants and 100 men killed and wounded by the springing of a mine by the Spaniards. The survivors of the storming party held their ground, however, till supported by Whitaker, whose blue-jackets were not long in forcing their way into a redoubt between the mole and the town, the possession of which by the English appears to have rendered the whole fortress untenable; for on receiving 'a peremptory summons' now sent him by the Prince of Hesse at Rooke's instance, the Governor made no further attempt at defence. The following morning, the 4th of August 1704, the capitulation was signed, and the troops under the Prince of Hesse marched in and occupied the fortress the same day.

It does not appear that the assailants suffered any very heavy loss; in fact, there is no doubt that the defence of the Spanish garrison was a tame affair. The French, indeed, anxious to minimise the importance of Rooke's success, asserted that the Spaniards had neither garrison nor guns on the Rock. This, however, was clearly not the fact; for Rooke, in his report to the Admiralty, expressly said 'the town is extremely strong and had 100 guns mounted, all facing the sea and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition.' This seems hardly consistent perhaps with the alleged state of affairs that moved the Council of War at Tetuan to make the attack—namely, that the weak and unprovided condition of the garrison offered a prospect of success which would otherwise have been out of the question; and it is possible that Rooke was as willing to magnify his work after the event as his enemies were to discount it. On the other hand it is possible that the natural strength of the place and the state of its equipment had not been realised until it was seen from inside. This explanation of the apparent inconsistency is supported by the opinion of the military officers, who after inspecting the fortifications declared that 'fifty men might have defended those works against thousands,' and that the place had only fallen because 'there never was such an attack as the seamen made.'

The Union Jack was hoisted by Rooke's sailors as soon as they had established themselves on the mole ; but the capitulation was accepted in the name of Charles the Third; to whom the soldiers and inhabitants, in accordance with one of its articles, had to take an oath of allegiance. The fact that at the close of the war, nine years later, England insisted on retaining the fortress in her own hands and obtaining a formal cession of it from Spain might be taken as proof that the experience of the war had taught its true value, were it not for the subsequent proposals already mentioned for giving it back in return for comparatively worthless concessions elsewhere. Be that as it may, for the time being at all events the Prince of Hesse was left in command of the garrison to hold the place for his Catholic Majesty, while the English fleet sailed away quite content with the 'something of importance' accomplished for the purpose of 'giving a lustre to the Queen's arms.'

The taking of Gibraltar was immediately followed by the battle of Malaga, which, according to Dr. John Campbell, Rooke's biographer, finally 'decided the empire of the sea,' an opinion practically endorsed by the French historian, Martin. Nevertheless, when Sir George Rooke shortly afterwards returned home, attempts were made, in a spirit with which we have been only too familiar in more recent times, to belittle his services for party reasons. The reign of the Revolutionary Whigs was not yet at an end. Rooke had been elected member for Portsmouth in 1698, and in Parliament had committed the unpardonable offence of 'voting mostly with those that were called Tories.' For this offence William the Third had been pressed to remove him from his seat at the Admiralty Board, but honourably refused to do so. In 1704 he was still in bad odour with the ruling party, who accordingly resented the very mention of Gibraltar or Malaga in the same breath with the triumph of the great Whig hero at Blenheim, which occurred in the same year. The Commons insisted all the same on coupling the victories by land and sea in an address of congratulation to the Crown, though the expressions used gave great offence 'to many of the warmest friends of the Ministry.' In the House of Lords, where Whig influence remained more powerful than in the Lower House, Rooke's services were passed over altogether in silence ; and the rancour of party spirit was such that in the same year in which he placed in the hands of his countrymen the key of the Mediterranean and the empire of the sea, he found himself obliged to retire into private life. He never was employed again. And just as, from motives of party, the Whig politicians thus treated him with injustice and neglect, so for the same reason the Whig historian perpetuated the injustice to his memory. Bishop Burnet persistently belittled the exploits, falsified the facts, and misrepresented the motives of Sir George Rooke's career. Rooke did not, it need hardly be said, possess the genius of



a Marlborough, and none of his deeds can justly be compared for a moment from a military standpoint with Blenheim or Ramillies ; but after making all allowance for the historical importance of Marlborough's illustrious victories in putting a check to the menacing power of France, it may be questioned whether any of them conferred so lasting a benefit on the British Empire as the happy-go-lucky enterprise of his naval contemporary whose very name is by many scarcely remembered to-day, though the fruit of his action is one of our most cherished possessions after two hundred years, while the ambition and the schemes of Louis the Fourteenth have long since passed into limbo. More fit to be remembered than the churlish jealousy of bygone Whigs, whether politician or historian, is the judgment of the weightiest modern authority on the relation between sea power and empire ; and at this time of the bi-centenary of our occupation of the Rock we may well bear his words in mind. 'The English possession of Gibraltar,' writes Captain Mahan, 'dates from the 4th of August 1704, and the deed rightly keeps alive the name of Rooke, to whose judgment and fearlessness of responsibility England owes the key of the Mediterranean.'<sup>1</sup>

RONALD McNEILL.

<sup>1</sup> *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 210.

## *BRITISH SHIPPING AND FISCAL REFORM*

No industry is more vitally important than shipping to the welfare of Great Britain, and none more susceptible to the attack of foreign competition. Its decadence would bring widespread and serious distress to the working people of our country; in fact it is a truism that the decline of the supremacy of the mercantile marine must mean the decline of Great Britain as an empire.

The prevailing desire in the country for 'cheapness'—i.e. the wish to pay down at the moment as little cash as possible without thinking where such economy may lead—seems to constitute a national danger. For instance, some British shipbuilders have imported German forgings and castings at prices 30 per cent. below their cost of manufacture in this country; and by so doing they have increased the tendency to sacrifice the primary processes of manufacture, which form the great field of employment of our people.

There can be no doubt that once our employers of labour have been induced to exchange the primary processes of manufacture for that of fitting together ready-made parts, we shall become increasingly dependent upon the foreigner not merely for the supply, but also for the price of our shipbuilding materials.

To-day the producing capacity of German iron and steel firms is nine times as great as it was twenty-two years ago. There are twenty-one steel-works fitted out with heavy bar-rolling appliances, and in the matter of forgings and castings the industry is ahead of the shipbuilding trade, thus placing it in a favourable position to cater for work abroad.

Foreign merchants do not sell their goods in this country below the cost of production in Britain, and often below the cost of production to themselves, without having some definite purpose in view. Their policy is not one of charity, but is one well calculated to capture our markets. So long as our manufacturers turn out iron and steel goods similar to those which foreigners export, it will be necessary for the latter, as a matter of competition, to sell lower than the British

prices. This they are able to do by means of home bounties and protective tariffs, which leave a sufficiently large profit on their home sales to recoup any loss on their exports and give a net gain on their total output.

It is often asserted that to stop by means of a tariff the unlimited importation of these foreign manufactures must certainly lead to handicapping British shipbuilders in their competition for orders. As an example of such argument the following is a paragraph taken from the *Glasgow Herald Supplement* on the year's (1903) shipbuilding and engineering.

Looking at the position in this light, there can only be one answer to the question. Building material cannot be too cheap, and if foreign makers can supply it at less cost than our own, it is not only to builders' interests but for the national benefit that the foreign material be used. No doubt it is 'hard lines' for home makers, but they are not the men to sit down under it. New circumstances and new forces will stimulate new methods and economies.

Surely there never was a more flagrant example of how 'spurious free trade' argument can be made to subserve private ends, of how it can be utilised to favour one class, or one industry, at the expense of another, of how it can by selfish application sap away the prosperity of a nation; for it certainly would not be to the national benefit to sacrifice the prime industries of the land.

Another way in which British shipping stands to lose heavily is by the increasing amount of partly finished stuff it brings to this country in place of raw material.

Raw material as a rule is of much greater bulk and weight than the semi-manufactured article, and therefore needs a greater amount of transport. An eminent authority recently gave figures in the *Western Mail* showing how the importation into Newport (Wales), of 200,000 tons of German steel, instead of the material to manufacture it from, had caused a loss to shipowners of not less than 39,000*l.* in freights. This can be readily believed when it is said that it requires about 30,000 tons of hematite ore to manufacture 10,000 tons of steel, not to mention the need of some 25,000 tons of coal and coke for that manufacture.

Thus in the interest of prosperous employment for the people it is essential that British shipping should preserve its ascendancy; and in no way allow foreign nations to usurp its carrying power, shipbuilding, or allied industries.

In order to see how shipping legislation may be rendered less oppressive to shipowners it is essential to consider how they are unduly handicapped by the laws of to-day.

A prime grievance is the load-line restriction to which British ships, when laden, are bound to conform, while foreign vessels are

not made to comply with the Act, with the consequence that foreign vessels of the same carrying capacity as British ones are enabled to carry larger cargoes and earn greater profits.

As an illustration we have the case given in the report of the Select Committee on Shipping Subsidies (year 1901) of a ship which, while trading under the British flag, was limited to a carrying capacity of 1825 tons; but when sold to the Germans actually traded into Liverpool with the cargo of 2100 tons, or with an excess of 15 per cent. over her former carrying capacity.

Another difference is that between the British and foreign registered tonnage of a vessel, which in the matter of paying dues seriously mulcts the shipowners of this country. Thus two vessels may have exactly the same cargo-carrying capacity; but the British ship would by our measurement be registered at 2000 tons, while the foreign vessel is registered at 1800 tons; thus causing the British vessel to pay dues on 200 tons more than the foreigner, although in reality both ships are of the same size.

Mr. Beasley, general manager of the Taff Railway Company, South Wales, has given some valuable figures in the *Times*, which show that out of 100 vessels previously British-owned, but now belonging to seven foreign nations, the difference between the former and latter registration varies between 12 and 10 per cent. Thus, on the aggregate tonnage of the 100 vessels, amounting to 158,000 tons, the foreign registration shows 17,617 tons less—upon which to levy dues—than when the ships were on the British register.

The President of the Board of Trade has expressed recently his intention of dealing with such unfairness; but it is not so much fresh legislation that is wanted as official activity.

Section 84 of the Merchant Shipping Act already provides that 'where the tonnage of any foreign ships materially differs from that which would be the tonnage under the British flag she may be re-measured under the terms of the Act.'

But unless a case is glaringly apparent steps of that kind are seldom if ever taken. This is the more to be regretted, for when shipping competition is so fierce, and the margin between profit and loss so small, it seems imperative to adopt some policy which will place all foreign shipping when trading in British waters on at least the same footing as that of our own country.

When advocating 'a fair field and no favour' the exclusion of British vessels from certain foreign coastal trades must be taken into account. At present every nation is allowed absolute free trade on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and also on those of the Crown colonies and dependencies, as well as between the colonies and the mother country. Most of the self-governing colonies also allow free trade on their coasts; but Canada stipulates that such privilege is granted solely on condition of reciprocity.

On the other hand, British shipping is excluded from the home coasting trade of the following countries : United States of America (on both coasts, Atlantic and Pacific ; and even on voyages extending from coast to coast), Russia (on all coasts, and even on voyages extending from ports in the Baltic to ports, like Vladivostock, in the East), France, Spain, Portugal. It is also excluded from trading between the following countries and their possessions : France and her Algerian trade (free trade exists between France, Guadaloupe, Madagascar, and other island colonies, but other shipping is specially taxed) ; United States of America (trade to Philippine ports open to British and Spanish vessels till 1909. But on trade between Philippine ports and U.S.A. special duties are levied on goods when carried in foreign or British ships) ; Spain (handicapped by levying surtaxes on produce brought home in foreign hulls) ; Portugal (excepting those possessions exempted by special decrees) ; Russia.

When we consider the enormous power we possess in our shipping for negotiation, it seems strange that in 1854 we should have abolished the old navigation laws, and removed all power of taxing foreign shipping without retaining a clause in favour of reciprocity. In the days of old the reservation of coastal trade to national keels was well recognised as one of the most powerful and promising arguments for use in demanding an open market. Alexander Hamilton, the great American statesman, laid it down as an essential to be included in the articles of the United States Constitution.

In advocating the acceptance of such a policy he wrote in his paper, the *Federalist*, November 1787, thus :

Suppose for instance we had a Government in America capable of excluding Great Britain (with whom we have at present no treaty of commerce) from all our ports, what would be the probable operation of this step upon her politics ? Would it not enable us to negotiate, with the fairest prospect of success, for commercial privileges of the most valuable and extensive kind in the dominions of that Kingdom ? . . . Such a point gained from the British Government, and which could not be expected without an equivalent in exemptions and immunities in our markets, would be likely to have a correspondent effect on the conduct of other nations, who would not be inclined to see themselves altogether supplanted in our trade.

If we simply exchange the names of the countries mentioned above, and speak of Britain where Hamilton says America, and *vice versa*, no more lucid or cogent appeal in favour of reserving British coastal trade to British shipping excepting on conditions of reciprocity could be put forward.

In the famous Board of Trade Blue-book, C. D. 1761, 'British and Foreign Trade, and Industrial Conditions,' figures are given showing the classification of the foreign tonnage participating in the trade between the United Kingdom and British colonies and possessions,

and showing to what extent that trade is shared by countries giving free trading to British ships on their coasts or refusing it.

In 1902 the total trade between the United Kingdom colonies and possessions amounted to 13,250,000 tons<sup>1</sup> (11,750,000 British, 1,500,000 foreign). Of the foreign tonnage 94 per cent. was that of countries granting open coastal trade to British ships; 6 per cent. was that of countries refusing such privilege.

Hence it follows that were 'reciprocity' made a test of admission to British, colonial, and coasting trade, 5 or 6 per cent. of the foreign shipping now engaged in that trade would be excluded until such time as arrangements were made to the mutual benefit.

The power of laying embargo is pregnant with great possibilities.

A considerable proportion of foreign tonnage is enabled to trade solely through the receipt of State-aid. The following table shows approximately the amount of subsidy granted by the various foreign Governments to their national shipping :

	£
United States. . . . .	357,723
France (mails and bounties) . . . . .	1,787,270
Germany (mail subsidies) . . . . .	400,000
Italy (mails and bounties) . . . . .	500,000
Russia (mails and bounties) . . . . .	374,700
Austria-Hungary (mails and bounties) . . . . .	400,000
Portugal (mail subsidies) . . . . .	13,000
Netherlands " . . . . .	75,000
Norway " . . . . .	30,000
Sweden " . . . . .	17,000
Denmark " . . . . .	20,000
Japan (mail and bounties) . . . . .	700,000

There can be no doubt as to what is the object aimed at by the Governments granting these bounties. It is first to develop their national marines both as a source of industry and as a support to their naval power. In the second place, to undercut British shipping, and so secure a portion of this country's trade. If such were not the intention, it would be a matter of surprise that so many bounty-fed vessels are to be seen in British ports, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Hongkong, Durban, Melbourne, and Sydney. These subsidies cover either all or some of the following expenses: interest on capital borrowed by the shipping companies, depreciation, insurance of the vessels, crews' wages and stores, and in consequence enable foreign shipowners to carry cargoes at a rate of freight which would ruin unsubsidised British shipping.

The evidence given by Sir Henry Beyne, K.C.M.G., before the Parliamentary Select Committee on steamships subsidies in 1901, throws valuable light on this matter. He quoted instances in which he knew of French sailing ships of about 3200 tons earning bounties

<sup>1</sup> These figures do not refer to inter-trading between the colonies and possessions.

of 4000*l.* per annum ; and certain vessels in particular earning bounties as follows :

	Per cent.		Per cent.
<i>Charles Gounod</i> on value of vessel . . .	17	on value of shares . . .	84
<i>General Némayer</i> „ „ . . .	18½	„ „ . . .	87
<i>Reine Blanche</i> „ „ . . .	22	„ „ . . .	44

The effect of these vessels seeking cargoes in a port where British ships are lying cannot be otherwise than disadvantageous to the latter, and though working at a loss, they are (to use an Irishism) able to pay dividends. To illustrate how the reservation of the imperial coastal trade to British vessels, excepting on conditions of reciprocity, could be made a powerful means of securing free and fair competition, take the case of French ships trading along the British East and West African coasts.

The subsidies paid in these trades by France are :

	£
East Africa and Indian Ocean . . . . .	76,985
And West Coast of Africa . . . . .	20,036

Were these ships interdicted from trading along British African coasts until such time as France gave reciprocal permission to British ship-owners to trade in her Franco-Algerian trade, there can be little doubt that the French ships would remain on that portion of the coast left open to them either at great loss, or with a great increase in their subsidies ; either of which conditions could not but react adversely upon the national finance.

If to some people the policy of ‘real free trade’ is distasteful, there remains an alternative measure, and that is to levy a special duty on all subsidised flags equivalent to the amount of their subsidy. By either method of differential treatment increased trade under fair conditions would be assured ; for no nation can afford to bolster up indefinitely such an industry as the sailing of unprofitable ships.

The severity of foreign shipping competition has certainly some bearing on the question of the decrease of British sailors in the mercantile marine. One effect has been to prevent the wages of the seafarer from rising in the same degree that they have in employments on shore, and thus the sea has ceased to tempt young men to adopt it as their career in life in the same way as it used to do.

In the evidence given before the committee recently appointed by the Board of Trade to enquire into questions affecting the mercantile marine ; it was shown how British sailors had decreased steadily from 1890 to 1901, and how foreign (other than Asiatic) sailors had steadily increased thus :

	1890	1895	1901
British . . . . .	165,827	158,988	151,876
Foreign (exclusive of Asiatics) . . . . .	27,085	82,045	87,174

The following table illustrates the advance of wages made relatively in shore and sea life :

Trade		1850	1860	1897		Increase of
		£	£	£	d.	Per cent.
Ashore	Carpenters . . .	104	112	142	8	88
	Compositors . . .	120	120	140	0	16
	Bricklayers . . .	116	128	168	0	45
Sea	Able Seaman—					
	Sail . . .	45	50	60	0	33
	Fireman . . .	79	85	85	0	7

To pay higher wages in British ships is now impossible ; the same may be said indeed of any reform that calls for expenditure on the part of the shipowner. When once it is recognised that the important thing is not so much what wages are paid for, as where they come from, it will not be difficult to see the truth of this statement. The capitalist shipowner is the wage fund of the seaman. So long as the shipowner lives, so long does the wage fund last, and is available for the purchase of labour. If through good trade the shipowner grows rich, the wage fund grows with him ; if through a surplus of tonnage, severe competition, or trade depression, he grows poorer, the wage fund dwindles too. The main point then is to preserve the wage fund at the back of the shipowner ; and having done that, the wage-earners have ample power through combination to ensure that they get their share of ' the better times ' that follow.

If British shipowners were supported, in times of need, by a policy possessing retaliatory power against those nations which sought to ruin their trade by artificial means, there can be little hesitation in saying that seafaring would become more popular as it became more profitable, and would once again resume its position as the calling of those who should form the backbone of the navy and the nation.

The progress of British shipping forms an interesting study. In short, it may be said that prior to 1805 Britain maintained her supremacy through the zeal and courage of her naval commanders ; subsequent to Trafalgar through the navigation laws—in other words, through legislative prohibition to import goods to British shores in foreign ships. After the repeal of the navigation laws in 1854, a set-back occurred to British shipping, with a concurrent augmentation in foreign shipping. Indeed, so great was the impetus given to alien shipping by the repeal that the foreign tonnage visiting British ports was almost doubled in a decade.

Then came the introduction of iron in place of wood for shipbuilding, which restored once more to Britain her leading position as a maritime power.

When ships were built of wood, and the motive power was sail, timber had to be imported with which to build the vessels, as also the hemp, cordage, and flax for setting up the rigging and sails.



But when iron came to be used, our shipbuilders were able to depend upon home supplies of iron ore, lime, and coal, all of which are found in the United Kingdom. Other nations might be able to build wooden ships cheaper than we; but none could compete in the price of an iron or steel steamer. Hence the dawn of the iron age enabled Britain to recover her decline following on the repeal of the navigation laws.

The annexed figures, gleaned from a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society by Sir John Glover, will show the varying changes as described.

Table showing percentage of foreign tonnage as compared with British tonnage entered and cleared in British ports :

	Foreign Per cent.	British Per cent.
1848 (Previous to the repeal of the navigation laws)	28·8	71·2
1860 (Effect of the repeal)	41·8	58·2
1870 (Subsequent to the introduction of iron in ship-building)	29·8	70·2

With the greater portion of the world's 'carrying power' in British hands, it is not surprising that British trade should have developed in greater proportion, and with more rapidity, than the commerce of all other nations.

During the twenty years between 1800 and 1880 railway transport was still in the first stage of development. Carriage by sea for goods in quantity was by far the cheapest and most convenient mode of transport. British shipowners were able by reason of earning 'double freights' (outward as well as inward cargoes) to allow of low cost of carriage for home merchandise. Hence British merchants, through British maritime supremacy, were able to exploit their wares in foreign and neutral markets with such advantages in their favour as prohibited all other nations from competition.

In the early days of continental manufacturing activity there was a tremendous demand for British coal, which export formed a paying ballast cargo, and enabled vessels to return with 'imports' of raw material at a lower rate of freight than they would otherwise have been able to do. But it seems doubtful whether coal will long continue as a staple export of this country. As new fuels and more economical methods of propulsion are devised, the demand for coal will be restricted, and what demand there is will be more readily and more cheaply supplied from foreign or colonial pits than from those in the United Kingdom.

Already Germany, the United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Japan, India, Natal, and New Zealand export coal in ever-increasing quantities.

This cheapness given by 'export cargoes' to imports has a great and beneficial effect upon the well-being of the people, both as regards their food and employment; and it is essential for the continued pre-

valence of 'cheapness,' and for the competitive power of the mercantile marine, that 'export cargoes' of some sort should be found for British shipping. If it is not permanently possible to put our trust in coal, then we should strive all we can to develop our manufactures.

Of recent years there has been a marked increase in the amount of competitive foreign tonnage afloat, mainly due to the development of foreign shipbuilding. One result is that a distinct advance has taken place in regard to the amount of carrying which certain nations do of their own trade.

The following table gives an idea of this, showing as it does the percentage of tonnage entered and cleared under the national flag of the total tonnage entered and cleared in the ports of the countries named, and also showing the percentage of British tonnage entered and cleared in the same ports.

Country	1890		1900		
	National	British	National	British	
Russia .	7.3	55.1	10.3	44.7	British decrease.
Norway .	63.1	16.3	66.1	12.0	British decrease.
Sweden .	33.7	22.1	38.3	12.0	British decrease.
Germany .	42.4	36.6	47.5	29.9	British decrease.
Italy .	24.8	48.4	40.8	23.8	British decrease.
U.S.A. .	22.1	52.8	16.1	52.8	Remained the same.

The point to be noted is that as foreign tonnage increased and came into competition with British tonnage, the latter had to give way.

When one remembers that there is a limit to the demand for carrying capacity in the world, and that the favour of a cargo falls to the vessel that will carry it at the lowest rate of freight, it is not surprising that some people should question whether, if things go on as they are going now without alteration or change, the dominating position of British shipping may not be seriously undermined.

In times gone by we obtained our strength from within the United Kingdom—from iron ore and coal. But these old-time buttresses have lost their efficacy. Let us alter our policy and draw our strength to-day from an empire united commercially. Let us aim at a federation framed not merely in regard to personal or insular prosperity, but having as its basis the advancement and defence of trade on broad and reciprocal lines, and which we should be ready to share with all who meet us in freedom and fairness.

Some may object to reciprocal measures because they see in them a leaning towards *protection*. Others oppose such reform because they do not imagine it can benefit this or that industry. And others, again, because they do not believe in adapting the policy of their day to suit the circumstances of their time; trusting rather to fortune to bring all things right in the end.

To such as these the words of Alexander Hamilton must come with

disconcerting emphasis, for he says : ' It is too much characteristic of our national temper to be ingenious in finding out and magnifying the minutest disadvantages ; and to reject measures of evident utility, even of necessity, to avoid trivial and sometimes imaginary evils. We seem not to reflect that in human society there is scarcely any plan, however salutary to the whole and to every part, by the share each has in the common prosperity, but in one way or another, and under particular circumstances, will operate more to the benefit of some parts than of others. Unless we can overcome this narrow disposition, and learn to estimate measures by their general tendencies, we shall never be a great or a happy people, if we remain a people at all.'

GRAHAM.

## *THE LIBERAL PRESS AND THE LIBERAL PARTY*

To one who, for some time past, has not only been cultivating a constituency of his own, but has, in addition, been paying electioneering visits to other constituencies, the least satisfactory feature of the Liberal position in the country is the inefficiency of its press. It is a parrot cry—particularly on the part of those having no great depth of conviction themselves—that the press has ceased to influence the country; that people merely read papers for their news, and not for their opinions; and that, in short, conductors of newspapers and their leader-writers are, as professed guides and teachers, found out and played out. This is probably no more true nowadays than it has been since organs of public opinion existed. My own experience has convinced me that the man who does not read opinions in daily or weekly papers and reviews is, in nine cases out of ten, a man having neither knowledge nor views on public questions; in the tenth case his views are a mere collection of crudities or a reflection of those he hears expressed around him, in his office, workshop, factory, public conveyance, or club. They have no fixed quality, they are never informed, and have rarely even the vitality of prejudices. The point indeed is hardly worth labouring, and no one who takes the trouble to test the origin of the average man's views can fail to find that they spring from the acceptance or the rejection of the opinions laid down in newspapers.

How could it be otherwise? What I find the normal busy man does not read in the newspapers are the Parliamentary reports, not even in the attenuated form in which they are given in many of the Tory organs, and in all the so-called leading Liberal papers—with the commendable exception of one or two of the principal provincial journals. For this abstention the average man is certainly not to be blamed, the attempt—if it may even be dignified by the name of an attempt—to pack into a couple of columns reports of discussions ranging over a wide variety of subjects, and lasting perhaps some eight hours, merely resulting in a blurred impression that conveys little or no meaning to the man who brings no special knowledge to their perusal. Even the gentlemen whose mission it is, from the

Press Gallery of the House of Commons, to provide in narrative form a running report of, and commentary on, the debates, seldom succeed in conveying an adequate presentment of what has taken place. They are hampered, in the first place, by space limitations, and in the second—and this, perhaps, is the more important consideration of the two—they are, for the most part, so much more interested in personalities than in politics that one unfamiliar with the leading personages in Parliament derives neither refreshment nor knowledge from their chronicles. So far, therefore, as these two features of the daily papers are concerned—where they exist at all—I agree that they play very little part in the political education of newspaper readers. There remain, therefore, as educational factors, the leading article and the special article, and these, I am convinced, from inquiry and observation, exert at the present time as much influence on the general reader as they have done at any time in the history of the popular press.

This much admitted, it is not surprising that Liberalism had until the recent cataclysmal series of blunders on the part of the Government, become a broken force, incapable of winning fresh converts on its own merits, and mainly indebted for the foothold it contrived to maintain to the recklessness and costliness of the Ministerial policy.

For it is my purpose to show that much of the anti-Liberal feeling that has distinguished politics in this country for nearly twenty years past has been due to the general weakness of the Liberal press, and to its very partially representative character. It has, during that time, produced no really great journalist, and its conductors have been content to shape their line of conduct by a more or less blind following of individuals rather than by framing and enforcing a distinctive policy. Of course there has been Mr. Stead, and if that gentleman had had a less consuming vanity and had not mistaken a somewhat crude emotionalism for pure reason, he might and probably would have acquired a reputation greater than that of any journalist in this country. But Mr. Stead's amazing lack of stability—amazing considering his tenacity and his perspicuity—made him, as it has left him, a hot gosseller rather than a journalist-statesman. And yet, amid the crowd of more commonplace mortals who have conducted newspapers at any time during the past twenty years, his is the only name that emerges from the ruck, and in this are to be included not only Liberal but Tory editors.

To journalists themselves other names, and mostly those at the head of the leading provincial papers, are familiar, but though the heavier metal is undoubtedly to be found in the provinces, there is hardly a single provincial editor whose name is known as a political guide outside the area of his own town. But while the Conservative press has been as barren as its Liberal counterpart, it has, up to quite

recently, had the good fortune to reflect a fairly constant element in politics. This has to a large extent atoned for its commonplaceness and its uninspiring character, and has made it a tolerably cohesive force in the country. The Liberals, on the other hand, except for the *Konfliktszeit* of 1892-95, three years of pitiful attempt tempered by almost ceaseless intrigue of a particularly ignoble sort, have been sheep without a shepherd, and as a result the Liberal press has been swayed by this group or that, by this individual or the other. What has been the consequence? A press feebly groping for a policy, and speaking with many voices—a more or less exact reflection indeed of what has been found on the front Opposition Bench of Parliament itself. It has been Roseberyite, Balfourianite, Morleyite, and even Harcourtite, according as these great men took its transient fancy or seemed like 'coming out on top.'

What wonder, then, that save for a few exceptions to be noted hereafter, the provincial Liberal press has become feebler and feebler, and in the smaller towns has almost ceased to exist, the little provincial editor, with no particular ideas of his own, and with no great depth of conviction, adapting the course of his paper to the local stream of tendency. Thus he saw, until recently, most of the public offices, the knighthoods, the 'gentry,' and even the shopkeepers following the main stream of Toryism, and he damped down his Liberal enthusiasm, when he had any, and ambled along with the larger crowd. This is a process I have found repeated over and over again in the smaller towns, and it has happened not infrequently in many of the larger cities. There have, as already stated, been some notable exceptions, and these—perhaps because they were farther removed from the political centre of disturbance—have not only escaped the indecisions and wobblings of their London contemporaries, but have strengthened and solidified their position. Their influence, in consequence, is immeasurably greater than that of the more pretentious London papers.

At their head must still be placed the *Manchester Guardian*, the vitality of which enabled it to emerge successfully from the well-nigh disastrous situation it created for itself owing to its attitude over the South African war. I cannot, of course, pretend to say how far this attitude injured its financial prosperity; but that it, for a time, almost completely nullified its former great political influence is certain. It now stands admittedly at the head of the press of the Midlands, alike in influence and in circulation, and if it were possible to transplant it bodily from Manchester to London—with the remodelling of certain news features necessitated by the change of *locus*—London Liberalism would be greatly the gainer. That Manchester has not been wholly lost to Liberalism is due to the *Guardian*, and it will, no doubt, when the country has been given the opportunity of expressing its judgment at the polls on that virtuous record of the Government which is the

object of such 'smug self-complacency to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, become once more the authoritative voice of that long discredited 'Manchesterthum' that we had all thought had become a bygone.

It is less easy to award second place to the few remaining Liberal provincial journals of note. Of first-class importance there are only two—the *Liverpool Post* and the *Glasgow Herald*—though the *Dundee Advertiser*, the solitary exponent of Liberalism of any note for the whole of the north and east of Scotland, and the *Sheffield Independent* remain sturdily Radical, even if their influence is not far-reaching.

But it is in the old provincial homes of Liberalism that the defection of its press is most marked; a defection that must be pronounced to be due, not so much to a real decline in Liberal convictions on the part of the people, as to the rise of the halfpenny press. Up to twenty years ago, when the daily press was as decorous as it was often dull, the methods that have revolutionised our newspapers would have made no successful appeal to the country at large. Their authors were probably at that time in short frocks or knickerbockers, and the bulk of their present readers were also either in the nursery or attending one of the lower standards of the Board Schools. It would be foolish, however, to rail against this product of a shallow, hurried, and unthinking age. The most noteworthy fact in connection with it is that the conductors and proprietors of Liberal newspapers should have been entirely blind to the growth of this army of potential newspaper readers, people with just sufficient education to enable them to find interest in the events of the day, but with intelligences so untrained that the only means of reaching them was to make strident appeal to their emotions, through the medium of platitude and claptrap. Fixity of views, honesty of purpose, mattered little. What this great uninformed public wanted first of all was news in brief compass, and more attractively presented than by the older-fashioned papers. No doubt this represented the measure of the intentions of the earliest promoters of the halfpenny press, and they were probably driven in spite of themselves to the propagation of political views and opinions—not always the same views and opinions, but varying according to the signs or mood of the moment. And meanwhile the more sedate and undoubtedly duller Liberal press, alike in London and the provinces, refused to change its methods, and left the guidance of this amorphous and undisciplined army to its not too scrupulous opponents, until it found itself threatened with extinction; until in some cases individual newspapers realised that it was too late even for a change of methods, and they had perforce to consent to absorption or destruction. This want of alertness led in the provinces to more than one of the large towns being deprived of any Liberal journal of a representative character. Newcastle, that old pillar of earnest Radicalism, has gone, the *Newcastle Daily*

*Chronicle* having been squeezed out by its younger and more vigorous rivals, with the result that, from Glasgow to Bradford, there is no representative Liberal daily newspaper. And even in Bradford, where the political parties are about equally divided, and in the neighbouring town of Leeds, where the Liberals had a not inconsiderable majority at the last election, the party press has for some time past been steadily losing ground.

In the Southern and Home counties, local Liberal journalism can hardly be said to exist, the long spell of Tory Government having driven nearly all the journalistic sheep into the Tory pasture. There are towns in the Home Counties of sufficient importance to support three or four weekly papers and perhaps an evening paper in addition, in which the Liberals have no representative organ. No doubt the accession of the Liberals to power would bring some of these weaklings over to the Liberal side, but the battle that is to bring this about has to be fought without their assistance, and for the most part against their opposition, although many recent by-elections have shown that the electorate is preponderatingly Liberal.

In the West the situation is even more anomalous. Passing over Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, where the sparse and scattered nature of the population does not encourage vigorous newspaper development, we find the same Liberal journalistic inertia in Devon and Cornwall, the most influential papers being Conservative in complexion, although the Parliamentary representation of both counties is overwhelmingly Liberal. This may seem to tell against my contention that newspaper readers are influenced by the views expressed in the journals they read. To this I would reply that, as almost invariably happens, the readers have run ahead of their guides for the many reasons that have contributed to weaken the present Government in the country, and, with the timidity that distinguishes most newspaper conductors, these latter are listening for the fully expressed voice of the country before changing their policy. If, therefore, as seems tolerably assured, the Liberal party emerges triumphantly from the next trial of strength at the polls, it will owe little to the work and influence of the provincial Liberal press.

In London, the relative disproportion of the Liberal and Conservative daily papers—alike in numbers, in influence, and in circulation—is no less marked. It is clear, indeed, that in spite of the manifest revival of Liberalism in London, its representative press has dwindled both in magnitude and in importance. The first step in the downward path dates, it need hardly be said, from the time of the Home Rule split. There were at that period only two Liberal morning newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*, and as each took a different course on the Irish question, cohesion disappeared from the ranks of the party. Neither, it is true, has been consistent in its attitude on Irish affairs, and each has, at different



times, displayed a suspicious alacrity to declare Home Rule outside practical politics.

But in this matter, the two papers may be said to have reflected rather than formed the opinions held by the rank and file of the party. At the present moment, though the *Daily News* refuses to admit that the question can be shelved, and makes periodical excursions into the open for the purpose of waving the tattered green flag, and reminding non-Home Rulers that it has its eye on them, its earnestly meant attempts to restrict the Liberal party to a drab and sad type of Nonconformity and a nebulous but flighty form of Radical-Socialism cannot be said to have been conspicuously successful. But, notwithstanding a decided narrowness of outlook, and an over-ready disposition to ban all who cannot 'bolt the bran' of its peculiar type of Liberalism, the *Daily News* has, since it reduced its price to a halfpenny, grown greatly in circulation, and possibly also in influence. It does not represent the Liberal party as a whole; it would be difficult, for example, for a Churchman, or a Liberal Roman Catholic—and there are still some left—to find in it other than many causes of offence; but it is a gospel to a large section of Liberalism, and the party would be in exceedingly bad case without it. In its recent growth among the more earnest sections of Liberals, it has no doubt been largely assisted by the newest development of the *Daily Chronicle*, which in reducing its price to a halfpenny has relegated the serious consideration of political and social questions to a very secondary place. But where the *Chronicle* condescends to politics it certainly makes a wider appeal to the party than its principal rival, and if it did not overload its columns with the more meretricious side of journalism; if, in fact, it did not give up to things of no importance about as large a proportion of its space as the *Daily News* devotes to a narrow sectarianism, there is still no reason why it should not become in London the really representative Liberal newspaper. There remains, among the fighting forces of London Liberalism, the *Morning Leader*, which, with a good circulation in the North, East, and South-Eastern districts of the metropolis, has built up a new class of Liberal—or, rather, Radical—readers. But no one of the three papers in question can be said to make a strong, or even a direct, appeal to the party at large, and they offer but a pitiful contrast to the eight Conservative morning papers of the capital, which, whatever their differences on points of detail in Conservative policy, are united in support of the Unionist party.

In evening newspapers the contrast is equally marked, for while the two halfpenny organs, the *Star* and the *Echo*, compare more than favourably in conduct and influence with the two halfpenny Tory papers, the *Evening News* and the *Sun*, the only heavier ordnance the Liberals can oppose to the *Globe*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *St. James's Gazette*, and the *Evening Standard* is the *Westminster Gazette*.

Here, however, the superiority on the Tory side is merely in point of numbers. Needless to refer to the enormous value of Mr. Gould's cartoons, which, though limited in range of ideas, have been justly described as one of the best assets of the Liberal party. Nothing, indeed, could better attest to the dearth of real political cartoonists on both sides than the fact that among the lesser men who essay this form of pictorial art there is not one who comes within measurable distance of the *Westminster* cartoonist. One feels that the only man who could approach him, if he possessed the same political insight, is Mr. E. J. Reed. But while the latter gentleman is a born artist, Mr. Gould is a born politician, in whose equipment art occupies but a secondary place. It would, however, be unjust to attribute the entire political value of the *Westminster* to its cartoons. Partly, no doubt, as a result of the uncertainty that has characterised the leading columns of its two principal morning contemporaries for some years past, the *Westminster* has come, in the minds of the more influential section of Liberals, to represent a much-needed moderation of tone and constancy of views. In its treatment of those questions concerning which the Liberal party is of at least two minds, the *Westminster* acts consistently as Moderator, holding the balance very skilfully; and while it did not, during the progress of the South African war, escape the reproach of being labelled 'Pro-Boer' by the Imperialist Liberals, and while it is occasionally suspected by the other side of being out of sympathy with the advanced programme, the fact remains that it is perhaps the only representative Liberal paper with which all sections practically agree, and if it were on occasion a little more vigorous, more outspoken, when a strong line is indicated, it might easily become a great fighting force.

In Sunday and weekly papers and reviews, published in London, an even greater disparity exists than in the case of the daily press. Of the distinctively weekly papers, those, that is to say, giving a survey of the week's news, not one represents the Liberal party since the defection of *Lloyd's*, which, though under the same proprietorship as the *Daily Chronicle*, has become the advocate of a somewhat tepid form of Unionism. In purely Sunday papers also the only one out of some half dozen which the Liberals can claim is the *Sunday Sun*, and this is neither very robust in its politics nor very lively as to the rest of it. The remainder, even if not very intelligent in their politics, are either whole-heartedly or flippantly Tory.

Of the weekly reviews, but one—*The Speaker*—flies the Liberal colours, and that one, though it contains much admirable work, makes a deliberate appeal only to a section, and that a rather narrow section, of the party. It is, indeed, mainly distinguished by a youthful and not very enlightened intolerance of all who do not share its somewhat doctrinaire views. Some advantage has undoubtedly accrued to the Liberal party from the revolt of the *Spectator* against

Chamberlainism, and if, as some people profess to think probable, there should follow on the next general election a regrouping of parties, in which the Free Trade and more Progressive Unionists should decide to act with the Moderate Liberals, the *Spectator* would no doubt become once more a recognised exponent of broad Liberal views.

The foregoing survey shows, I think, that the unquestioned conversion of the majority of the country—as testified by the past score or so of by-elections—owes very little to the Liberal press. In number of newspapers and in circulation the Tory press has, as I have shown, an immense and unquestioned superiority, and yet the Conservatives are as surely slipping back as the Liberals are pressing forward. What use does the Liberal press throughout the country propose to make of the powerful weapon that is ready forged to its hand? Is there to be found the same want of cohesion, the same ridiculous bickering over non-essentials that has marked the conduct of Liberal newspapers and reviews for nearly a score of years past? If so, it is certain that the country's support of the party will not be of long duration, and the next state of Liberal journalism, and therefore of Liberalism, will be even worse than that which it has just managed to survive. If Liberal journalism is to flourish, if it is to serve as something more than a subsidised vehicle for the dissemination of particular and peculiar views, it must regain the confidence of those upon whom it must at all times be largely dependent for its prosperity. This it can only do by the cultivation of greater moderation of tone, which need entail no sacrifice of its principles, and by disabusing the commercial class of the erroneous idea—a very fixed one in the minds of many—that Liberalism means spoliation and disturbance of trade.

No doubt the amenities which are now so conspicuously wanting in a considerable section of the Liberal press will come more easily and more naturally when the positions of the two political forces are reversed. It may then be possible for one or two of its principal representatives, who have converted the practice of proscription into a fine art, to exercise a wider tolerance and to give themselves a much-needed respite from banning those with whom they do not at the moment happen to agree on all points of Liberal policy. That would go a long way towards reassuring the larger public, and so would tend to restore to the Liberal press the authority, stability, and prosperity it has so largely lost during the years it has been wandering in the wilderness.

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## *THE ETHICAL NEED OF THE PRESENT DAY*

### I

WHEN we cast a glance upon the immense progress realised by all the exact sciences in the course of the nineteenth century, and when we closely examine the character of the conquests achieved by each of them, and the promises they contain for the future, we cannot but feel deeply impressed by the idea that mankind is entering a new era of progress. It has, at any rate, before it all the elements for opening such a new era. In the course of the last hundred or hundred-and-twenty years, entirely new branches of knowledge, opening unexpected vistas upon the laws of development of human society, have grown up under the names of anthropology, prehistoric ethnology, the history of religions, the origin of institutions, and so on. Quite new conceptions about the whole life of the universe were developed by pursuing such lines of research as molecular physics, the chemical structure of matter, and the chemical composition of distant worlds. And the traditional views about the position of man in the universe, the origin of life, and the life of the mind were entirely upset by the rapid development of biology, the reappearance of the theory of evolution, and the growth of physiological psychology. Merely to say that the progress of science in each of its branches, excepting perhaps astronomy, has been greater during the last century than during any three or four centuries of the Middle Ages or of antiquity would not be enough. We have to return 2300 years back, to the glorious times of the philosophical revival in ancient Greece, in order to find another period of sudden awakening of the intellect and of sudden bursting forth of knowledge which would be similar to what we have witnessed lately. And yet, at that early period of human history, man did not enter into possession of all those wonders of industrial technique which have been arrayed lately in our service. A youthful, daring spirit of invention, stimulated by the discoveries of science, and taking its flight to new, hitherto inaccessible regions, has increased our powers of creating wealth, and reduced the effort required for rendering well-being accessible to all to such a degree that no

Utopian of antiquity, or of the Middle Ages, or even of the earlier portion of the nineteenth century, could have dreamt anything of the sort. For the first time in the history of civilisation, mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of the needs themselves. To impose, therefore, as has hitherto been done, the curse of misery and degradation upon vast divisions of mankind, in order to secure well-being for the few, is needed no more: well-being *can* be secured for all, without overwork for any. We are thus placed in a position entirely to remodel the very bases and contents of our civilisation—provided the civilised nations find in their midst the constructive capacities and the powers of creation required for utilising the conquests of the human intellect in the interest of all.

Whether our present civilisation is vigorous and youthful enough to undertake such a great task, and to bring it to the desired end, we cannot say beforehand. But this is certain, that the latest revival of science has created the intellectual atmosphere required for calling such forces into existence. Reverting to the sound philosophy of Nature which remained in neglect from the times of ancient Greece, until Bacon began to wake it up from its long slumber, modern science has now worked out the elements of a philosophy of the universe, free of supernatural hypotheses and the metaphysical 'mythology of ideas,' and at the same time so grand, so poetical and inspiring, so full of energy, and so much breathing freedom, that it certainly is capable of calling into existence the necessary forces. Man need no more clothe his ideals of moral beauty, and of a better organised society, with the garb of superstition: he can free himself from those fears which had hitherto damped his soaring towards a higher life.

One of the greatest achievements of modern science was, of course, that it firmly established the idea of indestructibility of energy through all the ceaseless transformations which it undergoes in the universe. For the physicist and the mathematician this idea became a most fruitful source of discovery. It inspires, in fact, all modern research. But its philosophical import is equally great. It accustoms man to conceive the life of the universe as a never-ending series of transformations of energy, among which the birth of our planet, its evolution, and its final, unavoidable destruction and reabsorption in the great Cosmos are but an infinitesimally small episode—a mere moment in the life of the stellar worlds. The same with the researches concerning life. The recent studies in the wide borderland, where the simplest life-processes in the lowest fungi are hardly distinguishable—if distinguishable at all—from the chemical redistribution of atoms which is always going on in the more complex molecules of matter, have divested life of its mystical character. At the same time, our conception of life has been so widened that we grow accustomed now to conceive all the agglomerations of matter in the universe—solid, liquid, and gaseous—as living too, and going through those cycles of

evolution and decay which we formerly attributed to organic beings only. Then, reverting to ideas which were budding once in ancient Greece, modern science has retraced step by step that marvellous evolution which, after having started with the simplest forms, hardly deserving the name of organisms, has gradually produced the infinite variety of beings which now people and enliven our planet. And, by making us familiar with the thought that every organism is to an immense extent the produce of its own surroundings, biology has solved one of the greatest riddles of Nature—its harmony, the adaptations to an end which it offers us at every step. Even in the most puzzling of all manifestations of life, the domain of feeling and thought, in which human intelligence has to catch the very processes by means of which it succeeds in retaining and co-ordinating the impressions received from without—even in this domain, the darkest of all, science has already caught a glimpse of the mechanism of thought by following the lines of research indicated by physiology. And finally, in the vast field of human institutions, habits and laws, superstitions, beliefs and ideals, such a flood of light has been thrown by the anthropological schools of history, law, and economics that we can already maintain positively that 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' is not a mere Utopia. It is an ideal worth striving for, since it is proved that the prosperity and happiness of no nation or class could ever be based, even for the duration of a few generations, upon the degradation of other classes, nations, or races.

Modern science has thus achieved a double aim. On the one side it has given to man a great lesson of modesty. It has taught him to consider himself as but an infinitesimally small particle of that immense whole—the universe. It has driven him out of his narrow, egotistical seclusion, and has dissipated the self-conceit under which he considered himself the centre of the universe and the object of a special attention in it. It has taught him that without the whole the 'ego' is nothing: that our 'I' cannot even come to a self-definition without the 'Thou.'<sup>1</sup> But at the same time science has taught man how powerful mankind is, in its progressive march; and it has given him the means to enlist in his service the unlimited energies of Nature.

So far, then, as science and philosophy go, they have given us both the material elements and the freedom of thought which are required for calling into life the reconstructive forces that may lead mankind to a new era of progress. There is, however, one branch of knowledge which lags behind. It is ethics. A system of ethics worthy of the present scientific revival, which would take advantage of all the recent acquisitions for revising the very foundations of morality on a wider philosophical basis, and produce a higher moral ideal, capable of giving to the civilised nations the inspiration required for the great

<sup>1</sup> Schopenhauer, *The Foundations of Morals*, section 22. All the paragraph is of the greatest beauty. Also Feuerbach and others.

task that lies before them—such a system has not yet been produced. But it is called for on all sides, with an emphasis the sense of which cannot be misunderstood. A new, realistic moral science is the need of the day—a science as free of superstition, religious dogmatism, and metaphysical mythology as modern cosmogony and philosophy already are, and permeated at the same time with those higher feelings and brighter hopes which a thorough knowledge of man and his history can breathe into men's breasts.

That such a science is possible lies beyond any reasonable doubt. If the study of Nature has yielded the elements of a philosophy which embraces the life of the Cosmos, the evolution of the living beings, the laws of psychical activity, and the development of society, it must also be able to give us the rational origin and the sources of the moral feelings. And it must be able to indicate and to reinforce the agencies which contribute towards the gradual rising of these feelings to an always greater height and purity, without resorting for that purpose to blind faith or to religious coercion. If a closer acquaintance with Nature was able to infuse into the minds of the greatest naturalists and poets of the nineteenth century that lofty inspiration which they found in the contemplation of the universe—if a look into Nature's breast made Goethe live only the more intensely in the face of the raging storm, the calm mountains, the dark forest and its inhabitants—why should not a widened knowledge of man and his destinies be able to inspire the poet in the same way? And when the poet has found the proper expression for his sense of communion with the Cosmos and his unity with fellow-men, he becomes capable of inspiring thousands of men with the highest enthusiasm. He makes them feel better, and awakens the desire of being better still. He produces in them those very ecstasies which were formerly considered as belonging exclusively to the province of religion. What are, indeed, the Psalms, which are described as the highest expression of religious feeling, or the more poetical portions of the sacred books of the East, but attempts to express man's ecstasy at the contemplation of the universe—the first awakening of his sense of the poetry of Nature?

## II

The need of realistic ethics was felt from the very dawn of the present scientific revival, when Bacon, at the same time as he laid the foundations of the present advancement of sciences, indicated also the main outlines of empirical ethics, perhaps with less thoroughness than this was done by his followers, but with a width of conception which was not much improved upon in later days. The best thinkers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries continued on the same lines, endeavouring to work out systems of ethics, independent of the imperatives of religion. Hobbes, Locke, Shaftesbury and

Paley, Hutcheson, Hume, and Adam Smith boldly attacked the problem on all sides. They indicated the empirical sources of the moral sense, and in their determinations of the moral ends they mostly stood on the same empirical ground. They combined in varied ways the 'intellectualism' and utilitarianism of Locke with the 'moral sense' and sense of beauty of Hutcheson, the 'theory of association' of Hartley, and the ethics of feeling of Shaftesbury. Speaking of the ends of ethics, some of them already mentioned the 'harmony' between self-love and regard to fellow-men which took such a development in the nineteenth century, and considered it in connection with Hutcheson's 'emotion of approbation,' or the 'sympathy' of Hume and Adam Smith. And finally, if they found a difficulty in explaining the sense of duty on a rational basis, they resorted to the early influences of religion, or to some inborn sense, or to some variety of Hobbes' theory of law, considered as the educator of the otherwise unsociable primitive savage. The French Encyclopædists and materialists discussed the problem on the same lines, only insisting more on self-love, and trying to find the synthesis of the opposed tendencies of human nature in the educational influence of the social institutions, which must be such as to favour the development of the better sides of human nature. Rousseau, with his rational religion, stood as a link between the materialists and the intuitionists, and by boldly attacking the social problems of the day he won a wider hearing than any one of them. On the other side, even the utmost idealists, like Descartes and his pantheist follower Spinoza, even Leibnitz and the 'transcendentalist-idealist' Kant, did not trust entirely to the revealed origin of the moral ideas, and tried to give to ethics a broader foundation, even though they would not part entirely with an extra-human origin of the moral law.

The same endeavour towards finding a realistic basis for ethics became even more pronounced in the nineteenth century, when quite a number of important ethical systems were worked out on the different bases of rational self-love, love of humanity (Auguste Comte, Littré, and a great number of minor followers), sympathy and intellectual identification of one's personality with mankind (Schopenhauer), utilitarianism (Bentham and Mill), and evolution (Darwin, Spencer, Guyau), to say nothing of the negative systems, originating in La Rochefoucauld and Mandeville and developed by Nietzsche and several others, who tried to establish a higher moral standard by their bold attacks against the current half-hearted moral conceptions, and by a vigorous assertion of the supreme rights of the individual.

Two of the nineteenth-century ethical systems—Comte's positivism and Bentham's utilitarianism—exercised, as is known, a deep influence upon the century's thought, and the former impressed with its own stamp all the scientific researches which make the glory of modern science. They also gave origin to a variety of sub-systems,



so that most modern writers of mark in psychology, evolution, or anthropology have enriched ethical literature with some more or less original researches, sometimes of a high standard, as is the case with Feuerbach, Bain, Leslie Stephen, Wundt, Sidgwick, and several others. Numbers of ethical societies were also started for a wider propaganda of empirical ethics. At the same time, an immense movement, chiefly economical in its origins, but eminently ethical in its substance, was born in the first half of the nineteenth century and spread very widely under the names of Fourierism, Saint-Simonism, and Owenism, and later on of international socialism and anarchism. This movement was an attempt on a great scale, supported by the working men of all nations, not only to revise the very foundations of the current ethical conceptions, but also to introduce into real life the conditions under which a new page in the ethical life of mankind could be opened.

It would seem, therefore, that since such a number of rationalist ethical systems have grown up in the course of the last two centuries, it is impossible to approach the subject once more without falling into a mere repetition or a mere recombination of fragments of already advocated schemes. However, the very fact that each of the main systems produced in the nineteenth century—the positivism of Comte, the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, and the altruist evolutionism of Darwin, Spencer, and Guyau—has added something important to the conceptions worked out by its predecessors proves that the matter is far yet from being exhausted. Even if we take the last three systems only, we cannot but see that Spencer failed to take advantage of some of the hints which the evolutionist philosopher finds in the short but very suggestive sketch of ethics given by Darwin in *The Origin of Man*; while Guyau introduced into morals such an important element as that of an overflow of energy in feeling, thought, or will, which had not been taken into account by his evolutionist predecessors. If every new system thus contributes some new and valuable element, this very fact proves that ethical science is not yet constituted. In fact, it never will be, because new factors and new tendencies will always have to be taken into account in proportion as mankind advances in its mental evolution.

That, at the same time, none of the ethical systems which were brought forward in the course of the nineteenth century has satisfied, be it only the educated fraction of the civilised nations, hardly need be insisted upon. To say nothing of the numerous philosophical works in which dissatisfaction with modern ethics has been expressed,<sup>2</sup> the best proof of it is the decided return to idealism which we see in all civilised nations, and especially in France. The absence of any poetical inspiration in the positivism of Littré and Herbert Spencer,

<sup>2</sup> Sufficient to name here the critical and historical works of Paulsen, Wundt, Leslie Stephen, Guyau, Lichtenberger, Fouillée, De Roberty, and so many others.

and their incapacity to cope with the great problems of our present civilisation; the striking narrowness of views concerning the social problem which characterises the chief philosopher of evolution, Spencer; nay, the repudiation by the latter-day French positivists of the humanitarian theories which distinguished the eighteenth-century Encyclopædists—all these have helped to create a strong reaction in favour of a sort of mystico-religious idealism. The ferocious interpretation of Darwinism, which was given to it by the most prominent representatives of the evolutionist school, without a word of protest coming from Darwin himself for the first twelve years after the appearance of his *Origin of Species*, gave still more force to the reaction against 'naturism'—we are told by Fouillée. And, as always happens with every reaction, the movement went far beyond its original purpose. Beginning as a protest against some mistakes of the naturalist philosophy, it soon became a campaign against positive knowledge altogether. The 'failure of science' was triumphantly announced. The fact that science is revising now the 'first approximations' concerning life, psychical activity, evolution, the structure of matter, and so on, which were arrived at in the years 1856-62, and which must be revised now in order to reach the next, deeper generalisations—successive approximations being the very essence of the history of sciences—this fact was taken advantage of for representing science as having failed in its attempted solutions of all the great problems. A crusade in favour of intuitionism and blind faith was started accordingly. Going back first to Kant, then to Schelling, and even to Lotze, numbers of writers have been preaching lately 'spiritualism,' 'indeterminism,' 'apriorism,' 'personal idealism,' and so on—proclaiming faith as the very source of all true knowledge. Religious faith itself was found insufficient. It is the mysticism of St. Bernard or of the neo-Platonians which is now in demand. 'Symbolism,' 'the subtle,' 'the incomprehensible' are sought for. Even the belief in the mediæval Satan was resuscitated.<sup>3</sup>

It hardly need be said that none of these currents of thought obtained a widespread hold upon the minds of our contemporaries; but we certainly see public opinion floating between the two extremes—between a desperate effort, on the one side, to force oneself to return to the obscure creeds of the Middle Ages, with their full accompaniment of superstition, idolatry, and even magic; and, on the opposite extreme, a glorification of 'a-moralism' and a revival of that worship of 'superior natures,' now invested with the names of 'supermen' or 'superior individualisations,' which Europe had lived through in the times of Byronism and early Romanticism.

It appears, therefore, more necessary than ever to see if the present

<sup>3</sup> See A. Fouillée, *Le Mouvement idéaliste et la Réaction contre la Science positive*, 2nd edition; Paul Desjardins, *Le Devoir présent*, which has gone through five editions in a short time; and many others.

scepticism as to the claims of science in ethical questions is well founded, and whether science does not contain already the elements of a system of ethics which, if it were properly formulated, would respond to the needs of the present day.

### III

The limited success of the various ethical systems which were born in the course of the last hundred years shows that man cannot be satisfied with a mere naturalistic *explanation of the origins* of the moral instinct. He means to have a *justification* of it. Simply to trace the origin of our moral feelings, as we trace the pedigree of some structural feature in a flower, and to say that such-and-such causes have contributed to the growth and refinement of the moral sense, is not enough. Man wants to have a criterion for judging the moral instinct itself. Whereto does it lead us? Is it towards a desirable end, or towards something which, as some critics say, would only result in the weakening of the race and its ultimate decay? If struggle for life and the extermination of the physically weakest is the law of Nature, and represents a condition of progress, is not then the cessation of the struggle, and the 'industrial state' which Comte and Spencer promise us, the very beginning of the decay of the human race—as Nietzsche has so forcibly concluded? And if such an end is undesirable, must we not proceed, indeed, to a re-valuation of all those moral 'values' which tend to reduce the struggle, or to render it less painful? The main problem of modern realistic ethics is thus, as has been remarked by Wundt in his *Ethics*,<sup>4</sup> to determine, first of all, *the moral end* in view. But this end or ends, however ideal they may be, and however remote their full realisation, must belong to the world of realities. They must be born out of it, and remain accessible to our senses, because modern man will not be taken in by mere words or by a metaphysical substantiation of his own desires. The end of morals cannot be 'transcendental,' as the idealists desire it to be: it must be real.

When Darwin threw into circulation the idea of 'struggle for existence,' and represented this struggle as the mainspring of progressive evolution, he agitated once more the great old question as to the moral or immoral aspects of Nature. The origin of the conceptions of good and evil, which had exercised the best minds since the times of the Zend Avesta, was brought once more under discussion with a renewed vigour, and with a greater depth of conception than ever. Nature was represented by the Darwinists as an immense battlefield upon which one sees nothing but an incessant struggle for life and an

<sup>4</sup> W. Wundt, *Ethics*, English translation in three volumes, by Professor Titchener, Prof. Julia Gulliver, and Prof. Margaret Washburn, New York and London (Swan Sonnenschein), 1897.

extermination of the weak ones by the strongest, the swiftest, and the cunningest: evil was the only lesson which man could get from Nature. These ideas, as is known, became very widely spread. But if they are true the evolutionist philosopher has to solve a deep contradiction, which he himself has introduced into his philosophy. He cannot deny that man is possessed of a higher conception of 'good,' and that a faith in the gradual triumph of the good principle is deeply seated in human nature, and he has to explain this conception and this faith. He cannot be lulled into indifference by the Epicurean hope, expressed by Tennyson—that 'somehow good will be the final goal of ill.' Nor can he represent to himself Nature, 'red in tooth and claw,' at strife everywhere with the good principle—the very negation of it in every living being—and yet this good principle triumphant in the long run. He must explain this contradiction. But if he maintains that the only lesson which Nature gives to man is one of evil, then he necessarily has to admit the existence of some other, extra-natural, or supra-natural influence which inspires man with conceptions of 'supreme good,' and guides human development towards a higher goal. And in this way he nullifies his own attempt at explaining evolution by the action of natural forces only.

In reality, however, things do not stand so badly as that for the theory of evolution. The above interpretation of Nature is not supported by fact. It is incomplete, one-sided, and consequently wrong, and Darwin himself indicated the other aspect of Nature in a special chapter of *The Origin of Man*. There is, he pointed out, in *Nature itself*, another set of facts, parallel to those of mutual struggle, but having a quite different meaning: the facts of mutual support within the species, which are even more important than the former, on account of their significance for the welfare of the species and its maintenance. This extremely important idea, to which, however, most Darwinists paid but little attention, I attempted further to develop a few years ago, in a series of essays originally published in this Review, and in which I endeavoured to bring into evidence the immense importance of Mutual Aid for the preservation of both the animal species and the human race, and still more so for *progressive* evolution.<sup>5</sup> Without trying to minimise the fact that an immense number of animals live either upon species belonging to some lower division of the animal kingdom, or upon some smaller species of the same class as themselves, I indicated that warfare in Nature is chiefly limited to struggle between *different species*; but that *within each species*, and within the groups of different species which we find living together, the practice of mutual aid is the rule, and therefore this last aspect of animal life plays a far greater part in the economy of Nature than warfare. It is more general, not only on account of

<sup>5</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894, and 1896; *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, London (Heinemann), 2nd edition, 1904.

the immense numbers of sociable species, such as the ruminants, many rodents, many birds, the ants, the bees, and so on, which do not prey at all upon other animals, and the overwhelming numbers of individuals which all sociable species contain, but also because nearly all carnivorous and rapacious species, and especially those of them which are not in decay owing to a rapid extermination by man or to some other cause, also practise it to some extent.

If mutual support is so general in Nature, it is because it offers such immense advantages to all those animals which practise it best that it entirely upsets the balance of benefits which otherwise might be derived from a superior development of beak and claw. It represents the best arm in the great struggle for life which continually has to be carried on in Nature against climate, inundations, storms, frost, and the like, and continually requires new adaptations to the ever-changing conditions of existence. Therefore, taken as a whole, Nature is by no means an illustration of the triumph of physical force, swiftness, cunningness, or any other feature useful in warfare. It teems, on the contrary, with species decidedly weak, badly protected, and all but warlike—such as the ant, the bee, the pigeon, the duck, the marmot, the gazelle, and so on—which, nevertheless, succeed best in the struggle for life, and, owing to their sociability and mutual protection, even displace much more powerfully-built competitors and enemies. And, finally, we can take it as proved that while struggle for life leads indifferently to both progressive and regressive evolution, the practice of mutual aid is the agency which always leads to *progressive development*. It is the main factor of progressive evolution.

Being thus necessary for the preservation, the welfare, and the progressive development of every species, the mutual aid instinct has become what Darwin described as ‘a permanent instinct,’ which is *always* at work in all sociable animals, and especially in man. Having its origin at the very beginnings of the evolution of the animal world, it is certainly an instinct as deeply seated in animals, low and high, as the instinct of maternal love; perhaps even deeper, because it is present in such animals as the molluscs, some insects, and most fishes, which hardly possess the maternal instinct at all. Darwin was therefore quite right in considering that the instinct of ‘mutual sympathy’ is more permanently at work in the sociable animals than even the purely egotistic instinct of direct self-preservation. He saw in it, as is known, the rudiments of the moral conscience.

But this is not all. In the same instinct we have the origin of those feelings of benevolence and of that partial identification of the individual with the group which become the starting-point of all the higher ethical feelings. It is upon this foundation that the higher sense of justice, or equity, is developed. When we see that scores of thousands of different aquatic birds come together for nesting on the

ledges of the 'birds' mountains,' without fighting for the best positions on these ledges; that several flocks of pelicans will keep by the side of each other in their separate fishing grounds; and that hundreds of species of birds and mammals come in some way to a certain arrangement concerning their feeding areas, their nesting places, their night quarters, and their hunting grounds, and respect these arrangements, instead of continually fighting for upsetting them; or when we see that a young bird which has stolen some straw from another bird's nest is attacked by all the birds of the same colony, we catch on the spot the very origin and the growth of the sense of equity and justice in the animal societies. And finally, in proportion as we advance in every class of animals towards the higher representatives of that class (the ants, the wasps, and the bees amongst the insects, the cranes and the parrots amongst the birds, the higher ruminants, the apes and man amongst the mammals), we find that the identification of the individual with the interests of his group, and eventually sacrifice for it, grow in proportion—thus revealing to us the origin of the higher ethical feelings. It thus appears that not only Nature does *not* give us a lesson of a-moralism, which need be corrected by some extra-natural influence, but we are bound to recognise that the very ideas of bad and good, and man's abstractions concerning 'the supreme good' and 'the lowest evil,' have been borrowed from Nature. They are reflections in the mind of man of what he saw in Nature, and these impressions were developed during his life in society into conceptions of right and wrong. However, they are not merely subjective appreciations. They contain the fundamental principles of equity and mutual sympathy, which apply to all sentient beings, just as mechanical truths derived from observation on the surface of the earth apply to matter everywhere in the stellar spaces.

It is self-evident that a similar conception must also apply to the evolution of the human character and human institutions. True that up to the present time the history of mankind, notwithstanding the extreme wealth of materials accumulated lately, has not been told as the development of some fundamental ethical tendency. But it is already possible now to conceive it as the evolution of an ethical factor which consists, as I have tried to prove, in the ever-present tendency of men to organise the relations within the tribe, the village community, the commonwealth, on the bases of mutual aid; these forms of social organisation becoming in turn the bases of further progress. We certainly must abandon the idea of representing human history as an uninterrupted chain of development from the pre-historic Stone Age to the present time. Just as in the evolution of the animal series we consider the insects, the birds, the fishes, the mammals, as separate lines of development, so also in human history we must admit that evolution was started several times anew—in India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome,

and finally in Western Europe, beginning each time with the primitive tribe and the village community. But if we consider each of these lines separately, we certainly find in each of them, and especially in the development of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, a continual widening of the conception of mutual support and mutual protection, from the clan to the tribe, the nation, and finally to the international union of nations. And, on the other side, notwithstanding the temporary regressive movements which occasionally take place, even in the most civilised nations, there is—at least among the representatives of advanced thought in the civilised world and in the progressive popular movements—the tendency of always widening the current conception of human solidarity and justice, and of constantly refining the character of our mutual relations, as well as the ideal of what is desirable in this respect. The very fact that the backward movements which take place from time to time are considered by the enlightened portion of the population as mere temporary illnesses of the social organism, the return of which must be prevented in the future, proves that the average ethical standard is now higher than it was in the past. And in proportion as the means of satisfying the needs of all the members of the civilised communities are improved, and room is prepared for a still higher conception of justice for all, the ethical standard is bound to become more and more refined. In scientific ethics man is thus in a position not only to reaffirm his faith in moral progress, which he obstinately retains, notwithstanding all pessimistic lessons to the contrary, he sees that this belief, although it had only originated in one of those artistic intuitions which always precede science, was quite correct, and is confirmed now by positive knowledge.

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#### IV

If the empirical philosophers have hitherto failed to state this steady progress which, speaking metaphorically, we can describe as the leading principle of evolution, the fault lies to a great extent with our predecessors, the speculative philosophers. They have so much denied the empirical origin of man's moral feelings; they have gone into such subtle reasonings in order to assign a supernatural origin to the moral sense; and they have so much spoken about 'the destination of man,' the 'why of his existence,' and 'the aim of Nature,' that a reaction against the mythological and metaphysical conceptions which had risen round this question was unavoidable. Moreover, the modern evolutionists, having established the wide part which certainly pertains in the animal world to a keen struggle between different species, could not accept that such a brutal process, which entails so much suffering upon sentient beings, should be the unravelling of a superior plan; and they consequently denied that any ethical principle

could be discovered in it. Only now that the evolution of species, races of men, human institutions, and ethical ideas has been proved to be the result of natural forces, has it become possible to study all the factors which were at work, including the ethical factor of mutual support and growing sympathy, without the risk of falling back into a supra-natural philosophy. But, this being so, we reach a point of considerable philosophical importance.

We are enabled to conclude that the lesson which man derives both from the study of Nature and his own history is the permanent presence of a double tendency—towards a greater development, on the one side, of sociability, and, on the other side, of a consequent increase of the intensity of life, which results in an increase of happiness for the individuals, and in progress—physical, intellectual, and moral. This double tendency is a distinctive characteristic of life altogether. It is always present, and belongs to life, as one of its attributes, whatever aspects life may take on our planet or elsewhere. And this is not a metaphysical assertion, or a mere supposition. It is an empirically discovered law of Nature. It thus appears that science, far from destroying the foundations of ethics—as it is so often accused of doing—gives, on the contrary, a *concrete content* to the nebulous metaphysical presumptions which were current in transcendental ethics. As it goes deeper into the life of Nature, it gives to evolutionist ethics a philosophical certitude, where the transcendental thinker had only a vague intuition to rely upon.

There is still less foundation in another continually repeated reproach—namely, that the study of Nature can only lead us to recognise some cold mathematical *truth*, but that such truths have little effect upon our actions. The study of Nature, we are told, can at the best inspire us with the love of truth; but the inspiration for higher emotions, such as that of ‘infinite goodness,’ must be sought for in some other source, which can only be religion. So we are told, at least; but, to begin with, love of truth is already one half—the better half—of all ethical teaching. As to the conception of good and the admiration for it, the ‘truth’ which we have just mentioned is certainly an inspiring truth, of which Goethe, with the insight of his pantheistic genius, had already guessed the philosophical value,<sup>6</sup> and which certainly will some day find its expression in the poetry of Nature and give it an additional humanitarian touch. Moreover, the deeper we go into the study of the primitive man, the more we realise that it was from the life of animals with whom he stood in close contact, even more than from his own congeners, that he learned the first lessons of valour, self-sacrifice for the welfare of the group, unlimited parental love, and the advantages of sociability altogether. The conceptions of ‘virtue’ and ‘wickedness’ are zoological, not merely human conceptions. As to the powers which ideas and intellectually

<sup>6</sup> Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 1848, vol. iii. 219, 221.



conceived ideals exercise upon the current moral conceptions, and how these conceptions influence in their turn the intellectual aspect of an epoch, this subject hardly need be insisted upon. The intellectual evolution of a given society may take at times, under the influence of all sorts of circumstances, a totally wrong turn, or it may take, on the contrary, a high flight. But in both cases the leading ideas of the time will never fail deeply to influence the ethical life. The same applies to a great extent to the individual. Most certainly, *ideas* are *forces*, as Fouillée puts it; and they are *ethical* forces, if the ideas are correct and wide enough to represent the real life of Nature—not one of its sides only. The first step, therefore, towards the elaboration of a morality which should exercise a lasting influence is to base it upon an ascertained truth; and this is so much so, that one of the main causes opposed now to the appearance of a complete ethical system, corresponding to the present needs, is the fact that the science of society is still in its infancy. Having just completed its storing of materials, sociology is only beginning to investigate them with the view to ascertaining the probable lines of a future development.

The chief demand which is addressed now to ethics is to do its best to find in philosophy, and thus to help mankind to find in its institutions, a synthesis—not a compromise—between the two sets of feelings which exist in man: those which induce him to subdue other men, in order to utilise them for his individual ends, and those which induce human beings to unite and to combine for attaining common ends by common effort: the first answering to that fundamental need of human nature—struggle, and the second representing another equally fundamental tendency—the desire of union and sympathy. Such a synthesis is of absolute necessity, because the civilised man of to-day, having no settled conviction on this point, is paralysed in his powers of action. He cannot admit that a struggle to the knife for supremacy, carried on between individuals and nations, should be the last word of science; he does not believe, at the same time, in the solution of brotherhood and resigned self-abnegation which Christianity has offered us for so many centuries, but upon which it has failed to establish a commonwealth; and he has no faith either in the solution offered by the communists. To settle, then, these doubts, and to aid mankind in finding the synthesis between the two leading tendencies of human nature, is the chief duty of ethics. For this purpose we have earnestly to study what were the means resorted to by men at different periods of their evolution, in order so to direct the individual forces as to get from them the greatest benefit for the welfare of all, without paralysing them. And we have to define the tendencies in this direction which exist at the present moment—the rough sketches, the timid attempts which are being made, or even the potentialities concealed in modern society, which may be utilised for finding that synthesis. And then, as no new move in civilisation

has ever been made without a certain enthusiasm being evoked in order to overcome the first difficulties of inertia and opposition, it is the duty of the new ethics to infuse in men those ideals which would move them, provoke their enthusiasm, and give them the necessary forces for accomplishing that synthesis in real life.

This brings us to the chief reproach which has always been made for the last two hundred years to all empirical systems of ethics. Their conclusions, we are told, will never have the necessary authority for influencing the actions of men, because they cannot be invested with the sense of *duty*, of *obligation*. It must be understood, of course, that empirical morality has never claimed to possess the imperative character which belongs to prescriptions that are placed under the sanction of religious awe, and of which we have the prototype in the Mosaic Decalogue. True, that Kant thought of his 'categorical imperative' ('so act that the maxim of thy will might serve at the same time as a principle of universal legislation') that it required no sanction whatever for being universally recognised as obligatory; it was, he maintained, a necessary form of reasoning, a 'category' of our intellect, and it was deduced from no utilitarian considerations. However, modern criticism, beginning with Schopenhauer, has shown that this was an illusion. Kant has certainly failed to prove why it should be a duty to follow his injunction. And, strange to say, the only reason why his 'imperative' might recommend itself to general acceptance is still its eudæmonistic character, its social *utility*, although some of the best pages which Kant wrote were precisely those in which he strongly objected to any considerations of utility being taken as the foundation of morality. After all, he produced a beautiful panegyric of the sense of duty, but he failed to give to this sense any other foundation than the inner conscience of man and his desire of retaining a unity between his intellectual conceptions and his actions.

Empirical morality does not claim anything more. It does ~~not~~ pretend in the least to find a substitute for the religious imperative expressed in the words 'I am the Lord.' But it must also be said in justification that the painful discrepancy which exists between the ethical prescriptions of the Christian religion and the life of societies professing to belong to it—a contradiction which surely shows no signs of abatement—and, on the other side, the criticism that has been made so successfully since the times of the Reform, concerning the efficiency of morality based upon fear, have deprived the above reproach of its value. However, even empirical morality is not entirely devoid of a sense of conditional obligation. The different feelings and actions which are usually described since the times of Auguste Comte as 'altruistic' can easily be classed under two different headings. There are actions which may be considered as absolutely necessary, once we choose to live in society, and to which, therefore, the name of 'altruistic' ought never to be applied: they bear the character of

*reciprocity*, and they are as much in the interest of the individual as any act of self-preservation. And there are, on the other hand, those actions which bear no character of reciprocity, and which, although they are the real mainsprings of moral progress, can certainly have no character of obligation attached to them. A great deal of confusion arises from not having sufficiently kept in view this fundamental distinction; but this confusion can easily be got rid of.

Altogether it is quite evident that the functions of ethics are different from those of law. Moral science does not even settle the question whether legislation is necessary or not. It stands above that. It soars on a higher level. We know, indeed, ethical writers—and these were not the least influential in the early beginnings of the Reform movement—who denied the necessity of any legislation and appealed directly to human conscience. The function of ethics is not even so much to insist upon the defects of man, and to reproach him with his ‘sins,’ as to act in the *positive* direction, by appealing to man’s best instincts. It determines, of course, or rather it sums up, the few fundamental principles without which neither animals nor men could live in societies; but then it appeals to something superior to that: to love, courage, fraternity, self-respect, concordance with one’s ideal. It tells to man, that if he desires to have a life in which all his forces, physical, intellectual, and emotional, should find a full exercise, he must once and for ever abandon the idea that such a life is attainable on the path of disregard for others. It is only through establishing a certain harmony between the individual and all others that an approach to such complete life will be possible; and it adds: ‘Look at Nature itself! Study the past of mankind! They will prove to you that so it is in reality.’ And when the individual, for this or that reason, hesitates in some special case as to the best course to follow, ethics comes to his aid and indicates how he would like himself to act, if he placed himself in the place of those whom he is going to harm. But even then true ethics does not trace a stiff line of conduct, because it is the individual himself who must weigh the relative value of the different motives affecting him. There is no use to recommend risk to one who can stand no reverse, or to speak of an old man’s prudence to the young man full of energy. He would give the reply—the profoundly true and beautiful reply which Egmont gives to old Count Oliva’s advice in Goethe’s drama—and he would be quite right: ‘As if spurred by unseen spirits, the sunhorses of time run with the light cart of our fate; and there remains to us only boldly to hold the reins and lead the wheels away—here, from a stone on our left, there from upsetting the cart on our right. Whereto does it run? Who knows? Can we only remember wherefrom we came?’ ‘The

‘It will not tell him, “This you must do,” but inquire with him, “What is it that you will, in reality and definitively—not only in a momentary mood?”’ (F. Paulsen, *System der Ethik*, 2 vols., Berlin 1896, vol. i. p. 20.)

flower *must* bloom,' as Guyau says,<sup>8</sup> even though its blooming meant death.

And yet the main purpose of ethics is not to advise men separately. It is rather to set before them, as a whole, a higher purpose, an ideal which, better than any advice, would make them act instinctively in the proper direction. Just as the aim of intellectual education is to accustom us to perform an enormous number of mental operations almost unconsciously, so is the aim of ethics to create such an atmosphere in society as would produce in the great number, entirely by impulse, those actions which best lead to the welfare of all and the fullest happiness of every separate being. This is the final aim of morality; but to reach it we must free our morality of the self-contradictions which it contains. A morality of charity, compassion, and pity necessarily breeds a deadly contradiction. It starts with the assertion of full equity and justice, or of full brotherhood. But then it adds that we need not worry our minds with either. The one is unattainable. As to the brotherhood of men, which is the fundamental principle of all religions, it must not be taken too closely *à la lettre*: that was a mere *façon de parler* of enthusiastic preachers. 'Inequality is the rule of Nature,' we are told by religious people, and with regard to this special lesson Nature, not religion, is the proper teacher. But when the inequalities in the modes of living of men become too striking, and the sum total of produced wealth is so divided as to result in the most abject misery for a very great number, then compassion for the poor, and sharing with them what can be shared without parting with one's privileged position, becomes a holy duty. Such a morality may certainly be prevalent in a society for a time, or even for a long time, if it has the sanction of religion interpreted by the reigning Church. But the moment that man begins to consider the prescriptions of religion with a critical eye, and requires a reasoned conviction instead of mere obedience and fear, an inner contradiction of this sort cannot be retained any longer. It must be abandoned—the sooner the better. Inner contradiction is the death-sentence of all ethics.

## V

A most important condition which modern morality is bound to satisfy is that it must not aim at fettering the powers of action of the individual, be it for so high a purpose as the welfare of the commonwealth or even the species. Wundt, in his excellent review of the ethical systems, makes the remark that from the eighteenth-century period of enlightenment they became, nearly all of them, individualistic. This is, however, true but to some extent, because the rights of the individual were asserted with great energy in one domain only—in

<sup>8</sup> M. Guyau, *A Sketch of Morality independent of Obligation or Sanction*, trans. by Gertrude Kapteyn, London (Watts), 1898.

economics. And even here individual freedom remained, both in theory and in practice, more illusory than real. As to the other domains—political, intellectual, artistic—it may be said that in proportion as economical individualism was asserted with more emphasis, the subjection of the individual—to the war machinery of the State, the system of education, the intellectual atmosphere required for the support of the existing institutions, and so on—was steadily growing. Even most of the advanced reformers of the present day, in their forecasts of the future, reason under the presumption of a still greater absorption of the individual by the society to which he will belong. This tendency necessarily provoked a revolt, to which Godwin at the beginning of the century, and Spencer towards its end, already gave expression, and which brought Nietzsche to conclude that all morality must be thrown overboard if it can find no better foundation than the sacrifice of the individual in the interests of the race. This revolt is perhaps the most characteristic feature of our epoch, the more so as its mainspring is not so much in an egoistic striving after economical independence (as was the case with the eighteenth-century individualists, with the exception of Godwin) as in a passionate desire of intellectual freedom for working out a new, better form of society, in which the welfare of all would become a groundwork for the fullest development of the personality.<sup>9</sup>

The want of development of the personality and the lack of individual creative power and initiative are certainly one of the chief drawbacks of the present period. Economical individualism has not kept its promise: it did *not* result in any striking development of individuality. As of yore, sociological creation is extremely slow, and imitation remains the chief means for spreading progressive innovations in mankind. Modern nations repeat the history of the barbarian tribes and the mediæval cities when they reproduced one after the other, in a thousand copies, the same political, religious, and economical movements. Whole nations have appropriated to themselves lately, with an astounding rapidity, the results of the West European industrial and military civilisation; and in these unrevised new editions of old types we see best how superficial that civilisation is, how much of it is mere imitation. It is only natural, therefore, to ask ourselves whether the current moral teachings are not instrumental in maintaining that imitative submission. Did they not too much want to make of man the 'ideational automaton' of Herbart, who is plunged into contemplation, and fears above all the storms of passion? Is it not time to vindicate the rights of the real man, full

<sup>9</sup> Wundt expresses himself in these words: 'For, unless all signs fail, a revolution of opinion is at present going on, in which the extreme individualism of the enlightenment is giving place to a revival of the universalism of antiquity, supplemented by a better notion of the liberty of human personality—an improvement that we owe to individualism.' (*Ethics*, iii. p. 34 of English translation; p. 459 of German original.)

of vigour, who is capable of really loving what is worth being loved and hating what deserves hatred, apart from the personalities in which the lovable or the spiteful has been incarnated—the man who is always ready to enter the arena and to fight for an ideal which ennobles his love and justifies his antipathies? From the times of the philosophers of antiquity there was a tendency to represent ‘virtue’ as a sort of ‘wisdom’ which induces the wise man to ‘cultivate the beauty of his soul,’ rather than to join ‘the unwise’ in their struggles against the evils of the day. Later on that virtue became ‘non-resistance to evil,’ and for many centuries in succession individual, personal salvation, coupled with resignation and a passive attitude towards evil, was the essence of Christian ethics; the result being the culture of a monastic indifference to social good and evil, and the elaboration of an intricate argumentation in favour of ‘virtuous individualism.’ There is no doubt, however, that a reaction begins now, and the question is asked whether a passive attitude in the presence of evil does not merely mean moral cowardice? whether, as was taught by the Zend Avesta, an active struggle against Ahriman is not the first condition of virtue? <sup>10</sup> We need moral progress, but without moral courage no moral progress is possible.

Such are some of the main currents of thought concerning the ethical need of the day which can be discerned amid the present confusion. All of them converge towards one leading idea. What is wanted now is a new comprehension of morality: in its fundamental principle, which must be broad enough to infuse new life in our civilisation, and in its methods, which must be freed from both the transcendental survivals and the narrow conceptions of philistine utilitarianism. The elements for such a comprehension are already at hand. The importance of mutual aid in the evolution of the animal world and human history may be taken, I believe, as a positively established scientific truth, free of any hypothetical admission. We may also take next, as granted, that in proportion as mutual aid becomes more habitual in a human community, and so to say instinctive, this very fact leads to a parallel development of the sense of justice, with its necessary accompaniment of equity and equalitarian self-restraint. The idea that the personal rights of every individual are as unassailable as the same rights of every other individual grows in proportion as class distinctions fade away; and it becomes established as a matter of fact when the institutions of a given community have been altered permanently in this sense. A certain degree of identification of the individual with the interests of the group to which it belongs has necessarily existed since the very beginning of sociable life, and it is apparent even among the lowest animals. But in proportion as relations of equalitarian justice are solidly established

<sup>10</sup> C. P. Thiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum*, German translation by G. Gehrich. Gotha, 1903, vol. ii. pp. 163 sq.

in the human community, the ground is prepared for the further and the more general development of those more refined relations, under which man so well understands and feels the feelings of other men affected by his actions that he refrains from offending them, even though he may have to forsake on that account the satisfaction of some of his own desires, and when he so fully identifies his feelings with those of the others that he is ready to sacrifice his forces for their benefit without expecting anything in return. These are the feelings and the habits which alone deserve the name of Morality, properly speaking, although most ethical writers confound them, under the name of altruism, with the mere sense of justice.

Mutual Aid—Justice—Morality are thus the consecutive steps of an ascending series, revealed to us by the study of the animal world and man. It is not something imposed from the outside; it is an organic necessity which carries in itself its own justification, confirmed and illustrated by the whole of the evolution of the animal kingdom, beginning with its earliest colony-stages, and gradually rising to our civilised human communities. Speaking an imaged language, it is a general law of organic evolution, and this is why the senses of Mutual Aid, Justice, and Morality are rooted in man's mind with all the force of an inborn instinct—the first being evidently the strongest, and the third, which is the latest, being the least imperative of the three. Like the need of food, shelter, or sleep, these instincts are self-preservation instincts. Of course, they may sometimes be weakened under the influence of certain circumstances, and we know numbers of such instances, when a relaxation of these instincts takes place, for one reason or another, in some animal group, or in a human community; but then the group necessarily begins to fail in the struggle for life; it marches towards its decay. And if it perseveres in the wrong direction, if it does not revert to those necessary conditions of survival and of progressive development, which are Mutual Aid, Justice, and Morality—then the group, the race, or the species dies out and disappears. It did not fulfil the necessary condition of evolution—and it must go.

This is the solid foundation which science gives us for the elaboration of a new system of ethics and its justification; and, therefore, instead of proclaiming 'the bankruptcy of science,' what we have now to do is to examine how scientific ethics can be built up out of the elements which modern research, stimulated by the idea of evolution, has accumulated for that purpose.

P. KROPOTKIN.

## THE HARVEST OF THE HEDGEROWS

### A LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES

EVERY lover of the open air, who follows Nature through sunshine and rain, has found some spot which is dearer to him and carries a deeper meaning than any other place on earth. From the earliest green of the swelling bud to the last parched winter leaf, that clings to sheltered oak or beech until the memory of a year ago is swept away by the gales of March, the colours seem brighter there than elsewhere, and the little confidences with which Nature rewards his constancy become more tender and intimate.

It may be an open moorland, robed in summer in its mantle of imperial purple and gay only in the unprofitable riches of golden-spangled furze; or a treeless down, sprinkled with delicate blue harebells, that darkens under no sorrow heavier than the passing shadow of a wind-driven cloud; or even a melancholy fen, where the grey heron stands motionless for hours by the brink of a muddy ditch, and cold blue sedges lean trembling before the storm. But whether it be mountain, woodland, or broad plain, if he have not caught the spirit of his bit of countryside he has missed one of the finer joys of life. Though he may have travelled the whole world over, and viewed the wonders of another hemisphere, he is like one who, after a thousand gay romances, has found no abiding love, or amidst a teeming humanity has made no enduring friendship.

The spot I love the most is within easy walking distance from my home, and thither my errandless footsteps always wander by some indescribable attraction.

A narrow byway cuts through a sandy hollow, and then warily descends aslant the steep hillside. Again it rises over a gentle knap, a sort of outwork of the range, and from this lower summit a broad valley lies full in view.

The land below is rich in green pastures, sparingly intermixed with square arable fields, in which, after a yellow stubble, the furrows turn up a light brown behind the plough. Everywhere there is a soil so deep that no outcropping rock can shame us with the nakedness of its poverty by wearing holes in its imperishable garment of verdure decked with flowers. The fields are small; therefore it is a country



of hedgerows, with stately elms and here and there an oak standing along the banks and casting mysterious shade upon the dark water that often lies in the ditches below. Yet many of the fields have once been smaller still; and then a gentle ridge and hollow, covered with grass of a deeper green, and a row of tall, spreading trees show where a hedge and ditch have at some time been.

A spirit of tranquil plenty and contentment lightly rests upon the whole valley, filling every nook and corner, like sunshine of a cloudless summer noon.

At early morning, and again of an afternoon, a dairyman comes down to the pasture and throws open the gate. You can hear his voice calling to the herd, and perhaps the barking of his dog. The patient red and white milch-cows deliberately obey, and slowly pass out of sight. Yet now and again there is a glimpse of bright colour as they wind along the lane. Sometimes a wagon, laden with shining tins and laughing folk, rattles to the meadow instead; and then the cattle gather in a shady corner and are milked in the field. All the rest of the day, whether they stand on the bright after-grass that comes after the hay or lie in a sea of glistening buttercups, they are left to ruminate in peace. Starlings congregate around them. Wag-tails run quite close to catch the flies. Through all the summer months nesting wood-pigeons, out of sight amidst foliaged-curtained branches or from the dark ivy, that has run up from the hedge and overgrown so many a stalwart trunk, make known their satisfaction with the unceasing monotony of their one never-changing phrase.

There are places a thousand times more lonely and less populated than this quiet vale.

Every mile or so, a square church-tower and a cluster of thatched gables rise above or peep between the elms, and a film of grey smoke tells a tale of hearths unseen. Yet a few steps from the highroad, not even the solitary woodland can offer a more beautiful seclusion. This is the greatest charm of this country of old hedgerows.

They are beautiful, these hedgerows. Oftentimes neglected and left uncut for years, they grow into a wild profusion. Though they keep out the sun, at least they offer shelter from the winter wind. Black-thorn and wrinkled maple, hawthorn and hazel, straight sapling of grey ash, and frequent suckers from the long roots of the elm trees, all push each other and intermingle their leaves of various shapes and colours. The honeysuckles, hoping to flower unpicked, climb high out of reach. The briars hang down and offer their sweet pink flowers. Brambles thrust themselves and straggle everywhere. Here is a mass of clematis; and there white bryony, in close company with the broad, glossy, heart-shaped leaves of the black, meets in a tangle with the little purple, yellow-eyed flowers of the woody nightshade. From the snowy blossom of the blackthorn upon a leafless hedge,

through all the fragrant summer to the frost, when fieldfares come in a flock to clear away the blood-red haws in a day, the hedgerow is a glory and delight.

At last, in winter, or at least when the sap is low, a new figure is seen in the landscape.

The hedger comes in his gloves and long leathern gaiters. He clears away the useless stuff—'trumpery,' he calls it—chooses with care the likeliest growing wood for 'plashers,' with here and there a straight sapling to grow into a tree, stands high upon the bank, and chops down all the rest. With a deft blow of his hook he cuts the 'plasher' almost through, so that it seems wonderful that it can live. He lays it, and pegs it down; builds up the bank with sods, and fills the new-made ditch with thorns, lest cattle should come and trample upon his work. So the old hedge is turned to account. Nothing is wasted. There is wood to burn, and fagots for the baker's oven. The younger hazel goes for sticks for next year's peas; the straight ashen poles to fence sweet-smelling ricks. Even the 'trumpery' will serve as staddle to make a dry foundation for some future mow.

This, no doubt, is the true harvest of the hedgerow; but it is not the harvest which gave a title to this sketch.

It was autumn, and all the corn was hauled. Upon many of the squares of golden stubble droves of pigs were running to pick up the ears missed by the rake, and the ripe grains that had fallen when the sheaves were pitched. On others the plough was already at work. The ploughman shouted to his team as he turned under the hedgerow to come back upon the other side. The rooks, that are so wary of the harmless rambler like myself, rose as he drew near, circled within easy gunshot above his head, spread their black wings, and lightly dropped upon the fresh-turned furrow behind his back. From beyond the hedge came the sound of the woodman's axe, for the September gales, where the ditch lay to windward, had here and there torn up an ancient elm by the roots, and he was lopping off the branches in readiness for the timber wagon to haul away the trunk.

I was in the valley walking down a broad green lane. On either hand were signs of the declining year. Where the wild roses grew the briars were decked with crimson hips; and, although a solitary flower might still be seen, the honeysuckles had changed to clusters of reddening berries. The hazel leaves were yellow, and the maple bush was turning to old gold. A few sparse leaves and a sprinkling of apples brighter than guineas still hung upon the crab. Surprised by the quietness of my approach, a startled blackbird rushed out of the ditch. A little later my eye caught sight of a wren, creeping like a mouse and hiding out of sight behind the old level plashing upon the bank; and all the while I had the company of a flock of linnets, that waited till I came, flew out of the hedge with a whirring of wings,

alighted only a few paces in front, all on one bush, and waited again.

Far away down the lane something moved.

For a moment it was impossible to be certain, and yet surely a living thing had stirred in the distant shadow of the hedgerow.

Then, just beyond a clump of dark gorse, I could distinguish the stooping figure of an old woman. Her clothes also were old and had taken on autumnal hues. Faded with the summer sun and weather-stained by rain, her skirt and shawl, whatever their original colours, were in keeping with the landscape, and mellow and unobtrusive as the russet-grey on the back and wings of a song-thrush. Sometimes she crept down into the ditch; then came out into the lane and stooped to take something from the ground, which for the time being she put into her apron. At last she stood up and shook one of the guinea-laden branches. She was gathering crab-apples.

What could she want with them?

The uses of the crab, forgotten long ago in the village, are known only to the lover of old customs. Verjuice is but a name, pomatum almost an unread line in the dictionary. Could this old crone, whose face was brown and wrinkled like the shell of a walnut, season the dryness of a parish loaf and secretly comfort her elderly heart with some old-world bowl, in which a roasted crab should bob against her lips, 'and on her withered dew-lap pour the ale'? She looked old enough even for that. On the ground beside her was a sack half filled.

Imagination refused to picture an orgie so extensive.

She was the first to speak. In the rural parts of this West Country people do not meet and pass without a word.

'Nice weather,' said she.

'Beautiful weather,' said I.

'Zo 'tis,' said she, and stepped aside to pour a stream of little yellow, rosy apples out of her apron into the open mouth of the sack.

'But what be about then, mother? What good is it to pick up such stuff as that?'

'Lauk-a-massy, master,' she laughed, 'I do often zay to myzelf this time o' year I be but like the birds that do pick a liven off the hedges.'

'But what do you do with them?'

'Zell 'em.'

'And what do they do with them?'

'Pay vor 'em.'

In spite of rags and poverty she was a humorous old soul. However she presently put a sudden check upon her mirth, and answered with quiet civility.

'They don't use 'em here,' she explained. 'The man that do buy 'em o' I do zend 'em to London. I do believe they do use 'em to gie a bitter flavour to a jelly. I really do.'

Then she chuckled. The thing seemed so amusing. She was laughing at an unknown world, distant and strange, where people pay such heed to the flavour of a jelly.

At the mention of London the recollection of two boys from Pimlico, whom I had met in a lane about three months before, came into my mind. Philanthropy had sent them down here, but until then they had never seen a green field. Their inferences were strange enough. I wondered what impressions the mind of this old woman of the hedgerows would gather if suddenly she could be transplanted to a city street.

‘Do you live near here?’

‘I do live across to Sutton,’ she answered, ‘in the little old cottage that do lie under the hill.’

‘I suppose you’ve lived there a long time?’

‘All my life, as mid zay,’ she laughed. ‘I wur out to sarvice dree year; but I wur married when I wur nineteen. I wur brought to the little cottage then, an’ vrom thik day to theās I ha’n’t never laid head to piller under another roof.’

It was by the merest accident, and only for the sake of hearing her talk, that I remarked: ‘Then for certain you can’t have been to London to look after the crab-apples.’

In a moment her good-humour vanished. The wrinkles deepened, and the weather-beaten, upright furrows between her brows. Her eyes regarded me sharply and with suspicion.

‘Who put ’ee up vor to come here an’ ax me ’bout that, then?’ she inquired, angrily.

I asserted my innocence. I pointed out that after all the idea of a visit to London had been rendered incredible, if not impossible, by her statement that she had never been away for a night from the little cottage under the hill.

She scanned me attentively, was satisfied with the explanation, and consoled.

‘Ah, well! They do laugh at I about that, an’ I thought mayhap you knowed,’ she cried merrily. ‘I have a-bin to London. An’ I ha’n’t never a-bin away vrom home. An’ I baint no liar for all that.’

She delighted in this quibbling manner of the clowns of the sixteenth century. But old-fashioned West Country folk still love to riddle in their speech. She stood expectant, eager for an invitation to go on, but fully determined to loiter.

‘I can’t make that out,’ said I.

‘An’ never went inside a house,’ said she.

I only shook my head.

‘Nor zet voot in a street.’

She paused; then raised her voice in the excitement of success.

‘Nor so much as laid out a penny-piece vor a bit or a zup.’

It was no good. I implored her to relieve me from further mental effort by telling me without delay ; but, once started, her story became a monologue—an epic of the ‘little old cottage that do lie under the hill.’ For, the emotions which prompted her to undertake that memorable journey were still warm in her heart, and they carried her back even to the days of early motherhood under that little ridge of brown thatch.

‘Wull, then, master,’ she cried, ‘I’ll just tell ee how it all comed about. My man an’ I we dragged up a terr’ble long family, we did. Massy ’pon us ! Things wur different in them days. We did all goo out in groun’ to work then, wimmin an’ men. An’ need o’ it too. There werden much wheaten bread vor poor volks them days. The wimmin vokes an’ maidens did all goo out a bit to leasey a’ter the wheat wur a-hauled. We did carr’ the corn down to mill. But la ! The little grist-mill down to brook, he is but vower walls an’ a hatch-hole now. He valled in years agone. Miller couldn’ make a liven, an’ zo he gi’ed un up. ’Tis the big mills, zo the tale is, do zell zo low. But I tell ’ee what, master, vokes wur jollier, one wi’ another, them times than they be now. Ah ! They mid eat better victuals nowadays, but there’s more pride. They baint zo simple as they wur. All they do want now is to save up a vew ha’pence, an’ put viner clothes to their backs, an’ forget who they be.’

She stopped to laugh. No philosopher ever took a more genial view of human folly than this old woman of the hedgerow.

‘But I wur a-gwaine to tell ’ee,’ she went on, suddenly remembering that the visit to London was the real subject before us. ‘Iss. We had sixteen, an’ reared ’em all but one. Nine o’ ’em bwoys, an’ all growed up tall an’ straight as the poplar trees along the churchyard wall. Ay, ’twur a many bellies to vill. An’ a house o’ childern, master, is like a nest o’ drushes wi’ their mouths ever agape. But ~~somehow~~ or another God-a-Mighty did send a crust. An’ then the biggest bwoy growed up to sar a little a bird-kippen, or to drave roun’ the wold hoss for the chaffcutter or the cider-maken. An’ the biggest maid did mind the childern for I to go out. An’ zo we knocked along till the bwoys had a-growed up hardish lads like. An’ then there wur a rabbit, now an’ then. Wull, there wur a rabbit pretty often, on along then. An’ then there comed a bother. An’ two o’ ’em, master, they had a-tookt the Queen’s shillen an’ dranked un, an’ marched off wi’ the sergeant wi’ the colours in their hats, afore the summons wur out. An’ they wouldn’t none o’ ’em bide here in parish. Two o’ ’em went to furrin parts, but we never heard o’ ’em since, an’ whither they be live or dead is more ’an I can tell. They be all o’ ’em one place or tother, an’ I hope they be doen well. An’ the maidens be all married away. Little Benjamin he wur the last to goo. I wur terr’ble sorry, too. But I said : “ ’Tis no more ’an a brood o’ dunnocks, an’ when they be vlush they do vly.” ’

She paused again, picked up half a dozen crab-apples, and dropped them into her apron.

'But I wur a-gwaine to tēll 'ee,' she quickly resumed. 'Benjamin's wife she did use to zend a letter, an' one o' the school childern did read un out to me. He wur a porter to London, but house rent, her zaid, wur most wonderful dear. When I wur out quiet a-picken berries, Benjamin wur a'most for ever in my mind. Mus' be up ten year ago, an' I carr'd in nineteen peck o' berries. I do mind 'twur nineteen peck at tenpence in to factory. I can see the foreman dyer now, out in yard a-measuren o' 'em out wi' a peck measure. An' the men wur all a-chacklen about the next year's wayzgoose. "What? zaid I, "do 'ee arrange next zummer's holiday afore the winter is begun?" "We be gwaine to London for the day, an' you can come too if you be a-minded," zaid he, though to be sure 'twur no more 'an a joke. But jus' the very nick o' time the master his own self comed by; an' the foreman dyer he up an' laughed. "Here's Mary do think to go to London wi' we next zummer." Then they did all grin at I. But the master, he said. "How many years have 'ee brought berries in to I, Mary?" I zaid: "'Tis a score or one-an'-twenty, master." Zaid he: "Come an' ax me next zummer-fair, an' I'll gie 'ee a ticket, Mary." An' wi' the very zame on he went.

'I thought a lot about thik ticket. I thought a lot about Benjamin too. There comed a letter in the spring, that zaid that Benjamin's wife—'tis his second wife—had just a-got her third. I wur a-picken watercresses, an' 'twur most wonderful cold. I really do believe I veeled wolder them days 'an now I be sich a ancient wold 'ooman. I do mind I wur wet-vooted an' vinger-cold. That wur about the time my wold man wur a-tookt. I thought then I werden a-gwaine to live myself zo very long. I did long to zet eyes 'pon Benjamin—most terr'ble.

'Wull, when comed zummer-fair I bucked up courage an' in I went. There wur the ticket sure 'nough. I carried un home. But lauk! Afore night 'twur the talk o' all the parish, an' folk did run in an' out all day long for a week to look at un. An' I got a basket o' apples an' a papern bag o' lollipops for the childern to carr' in my pocket. An' the neighbours they all zaid: "Do 'ee step in an' pick what vlowers you do want in the early marnen afore you do start." Zo I had a tutty—a nosegay, master, bigger—ay, zix times zo big as the biggest picklen cabbage that ever wur growed. 'A'most zo soon as the zun wur up I wur 'pon the road. An' 'twur sich a beautiful day, wi' a dew like vrost, an' the sky misty clear in the marnen. The train did start at vive. But I waited vor un a good half-hour, I did. An' on the road the foreman dyer he said: "You do know how to act when you do get there, don't 'ee, Mary?" An' I told un: "My son 'ull be at the station for certain sure."

'But when we got out to London station, master, sure there wur

nivver sich a hurry-push in theäs world afore. Made I that maze-headed I wur bound to zit down 'pon the seat to let 'em all pass. But zo zoon as one train wur gone th're wur another. I wur afeard o' my life to move, an' there I zot. An' when comed to a lull like, I up an' zaid to a porter: "Can 'ee run an' tell young Benjamin Bracher that his mother is here?" Zo he said: "Who?" An' I told un again. "I nivver heard the name," said he. "But he's a porter like yourself to London Station." "Which station?" he axed me. "Why, London Station," said I. "Oh, there's vifty London stations an' more," said he. "Then how shall I get at un?" said I. "Do 'ee know where he do live?" he axed me. "'Tis in Silver Street," said I. "There's a hundred Silver Streets," said he; an' then he wur gone.

'They ha'n't got no time to talk to a body in London.. I wur afeard to move. I put the basket o' apples under the seat, an' there I zot.

'Come midday the zun did strike down most terr'ble hot, an' the place were like a oven. The nosegay o' vlowers began to quail in my han'. Zoon enough they went off zo dead as hay. Volk did stop an' stare at me. The childern did turn their heads. But there I zot.

'I wur afeard o' my life to move. Come a'ternoon I put down my han' for my hankercher to mop my face. But the lollipops had all a-melted drough the papern bag, an' he wur a-stickt to my pocket. Zo I just pat my face wi' my sleeve. An' there I zot.

'I wur too much to a mizmaze, master, ever to think. You nivver zeed sich crowds, an' like a river never stop. There I zot till come the cool o' the evenen. An' then the forman dyer comed along. An' he hollered to me: "Mary, Mary, you'll be lef' behine!" an' he pushed me on by the shoulders afore un, a'most like a wheelbarrer, an' bundléd me into the train.

'Twur midnight when the train got to Yeovil town, an' I had up vive mile to walk. 'Twur daylight when I got home, an' a marnen misty-clear like when I started. I took the kay down out o' the thatch an' put un in kayhole. But fur the 'life o' me I couldn' turn un, an' I zot down 'pon step an' cried.'

In a moment she was merry again.

'Zo now they do ax me if I've a-bin to London,' she said; 'but I do laugh wi' the rest.'

She told me in quaint phrase all about the harvest of the hedgerows—how the blackberries were the first to come, with the black-ripe, the red, and the green all on one bunch; and the little pale purple flowers still in bloom on the same spray, and looking as fresh as spring until the frost. They were sold not by measure but by weight. It paid better to pick at a penny when they were plenty than for three-

halfpence when they were scarce. And the dealer he did come—<sup>Oh</sup> yes, he did come in a two-wheeled cart twice a week, every week of his life, and weigh and pay—no trouble about that, but money in hand paid.

But the privet berries, now, for the dyer, they must wait until after the frost, when they would pinch soft between finger and thumb, and leave a deep purple stain. And they must be carried to the factory in the town. But then—there was many a good sort about in the village or on the road to give an old woman a lift.

And sloes must wait for the winter too, and some years they were on the blackthorn bushes so thick as ever they could stick. Really and truly until it was washed off by the rain they were sometimes blue with bloom—most beautiful. But they went to the gentry, mostly to make sloe gin. She had quite a private connection for the sloes, and the same people bought them year after year.

‘Why, you must get quite rich,’ said I, ‘at this time of the year.’

‘I can knock along,’ she boasted, ‘wold as I be, an’ put away a shillen, too. I’ve a-bin poor all my life. But I’ve a-bin happy an’ picked up bread day by day. There is that in the open fields is more company to I, ‘an a street o’ volk I don’t know. Zunshine or rain, an’ all but the hard vrostes, I do enjoy life. I do. But the young mus’ all run away now-a-days.’

She paused to think. Then suddenly raised her arms above her head.

‘God-A’mighty, master!’ she cried. ‘What mus’ it be to be poor in thik girt place?’

Appalled at the thought she turned away and bent over her apple-picking. Yet presently she stood up and was merry again.

I positively suspected that wrinkled old eyelid of a wink.

‘I baint a-gwaine to be buried by the parish,’ she laughed, ‘not I.’

But even poverty can keep a good heart under the hedgerows.

WALTER RAYMOND.



## THE UNIONIST FREE TRADERS

### I

THE aims and objects of the Unionist Free Traders are the subject of the following article, and by Unionist Free Traders I mean Conservatives and Liberal Unionists who mean to remain Unionists as well as Free Traders, notwithstanding the fact that for the moment the great bulk of the Unionist party has, under the fascination exercised by Mr. Chamberlain, given a temporary adhesion to the policy of Tariff Reform. The public has been puzzled by the spectacle of seeing certain Unionist Free Traders in the House of Commons and in the country joining the Liberals, and imagine from this that the Unionist Free Trade movement is nothing more than a secession from the Unionist party to their opponents. Though it is easy to see how such a view has arisen, no greater mistake can possibly be made than to imagine that the Unionist Free Traders, in creating a separate organisation, are merely making a halfway house for themselves in their road to Liberalism. But I shall be asked, if this is so, what is the meaning of the Unionist Free Traders leaving the Unionist party, and organising themselves for the political battle. My answer is that the Unionist Free Traders are organising themselves, not because they mean to join the Liberals, but because they mean to do nothing of the kind. If they meant to join the Liberals there would be no necessity for a separate organisation. Their aims and objects, their intentions and their policy can be best expressed by stating what they mean to do. In the first place they mean to maintain both the Union and Free Trade. Secondly, they mean to remain Unionists, and to withstand all attempts on the part of the Protectionists to force them to give up their Unionism and become Liberals. Thirdly, they are determined to organise themselves on a strictly Unionist basis; that is, they mean to keep themselves separate from the party of their late opponents, the Liberals, in order that when Mr. Chamberlain's policy has been defeated, as it inevitably will be, at the next General Election, they may be ready to help reconstitute the Unionist party on a Free Trade basis. In a word, the Unionist Free Traders mean to make their Free Trade views effective, by defeating Protection and by reconstructing the Unionist

party after that defeat on a Free Trade basis. These aspirations will no doubt be declared ridiculous by our opponents, but at any rate that is what they are determined to do, and history shows that parties quite as small in number as they are have accomplished equally important results.

## II

If these are the aims and objects of the Free Trade Unionist party, how are they to be carried out? The essential point at the present moment is, as I have said, for Unionist Free Traders to make their *Free Trade* views effective. Though they are equally determined to make their *Unionist* views effective, there is at the present moment little necessity to take special action in regard to the Union, for in fact the Union is not in danger. Save for a few exceptional men and a few exceptional constituencies, it is admitted by all who think clearly and speak honestly that Home Rule is not before the country. The Liberal party, as a whole, is utterly tired of the issue, and though the Liberal leaders cannot be expected to stand in a white sheet and openly abandon Home Rule, it is clear that they have no wish whatever to put it before the cause of Free Trade, or to force any one to choose between the Union and Free Trade. No Liberal Home Ruler, that is, dreams of declaring that a man cannot be a co-worker with Liberals for the cause of Free Trade at the next General Election unless he will proclaim himself a Home Ruler as well as a Free Trader. Such a coupling of Free Trade and Home Rule is never suggested even by the most vehement of Liberals. This willingness on the part of the Liberal party to sink Home Rule at the next election is intensified by the disillusionment of the Liberals in regard to the Irish party, which has been proceeding during the last four or five years, and may be said to have become complete during the present Session. The Irish Nationalists have proved themselves the remorseless enemies of almost everything that the Liberals care for. Again, Liberals well understand that, though not openly expressed, the Irish Nationalists are Protectionists almost to a man, and would be quite willing, 'when the proper time comes,' to do a deal with Mr. Chamberlain in order to secure special Protectionist privileges for Ireland. Therefore the Unionist Free Traders, while remaining as strong in their support of the Union as ever, can feel that the essential thing before them at the present time is the making of their Free Trade views effective. Now this cannot be accomplished except by opposing Protection under all its many aliases; whether in the crude and open form supported by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Henry Chaplin, and the Tariff Reform League or in the apparently milder but in reality equally dangerous form advocated by Mr. Balfour. But under a system of Parliamentary Government there is only one effective way of opposing Protection, and that is to vote for Free Trade. Therefore Unionist Free Traders,

though they are determined to remain Unionists, mean to make their Free Trade views effective by voting for Free Trade candidates irrespective of party. They mean, that is, to give the *coup de grâce* to Protection. In doing this, however, they need not and do not feel that they are putting off that reunion and reconstruction of the Unionist party which is one of their essential aims. On the contrary, they feel that they can best obtain that object by making the defeat of the Protectionist Unionists at the polls at the next General Election as complete as possible. It is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that if the overthrow of both Chamberlainism and Balfourism is as overwhelming as the Unionist Free Traders can, and I believe will, render it, an immense number of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists who are now under the glamour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy will be thoroughly disillusioned. Many of them will be found to have supported Mr. Chamberlain because they thought he was going to sweep the country, and because they liked the idea of being contributories to a great party victory. When they find that he has done no such thing, but instead has led them to utter ruin, and when they see that what two years ago was the strongest and most united political party in the country has been smashed to atoms, and reduced to a state of impotence as complete as that which marked the Liberal party from 1895 till last year, what are likely to be their sentiments in regard to the men who have led them into a position so deplorable? Will not they begin to ask whether Mr. Chamberlain was a wise guide, and whether they had not better have kept in the old ways, and maintained the old safe policy which Lord Salisbury represented, and which the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Ritchie, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and Lord George Hamilton were ready and willing to carry on? It was not, they will reflect, to ruin and destroy their party that they followed Mr. Chamberlain, and in the stress of the reaction that will follow thousands of voices are certain to be raised in favour of the reconstruction of the party on its old basis, which included Free Trade. Then will come the opportunity of the Unionist Free Traders—of those, that is, who, while Free Traders and determined to make their Free Trade views effective, have refused to join the Liberal party, but have maintained their Unionism and created a Unionist though a Free Trade organisation. Unionist Free Traders will be able to point out that reunion can always be effected by the abandonment of Protection. They will not, it is needless to say, ask for the sacrifice of particular individuals, but as long as Protection is abandoned once and for all they will be ready to reunite with their old friends and colleagues.

### III

I am perfectly prepared to hear it said that this is a dream, and that the bulk of the Unionist party will never be able to abandon Protection or to free themselves from the heavy burden of Mr. Chamber-

lain's policy. To this I would reply that a policy adopted so quickly as the Protectionist policy was adopted may be abandoned with equal promptitude. When the glamour of a promised victory has departed from the Chamberlain policy men will find it by no means difficult to throw over, and will long to return to saner and safer ways. No doubt the process of reconversion and reconstruction will not be carried out in a day, and will require time and patience ; but remember that what the Unionist Free Traders will have to offer will be by no means insignificant. When the Unionist Free Traders are properly organised in each constituency, as they will be if the Unionist Free Traders do their duty, and constitute a firm and compact body outside the party, but ready to return to it, the temptation to the party managers to get them once more into the party fold will be immense. When then the Unionist party managers recognise that they cannot regain power unless they satisfy the Unionist Free Traders, they will in the end give the pledges which the Unionist Free Traders are determined to obtain. It will be said, perhaps, that this is a delusion, and I shall be told that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour counted the cost of secession before they abandoned the policy of Free Trade and took up Protection. They knew that they must lose a great many Free Trade votes, and they will not change their policy because they have obtained practical proof of the fact. This argument, however, ignores a very important consideration. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour no doubt knew perfectly well that they would lose the Unionist Free Trade votes, but they calculated on obtaining for Protection a wide support from the non-party portion of the nation, and even from a good number of those who call themselves Liberals or Radicals. These new adherents they fully believed would outweigh the Free Trade Unionists. Their calculation has already turned out ridiculously wrong, and will be still further falsified at the General Election. Protection has found no adherence among Liberals, and instead of attracting the non-party men has sent them in thousands, as the figures of the bye-elections show, to vote for Free Trade candidates. I hold then that, if the defeat of Mr. Chamberlain is as complete at the polls as I believe it will be, the shrewder minds among the Unionist party managers will realise that reunion with the Unionist Free Traders is essential unless the party is to wander in the wilderness, as did the Liberal party after its adoption of Home Rule. In any case the ideal of forming a body whose special aim and object it shall be to reunite in the future the Unionist party, scattered and broken by Mr. Chamberlain, is one well worth working for. If we fail in this part of our policy we shall have done no harm, while if we succeed we shall have killed Protection for the next fifty years. Personally I believe we shall succeed in both our aims, *i.e.* in maintaining Free Trade and in reuniting the Unionist party on a Free Trade basis. At any rate it will be far easier for us to succeed in our aim of reuniting

the party on a Free Trade basis if we make the defeat of the Protectionists as complete as possible at the General Election. Therefore I hold that the more strongly and earnestly a Unionist Free Trader desires to remain a Unionist and to bring about the ultimate reunion of his party, the more ardently should he work to prevent the return of Protectionists, whether Balfourites or Chamberlainites, at the coming General Election, and to ensure a crushing victory for Free Trade. The greater the defeat of the Chamberlainite and Balfourite policy the more certain is the ultimate reunion of the party. Therefore the aim of Unionist Free Traders should be to oppose strongly candidates for Parliament who will not pledge themselves to withstand the policy of Protection, no matter under what apparently amiable and innocuous guises it is presented to them, and to give an active and effective support to Free Trade candidates, irrespective of party.

It is clear from what I have said that those who mean to remain both Unionists and Free Traders must lose no time in perfecting their organisation throughout the constituencies. They must not think that the duty of Unionist Free Traders is merely to save the seats of the patriotic and high-minded men who sacrificed their political and official careers rather than abandon Free Trade, and left the Ministry last autumn. All that is possible must be done to save their seats ; but a greater and even more important object is to secure a Unionist bodyguard for Free Trade in every constituency, and to use every endeavour to defeat Protectionist candidates at the poll. Our ideal should be to reduce the Protectionist vote in the next House of Commons to the lowest limits, and to make the plébiscite for Free Trade—for such the next General Election will in fact be—as overwhelming as possible.

#### IV

Personally I have no doubt that the organisation of the Unionist Free Traders and their apparent ability to turn a great number of elections will have the result of indirectly modifying the views of the Liberal candidates on many important political questions. That is, the existence of the Unionist Free Traders will encourage Liberal candidates to stand up against the faddists and extremists. But though I strongly hope and desire that this result may be *indirectly* produced I am equally strong against the Unionist Free Traders *officially* bargaining with the Liberals in regard to the views of their candidates : and for this reason. If such direct bargaining takes place it will mean that the Unionist Free Traders will to a certain extent become responsible for the details of Liberal policy on other matters than Free Trade, and they will become insensibly drawn into an alliance with the Liberals so close as to suggest fusion and amalgamation. My desire is that no such intimate alliance should take place, but merely that there should be a working and fighting agree-

ment, *i.e.* political co-operation for a specific purpose, that of defending Free Trade. We want to remain free and untrammelled by any strict or formal alliance. I say this not because I have any particular horror of a great part of the Liberal creed, or in any sense or form regard Liberalism as the unclean thing. I say it because I hold that our object and duty is not directly to modify the Liberal policy or to take any responsibility in regard to it, but at the present to maintain Free Trade and in the future to reunite the Unionist party. If we become in any way responsible for Liberal policy this task may be rendered infinitely harder or even impossible. Again, if as a party we should attempt to dictate as to the views of Liberal candidates instead of merely co-operating heartily with them on *one issue*, they in return would very naturally desire to dictate the policy of those Free Trade Unionists who will be returned by the co-operation of Liberal votes. We must not interfere with them or they with us. Each must trust the other, and act in confidence and in good faith.

## V

I hope I have made the position and aims and objects of the Unionist Free Traders clear. To state them once more: We are both Unionists and Free Traders, and mean that both the Union and Free Trade shall prevail. But with us Free Trade is no mere counsel of perfection, no academic opinion. We mean to make our Free Trade views effective by voting and working for Free Traders irrespective of party wherever they are opposed by Protectionists. That is our immediate object. Our ultimate object is equally clear and equally dictated by our determination to maintain Free Trade. We realise that unless Free Trade is held by both parties in the State to be, like the Monarchy, beyond political dispute, Free Trade cannot be absolutely safe. Therefore we mean to remain Unionists and to use every endeavour to reunite and reconstruct the Unionist party on a Free Trade basis. This, we believe, we shall be able to accomplish after Mr. Chamberlain has led the Unionist party to the ruin which, unhappily, is inevitable at the next General Election. The position of the Unionist party resembles one of those surgical cases in which a bone which has been broken and badly set has to be broken again before it can be properly rejoined and healed. To adopt another metaphor, only after it has been purged in the fires of a General Election can the Unionist party be reunited. The more complete is that process of purgation by fire the stronger will the reunited party prove. Therefore the Unionist Free Traders can adopt no half-measures and no timorous courses, but both in the interests of Free Trade and of their party must strike with all their might against the evils of Protection.

J. ST. LOE STRACHEY,  
*Editor of 'The Spectator.'*

## THE POPE AND CHURCH MUSIC

### A REJOINDER

It was inevitable that any protest against the Papal *motu proprio* on the subject of Church music should arouse the displeasure of those who regard a Papal decree as being something more than an expression of human opinion and individual intention. It was inevitable, too, that musical technicalities should be introduced into a question which, if examined coldly and without the bias from which neither the professionally religious nor the professionally artistic can be altogether free, resolves itself into a matter of personal taste and, I may add, personal temperament.

I may perhaps be excused if I regard it as also inevitable that the addition of the words—‘a Roman Catholic protest’—to the heading of my article in the June number of this Review should have excited the wrath of a section of the Roman Catholic body whose mouthpiece the Rev. Ethelred Taunton makes himself in his reply to me under the title, suggestive of that of a popular play now running at a London theatre, *The Pope and the Novelist*.

I have reason to believe that had it not been for the words—‘a Roman Catholic Protest’—which appeared as a sub-title to my original article Mr. Taunton and others of his communion would have been content to regard that article in the light in which it was written. They would perhaps have recognised the fact that I disclaimed any intention of appealing to the clerically minded, and that I wrote merely from the position, as it were, of the man in the street, who may love music and its expression without being an expert in its science.

I feel that in replying to Mr. Taunton’s strictures upon the effrontery of a novelist presuming to criticise the action of a Pope I am somewhat at a disadvantage, inasmuch as I am replying, not to a Roman Catholic layman, but to a Roman Catholic priest.

Mr. Taunton in his article bases his argument against the justness of my ‘protest’ largely upon personalities. I would fain have kept such matters at a distance as being neither profitable; relevant, nor, I would add, dignified. He alludes to me as a bored convert. I frankly admit the impeachment, so far as my experiences of modern

English Roman Catholicism are concerned; but as I live chiefly among Continental Catholics I am happily little affected by the *ennui* which he rightly describes me as feeling. I would only observe that had Mr. Taunton substituted a stronger term for that of 'bored' he would have more correctly described my condition.

Mr. Taunton goes on to say, with a touch of sacerdotalism admirably in harmony with the times of St. Gregory: 'I will not say for a moment that the laity, hereditary Catholics or neophytes, have not got their rights,' and again: 'While I have sympathy with any movement which seeks by legitimate methods to obtain that recognition of the rights of the laity which the Church has always acknowledged, I will have nothing to do with the bored convert except to wish that he would take his boredom elsewhere.'

I do not forget that I am replying to a priest, and I am happy if I have afforded Mr. Taunton an opportunity of scoring a point to his credit with his ecclesiastical superiors at my expense. I would remind him, however, that indifference is a far more difficult matter to treat than boredom, and that there are countless Catholics in the world, as there are countless Protestants, who remain within their respective communions merely because they are indifferent to priestly pretensions. I wish, to quote Mr. Taunton's own words, to do my spiriting gently, and I trust he will not think me discourteous towards his order if I suggest that, since it is not converts only who are bored, he might with advantage search for the true cause of the boredom.

I will, however, pass from personal matters to the consideration of Mr. Taunton's replies to my definition of the recent Papal edict on Church music as an artistic and psychological blunder. Mr. Taunton here becomes more interesting, inasmuch as he is expressing his views on a subject which must appeal to many, and he allows himself momentarily to forget my unfortunate individuality in his defence of a branch of that art to which he is well known to be deeply attached.

Mr. Taunton reminds me that I have made an admission—an admission which he qualifies as being unnecessary—to the effect that I am no musical expert. I would submit that in this fact lies the strength of my argument. I have entrenched myself behind human nature, as the man in the street has, fortunately for human progress, ever entrenched himself. At the same time I think I may say without undue vanity that my musical education has not been wholly neglected, and that music to me has ever been the first of the arts, although I cannot, of course, meet Mr. Taunton on strictly technical ground.

He asserts that I have missed the true gist of the matter; that the spiritual or even artistic point of view has not troubled me at all; and that I have forgotten the elementary fact that music was made for men, and not men for music.

I agree with Mr. Taunton that music was made for men; but does he not forget the elementary fact that all men are not priests;



that all men have not the clerical temperament; that many, nay, perhaps the majority of human beings are emotional rather than genuinely religious, and that their religion can only be stirred through the senses?

I am aware that a religion which is of the senses alone is regarded with reasonable distrust by those whose faith rests on a firmer basis. Nevertheless—and here Mr. Taunton must forgive the novelist—the majority of men are swayed by the senses, and the majority of men are not priests. Pope Pius X., I would submit, in inculcating the principle that all ecclesiastical music should be modelled as nearly as possible to the Gregorian form, has forgotten this fact, and Mr. Taunton ignores it.

Mr. Taunton declares that I have altogether misunderstood or misrepresented the Pope's attitude towards Church music.

Writing, as I do, with his Holiness's 'Instruction' before me, I must affirm that I have done neither the one nor the other.

Pius X. observes that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule: 'The more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy is it of the temple.'

And again: 'The ancient Gregorian chant must, therefore, be largely restored to the function of public worship.'

The Pope goes on to state that the qualities possessed by the Gregorian chant are also possessed by the classic polyphony, especially that of the Roman school as represented by Pierluigi da Palestrina. This classic polyphony, the Holy Father observes, agrees so admirably with the Gregorian chant—the *supreme model of all sacred music*—that it has been found worthy of a place side by side with it in the more solemn functions of the Church.

I can assure Mr. Taunton, and others of my Roman Catholic clerical critics who adopt a less honourable form of criticism than he, that I fully understand the true aim and scope of the Pope's juridical code of sacred music, and I think that the clauses from which I have quoted admit of no misinterpretation. It is idle to assert that Pius X. means one thing when he obviously means another, and Mr. Taunton's quibble about the Pope not confining the music of the Church to plain song, 'as one would think from Mr. Bagot's article,' will scarcely deceive any attentive reader of the Papal *motu proprio*. If modern music is admitted at all into the offices of the Church, it is only under such stringent conditions as to make it almost indistinguishable from the Gregorian form except to musical experts, who, it may be observed, are not so numerous as Mr. Taunton seems to imagine.

I cannot, of course, expect to convince Mr. Taunton and his friends that I am not so inartistic, or so incapable of realising that music has a spiritual side, as they profess to believe. The compromising words—

'a Roman Catholic Protest'—which headed my first article have clearly rendered any justification in their eyes of my position impossible, for reasons to which I shall refer hereafter.

In that article I ventured to assert that the Pope's attempt to enforce the universal adoption of Gregorian, plain song, or the classic polyphony in Roman Catholic places of worship was a threefold blunder—artistic, psychological, and, if I may so express it, diplomatic. I was very well aware that such a statement would arouse the wrath of the sacristy, but I must frankly own to indifference on this point. I expressly stated that I was not appealing to certain minds. Nevertheless the sacristy has answered me. I fear that I am neither convinced by its arguments nor alarmed at its anger. It is not a little difficult to separate Mr. Taunton's arguments from his personalities in his article entitled *The Pope and the Novelist*, but I will endeavour to deal fairly by the former, both from his point of view and from my own; with the latter, as they are couched in terms which make it impossible for me to ignore them, I propose to deal later on in these pages.

Mr. Taunton observes that he and I differ fundamentally on the philosophy of sacred music, and I readily admit the fact. I confess that, in common with a vast number of my fellow creatures of all nations, I regard music, whether it be sacred or profane, from a broader and no doubt a more material standpoint than that of the expert or the religiously minded. If music be an art, like all art, it must surely be progressive. Mr. Taunton himself unconsciously supplies me with an argument to illustrate my contention that the Pope's action, however laudable theoretically, and however logical from the strictly scientific point of view, is an offence against art.

'From the days of Gregory I. (604), if not earlier,' says Mr. Taunton, 'the Popes have issued decrees on the subject and Councils have legislated.' 'If I am not mistaken, Benedict XIV. issued a decree even more drastic than the *motu proprio* of Pius X. in the hopes of 'reforming' Church music. I would ask Mr. Taunton with whom lay the victory, with Popes and Councils, or with the mass of the people whose ideals had progressed since the year 604, and whose musical needs had developed with the centuries?

In a word, artistic progress triumphed against the ecclesiastical love of retrogression, as it may confidently be expected to triumph again to-day.

It will, of course, be objected that corruption and decay, rather than artistic progress, was the result of ignoring the decrees of Popes and Councils to which Mr. Taunton alludes, and the low standard of Church music in Italy and Spain will be pointed to as an example. I submit—and here I must again observe that I am not appealing to the professionally religious or to the musical purist—that there may be something to be said from the psychological point of view even for

the profane and theatrical music in Italian churches which so shocks Mr. Taunton, and which the Abbé Perosi (for Mr. Taunton is in error when he affirms that this insipid and unoriginal composer had no hand in the Pope's project) and Pius X. very rightly wish to reform.

Mr. Taunton waxes indignant at the very idea of defending such inartistic enormities as the rendering of a *motif* from the *Traviata* or similar profane music during a Mass, and he professes to believe that I defend such practices from an 'artistic' point of view! He has either not read my article attentively or, as I fear is more likely, in his anxiety to please those who had decided that I must be 'sat upon' he has preferred to place a false construction on what he read. I commented upon the practice of adapting light opera music to the Mass purely from a psychological standpoint. Mr. Taunton, by the way, jumps at an unwarrantable conclusion when he argues that I heard Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* from a shilling front seat in a London sanctuary, and that I, therefore, could not have studied the faces of the congregation. When I attend a Roman Catholic church in England I sit as near as I can to the door, lest there should be a sermon.

To return to my argument it does not seem to strike Mr. Taunton and the Pope that human beings are not all cast in the clerical mould, and that temperaments differ in all classes, and among all people. Mr. Taunton, to quote his own words, is proud to take his stand as a musician by the side of the fearless Pius X., who recalls us to a better sense of true art, and I congratulate him on taking up so elevated a position. At the same time I am proud to stand by the side of any Italian peasant whose devotions are not interfered with by the fact that the organist is rattling out an operatic melody. Verdi's music probably appeals to the spiritual side of some natures quite as much as 'classic polyphony' does to those of Mr. Taunton and Pope Pius X. We do not all want to be recalled to the spiritual and mental conditions of the sixth century, nor even to those of the fifteenth century.

I feel that I must not insist too much upon this point, or my Roman Catholic critics will accuse me of upholding the performance of drinking songs during Mass.

Mr. Taunton makes the very surprising statement that music by itself is vague unless it has associations. If it be not too presumptuous to differ from a musical expert, I would reply that, as a humble lover of Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, and many smaller masters, I have not found this to be the case. It can scarcely be necessary to inform Mr. Taunton that I am not a religious person; it is, I suppose, merely my novelist's imagination that makes me prefer a movement from a Beethoven symphony as a spiritual and intellectual aid to all the plain song or classic polyphony ever chanted by priests.

I have already stated in my first article my reasons for believing the recent action of Pope Pius X. to be a triple blunder, and I need

not, therefore, repeat them. Mr. Taunton has declared that I have misunderstood the Pope's instructions. I contend that I have not done so, and that if the obvious intentions of his Holiness are loyally carried out, music specially composed for the Church by great masters can never again be heard; that a large quantity of music of minor artistic value which yet appeals to thousands of people of all classes is banished; and that the complete exclusion of instrumental music except under very special and restricted conditions is to be deplored.

Mr. Taunton's arguments, as I have said, do not convince me, while his assertion that I have misunderstood the Pope's intentions is manifestly absurd. The Pope speaks too plainly to be misunderstood. We are, as I remarked in my previous article, confronted by another instance of the perpetual struggle on the part of the priesthood to force the world to move backward. Let Mr. Taunton honestly confess the truth. He must admit that, when all is said and done, there must always be those to whom the forms of music made obligatory by the Pope appeal, and those to whom they are a weariness to the spirit and a hindrance rather than an aid to devotion. The latter may not be, indeed, I am sure that they are not, 'musicians' in the technical sense, which evidently alone commands Mr. Taunton's sympathies; but they exist, and exist in very large numbers in every country. So large a body are they, indeed, that their opposition has stultified those former decrees of Popes and Councils to which Mr. Taunton alludes. In whatever other ways I may be misunderstood, I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I do not, as Mr. Taunton would infer, uphold from an artistic point of view the use of that theatrical music which the Pope rightly condemns. I merely observe that the Pope and his advisers have ignored the fact that all men are not clerics, and that few of us, save those who are clerics, wish to revert to the sixth century. However disagreeable it may be to Mr. Taunton and his supporters, the fact remains that thousands of Roman Catholics in this country and millions on the Continent and in America regret and deplore the Pope's action. Many that I have spoken to content themselves with shrugging their shoulders and declaring their intention of only attending Low Masses so soon as the Papal order is put into force. No doubt this attitude, were it not for diminished offertories, will be more pleasing to the English Roman Catholic clergy than a 'protest' which might appear to question their dearly loved 'authority.'

I now, with considerable reluctance, pass to the consideration of Mr. Taunton's personal attacks upon myself. I can assure him that I feel no resentment on account of them, for I am fully aware that in making them he is only the mouthpiece of his superiors, who have long been unwilling openly to attack me lest by so doing they should draw attention to my writings. I can but apologise to my readers for touching upon personal matters; but those who have read Mr.

Taunton's article in the July number of this Review will, I think, recognise that the responsibility for their introduction does not rest with me.

Mr. Taunton prefaces his criticism of my previous article in this Review by examining what he calls my 'position.' I am grateful to him for having done so, for he has afforded me an opportunity of stating publicly what it is of little use to state in private. He resents the fact that my previous paper bore the sub-title of 'A Roman Catholic Protest.' He states that I have thrown myself 'heart and soul into the Quirinal party.' I pass over, as unnecessary to notice here, other remarks which appear to me to be irrelevant, and to have been written more with a view to please others than to damage me.

Mr. Taunton and his supporters must now forgive me if I examine my 'position' from another point of view, and I will do it as briefly as possible.

Some years ago, in 1899, I published an article in the *Nuova Antologia* entitled 'L'Inghilterra si farà cattolica?' Although it touched upon no theological question, and was of a purely speculative nature, my statements regarding the inaccuracy and exaggeration in the returns periodically sent by Cardinal Vaughan to Rome as to the numbers and importance of the converts received into the Church, coupled with the fact that the article attracted considerable attention, gave great offence to the English Roman Catholic party. Since that occurrence, although I have studiously avoided attacking any dogma or article of faith, with a single exception, of the Church, I have been persistently accused of doing so. I have written from a political and a social standpoint only against the temporal pretensions of the Vatican and in favour of United Italy. The expressions put into the mouths of characters in my novels have been asserted to be my own views! An obviously inartistic and unfair way of judging a writer of fiction. Were any proof needed of the bitterness of the English Roman Catholic body as a whole towards any Roman Catholic differing from the Vatican politically, Mr. Taunton's remarks as to my 'position' would amply provide it.

It is true that I am a 'convert.' But in view of the fact that it has been repeatedly asserted by certain prominent English Roman Catholics that I only became a 'convert' four or five years ago in order to make 'copy' out of the Roman Church, I take this opportunity of observing, that I joined that Church three-and-twenty years ago.

Many reasons have been assigned to explain why I, an English Roman Catholic, should, as Mr. Taunton expresses it, have thrown myself heart and soul into the Quirinal party and written against the temporal policy of the Vatican. I proposed for the hand of a daughter of a well-known 'black' house in Rome and was refused, and therefore wrote against the 'black' party out of pique. I may

here observe that it has never been my misfortune to be refused by any Roman lady, 'black' or otherwise, or by her family; and also that, under somewhat exceptional circumstances not often enjoyed by a foreigner, I made a study of the political and social questions relating to Vaticanism for seven years before venturing to write about them. I was the tool of unscrupulous anti-clerical journalists; I abused my religion in order to make money. These and many other equally fantastic and dishonourable reasons have been advanced and widely circulated, I regret to say, by English Vaticanists, who well know that they were unfounded, in the hopes of gradually discrediting my literary work with the public; and a well-known 'converted' ecclesiastic has not been wanting to take an active and untiring part in disseminating them.

I am, as I have said before, grateful to Mr. Taunton for having been more courageous and more honourable in his methods than some of his supporters, and for having given me an opportunity of publicly explaining my 'position,' and of denying certain statements circulated with no other object than to damage my reputation as a writer. I hope he will understand that I respect an open attack, however bitterly it may be made. What I cannot respect is the system of dealing secret blows on the part of those who well knew my political views long before I put them into print, and who have until now been afraid to answer me in a straightforward manner.

In none of my writings have I ever attacked a dogma or article of faith of the Roman Church, with the single exception of the dogma of infallibility, which has been attacked by some of the greatest Catholic writers on the Continent, and which may be said to be at least as much a dogma of political as of religious import. My personal belief or disbelief in religious doctrines I have kept rigidly to myself as being altogether outside my sphere to discuss in print. In my Roman novels British convert fanaticism is, it is true, held up to ridicule and compared with the moderate and unaggressive attitude of the vast majority of Continental Catholics; but my English Roman Catholic critics are very well aware that I have not attacked any definite dogma, except the one to which I have already alluded. I imagine that they would have been better pleased with me had I done so.

Mr. Taunton and others resent my application of the term Roman Catholic to myself or to any protest penned by me. I would ask them on what grounds they do so.

If the authorities of the Roman Church disapprove of my attitude from a dogmatic point of view an obvious course is open to them. Until this course is adopted I am, I submit, at least officially a member of the Roman Church, and as such I have as good a right to qualify myself as a Roman Catholic as any other English convert, layman or ecclesiastic.

I regret to disappoint Mr. Taunton and his party, but they must not be surprised if I decline to be silenced by cheap ridicule. There are many, as good Catholics as they, who are honest enough to distinguish between opposition to Vaticanism as a political and social power and open opposition to the Church as a religious body.

As I have already pointed out, a man, even if he have the misfortune to be a novelist, must either be in the Church of Rome or out of it. There are only two methods by which he can forfeit the right officially to define himself as a Roman Catholic—namely, voluntary retirement or formal excommunication. I confess that the prospect of the latter does not arouse my superstitious fears sufficiently to tempt me to discount its terrors by taking the former step, much as my doing so would gratify my critics. The accident of having been born in the nineteenth instead of the sixth or even the fifteenth century robs the priestly anathema of the terrors with which it might otherwise have inspired me. I fear that Mr. Taunton will attribute this to defective imagination on the part of a novelist who has ventured to criticise the musical programme of a Pope.

RICHARD BAGOT.

## *TO EXPLORE ARABIA BY BALLOON*

THE object of the present paper is to indicate the reasonable practicability of investigating, at inconsiderable risk to human life, a land which, hitherto bidding defiance to the boldest explorers, has through all time remained untraversed by civilised man, yet one to which perhaps before all other lands of the wondrous East there attaches more absorbing interest, more of marvel and mystery, and which moreover may, for all that has been inferred to the contrary, be found to yield the richest prizes of discovery. The country to which we refer is Central Arabia, and the mode of approach that we advocate is one which, while it appeals to a spirit of highest enterprise, involves no mere wild or untried scheme. The true roadway across the barrier presented not only by the physical difficulties of a waterless wilderness but also by the hostility of native fanaticism is, we are convinced, not by the desert but by sky. And here it cannot be said that such previous trials and experience as we have to judge from offer any really adverse argument. Let us carefully examine the case as we find it.

The lamentable termination of Andréé's dash to the Pole may have, indeed, for a while diverted the public mind from the contemplation of that perfectly legitimate and logical application of modern science and skill—the exploration of inaccessible tracts of the globe by balloon. It might, indeed, seem as though for the present the world is standing watching the modern airship, and the yet more recently conceived though somewhat visionary flying-machine, in the hope that these will prove capable of achieving what the balloon has as yet failed to accomplish. Yet the results of past months go to prove that we cannot hope, at least until great advances have been made, that any form of aerial motor will be able, holding a definite course of its own, to contend with the streams and storms which prevail but a little way above the earth's surface.

On the other hand, it should on no account be forgotten that the balloon in Andréé's hands, and in his peculiar circumstances, cannot be said to have had a reasonably fair trial. Owing to the exigencies of the case, the balloon, which seems after all to have hardly been the best for the exceptional purpose in hand, had to be kept inflated for



nearly three weeks, while the intrepid navigators were waiting for their wind, during all which time leakage was going on at a known and very appreciable rate; and thus it came about that in the end *Andrée* was constrained to commit himself to a wind that was not wholly favourable. To have been entirely in the right direction it should have been due south, whereas on the eve of starting it veered somewhat west of south, and, with fatal allurements 'whistling through the woodwork of the shed and flapping the canvas,' urged the voyagers prematurely to their ill-fated venture. And other conditions must have told, and perhaps more seriously, against the success of that hazardous expedition. The extremely low temperature near the Pole would not only cause shrinkage of the gas, but also a constant deposition of the weight of condensed moisture, if not of snow, on the surface of the balloon.

But over and above all, the mode adopted for the controlling of the balloon would be very largely against the possibility of a prolonged voyage. This mode, it will be remembered, was by means of a trail rope dragging on the ice, which, so long as it was in contact with earth, would render a rudder sail operative to a small extent. Its very efficiency, however, depended on its actually slowing down the speed of the balloon, while it is well known to all aeronauts of experience that it is an exceedingly difficult manœuvre to keep a trail rope dragging on the ground if it is desired to prevent collision with the earth, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, to avoid loss of gas, inasmuch as a slight increase of temperature, or drying off of condensed moisture, may—indeed, is sure after a while to—lift the rope off the ground, in which case the balloon, rising into upper levels, is liable to be borne away on currents which may be from almost any direction, and of which the observer below may have no cognisance. Thus it will have to be acknowledged that *Andrée* set himself a task of great difficulty, in which the chances were largely against him; yet, in spite of all we learn from a message recovered from a carrier-pigeon that at the end of forty-eight hours the voyagers were full of hope, with their aerial vessel still going strong, and maintaining with good promise what must certainly have proved to be the longest sky journey in time of any yet made on our planet.

But let us now turn to the possibilities of balloon travel under practicable and altogether more favourable circumstances, where climate, instead of being opposed, would be strongly in the balloon's favour, and where the utmost advantage could be taken of the winds, not as they travel more sluggishly near the earth's surface, but as they blow in strength in the free heavens aloft.

America may fairly claim to have been the first to furnish an aerial explorer of the first rank as bold and enterprising as he was confident, who offered, as far back as fifty years ago, to vindicate the capability of the balloon to accomplish exploration of the globe.

His project was to make the transit of the Atlantic by a purely scientific method of aerial navigation which he himself conceived, and the soundness of which is upheld by the leading meteorologists of to-day. It was in 1843 that John Wise wrote to the *Lancaster Intelligencer* :

Having from a long experience in aeronautics been convinced that a constant and regular current of air is blowing at all times from west to east, with a velocity of from twenty to forty and even sixty miles an hour, according to its height from the earth, and having discovered a composition which renders silk or muslin impervious to hydrogen gas, so that a balloon may be kept afloat for many weeks, I feel confident that with these advantages a trip across the Atlantic will not be attended with as much real danger as by the common mode of transition.

Wise further specified that the requisite balloon should be of a hundred feet diameter, and twenty thousand pounds lifting power, and were such a craft provided him he announced his readiness to attempt the proposed venture.

Had this enterprising offer been taken up and successfully carried through, it cannot be doubted that there would be fewer untravelled and unexploited regions of the globe than there are to-day. The mere crossing of the Atlantic on the back of the west wind would have added nought to our geographical knowledge, but it would have proved the possibility of utilising the same westerly wind drift—which we have shortly to consider—to reconnoitre untrodden tracts, more particularly on the great desert belt of the earth, in comparative safety, at a relatively trifling cost, with great expedition withal, and yet with full leisure to make notes by the way, as also to sketch or photograph, not a mere track only as seen by a weary traveller from the height of a camel's back, but a broad tract with a practicable horizon of near one hundred miles on either side.

Now, among eminent meteorologists there is a general agreement of opinion as to such a prevalence of westerly winds aloft as would well serve the purpose of the aeronaut Arabian explorer. Ferrel, having shown in his practical treatise that strong wind currents from the west are in general required by theoretical considerations, goes on to say that

any one of ordinary observing habits could scarcely live a week upon the earth without discovering from the motions of the clouds, and especially the very high cirrus clouds, that the general tendency of the air above is towards the east.

Again, Esqpy says :

I have found the true cirrus cloud to average scarcely once a year from any eastern direction, and when they do come from that direction it is only when there is a storm of uncommon violence in the east. Mr. Ley also, in his numerous observations of the cirrus clouds, almost universally found them to have a motion towards the east from which they rarely deviated.

Observations of the directions of clouds at Zi-ka-wei,  $31^{\circ} 12'$  N. lat.,  $121^{\circ} 26'$  E. long., and again at Colonia Tover, Venezuela, lat.  $10^{\circ} 26'$ , indicate that the principal component of motion above is an eastern one.

But there are other indications of the drift of upper currents besides that afforded by visible clouds. Thus Ferrel adduces as facts of striking significance :

On the 1st of May, 1812, the island of Barbadoes was suddenly obscured by a shower of ashes from an eruptive volcano of St. Vincent, West Indies, more than a hundred miles to the westward. Also on the 20th of January, 1835, the volcano of Coseguina, Central America, lying in the belt of the north-easterly trade winds, sent forth great quantities of lava and ashes, and the latter were borne in a direction just contrary to that of the surface winds, and lodged in the island of Jamaica, 800 miles to the E.N.E.

With regard to the volcanic eruption of the island of Sumbawa, about two hundred miles east of Java, Lyell says : ' On the side of Java the ashes were carried to the distance of three hundred miles, and two hundred and seventeen miles towards Celebes.' Some of the finest particles, says Mr. Crawford, were transported to the islands of Amboyna and Banda, which last is about eight hundred miles from the site of the volcano, although the south-east monsoon was then at its height. According to Mr. Forbes, the dust cloud from the eruption of Krakatoa was carried on the high winds to no less than twelve hundred miles eastward.

No less convincing is the evidence of the winds as actually encountered on lofty mountains. Leopold von Buch says, with regard to the Peak of Teneriffe : ' It is hard to find any account of an ascent of the peak in which the strong west wind which has been met with on the summit has not been mentioned.' Again, on Pike's Peak, the observations of the Signal Service, during ten years, show the wind to blow very constantly towards a direction somewhat north of east. So, from the top of Mount Washington, Loomis found the resultant direction of the wind to be west by north. So, again, at Mount Alibut, two hundred miles west of Irkutsk, and over seven thousand feet high, a very constant and strong W.N.W. wind is observed.

And it should be noted that it is when we approach nearer to equatorial latitudes that we find greater regularity in the winds, even such as blow at lower levels. It is a well-known fact that over parts of the Australian wilds there are prevalent upper winds from the north-west. Enduring westerly winds blow across Peru and Brazil ; while undoubtedly across Thibet powerful and long-lasting gales, possibly connected with the monsoons, are the heritage of the country. Equally is this the case with respect to the seaboard of Asia, of which we have particularly to speak, due to a cause which at least is unvarying—namely, the great rarefaction of the atmosphere over the centre of that continent. It is possible to prophesy almost to the

inside of a week as to the coming of the south-west monsoon. And in all cases when we pass beyond these surface winds into the upper currents we find these currents are fast, an estimate of their speed being deducible from the general law that the velocity of currents increases from the lowest to the highest clouds at the rate of about three miles an hour for each thousand feet of height.

Probably there is no unexplored tract of the earth better adapted for an initial trial, or more likely to yield interesting results to an aerial traveller, than the heart of the great Arabian Peninsula. The prospects of discovering productive regions hitherto unknown by such a survey will be discussed in due place, while the comparative certainty with which the proposed transit of the country could be effected can need little insisting on. The writer has learnt from veteran officers of the P. and O. service that from west to east across Arabia, as far as indications go, there is every probability of finding a favouring wind, and one persistently blowing overhead, if the right time of year be chosen. Moreover, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, whom, as a recent and reliable authority, I shall have to quote farther, states, from copious information, that the tract from the desert of Sinai to the centre of the Arabian peninsula 'is swept by an eternally westerly wind, which keeps the Libyan sands ever moving towards the Nefud.'

This is encouraging information, and if we may assume that a choice of starting ground anywhere along the length of the Red Sea, and as far as Aden, is at the option of the aeronaut, then the journey, with only a moderately fast wind, does not appear very formidable.

A few principal routes work out somewhat thus. Starting from Aden, the Persian Gulf could be reached by balloon in nine hundred miles. From a point a little below Mecca the breadth of the country could be crossed with a W.S.W. wind in seven hundred miles, as equally from a point above Mecca, while from the first of these places, with a due west wind, the coast could be reached in about a thousand miles, and from the latter in eight hundred miles. With a north or south wind an important section of the peninsula could be traversed in five hundred miles, while from Mascat a yet shorter but serviceable voyage might be carried out.

It will be seen that the Persian Gulf offers peculiar facilities for the rescue of the balloon at the termination of its voyage; and the nature and conditions of the task before the balloonist are the reverse of discouraging, as an impartial consideration will show; his special mode of travel, as compared with others, having distinct and all-important advantages.

When a vessel is frozen in, her limit is already reached; when the last camel is down, the traveller must take his final and hopeless survey; but the resources belonging to the balloonist are more elastic and more reliable. If the wind before which he drifts is inadequate or contrary, it is within his power to seek other altitudes, with the

strong probability of meeting with other currents ; while the prolongation of his travel is simply a question of initial cost and cubic capacity. When Count de la Vaulx landed in Poland he had still a large quantity of ballast remaining, and it was a debated point with him whether he should not add to his splendid achievement that of the further crossing of a desolate Russian steppe.

Coming now to the consideration of practical results which might be hoped for, and at the same time of the utter hopelessness of obtaining such results by any other means under political and physical difficulties at present existing, I may quote some recent and very valuable notes which have been generously supplied me by an accomplished engineer and traveller whose knowledge and experience can be second to none.

Colonel A. T. Fraser, C.E., in a paper read before the Society of Arts in 1895, advocated the construction of a railway across Arabia at the 30th Parallel, and a few years later went to Akabah to determine where such a railway should cross the valley previous to entering Arabia, which he considered the chief engineering difficulty. It may be seen from any good map that this proposed line practically marks the easiest possible route across the country, as also that where climatic conditions, as judged by the evidences of habitability, would be least severe.

Colonel Fraser, then, learning that Egyptian authorities could not get him Turkish permission, proceeded to Jerusalem, whence he was allowed to go to Maan and the 30th Parallel, the Turks, however, declaring they could not let him go more than one march south of that, or into the Akabah Pass, on any consideration. It ended in their granting him the run of Mount Hor for the sake of making observations, and Colonel Fraser, taking a small camp, remained two nights ; but the Bedouins saw his lights, and there were signs that it would have been unsafe to stay longer.

Any consideration of the projected Bagdad Railway would, it is unnecessary to say, be outside the present discussion. In the opinion of the secretary of the Ottoman Railway Company the enterprise would not pay for carriage grease ; and, whether this be so or no, it suffices to say that Bagdad approaches the 34th Parallel, while the district which would be opened up is already sufficiently well known and not calculated to repay development.

As to the feasibility of effecting a balloon inflation at a more southerly latitude, which should preferably be on the shore of the Red Sea, and which should lead to a sky passage across a tract of the peninsula of perhaps the greatest economic value, Colonel Fraser insists that an ascent from the east of the Red Sea would not be easy, as it is the sacred province of the Medjar, confirming this opinion by the fact that he himself could not so much as unroll a map of his route in a Euphrates valley if there were any Turks about.

To meet this difficulty, it may be pointed out that it would not add more than a few miles to the voyage if the inflation were effected on the west bank of the Red Sea; and possibly it might even be carried out with no great difficulty, and with perfect immunity from trouble, from one of the many islands in the lower latitudes of that sea.

Lastly, there is conceivably the expedient now being developed of a self-contained hot-air balloon, for the success of which the air lying over Southern Arabia would be specially favourable.

It remains to give due attention to such meagre information regarding Central Arabia as we at present possess, and to consider the knowledge we might hope to gain by balloon exploration, and here we would first examine a map prepared from facts supplied by Mr. Hogarth and others; and, by way of sample of the country, let us note that a central patch, marking what we may regard as the heart of the northern half of the country, and standing, roughly speaking, between the parallels of  $27^{\circ}$  and  $29^{\circ}$ , is claimed to be partially known. Let us, however, further estimate what this really means. I take it that no more experienced or adventurous explorer ever penetrated into the Arabian interior than Mr. Wilfrid S. Blunt, whose route and survey, drawn by his own hand, has been published by the Royal Geographical Society. To use his own words, he finds this portion of Central Arabia occupying its old condition of an almost fabulous land, whose real nature is still a matter of doubt if not of curiosity. For more than two hundred miles from Kaf to Jof there is no inhabited place, while it is only along the course of the Wady that there are wells which attract the Bedouins. Jof itself has some five hundred houses and palm gardens, and in its whole oasis there may be seven thousand souls. Thence, with a splendid equipment of camels, it cost the experienced traveller eleven days to cross the Nefud—a true and typical desert, and yet so far from unproductive that its mere red sand after rain becomes actually covered—so Mr. Blunt believes—with grass and flowers. More than this, it is, we learn, in one way blest above all other places—‘fleas do not exist there.’ Of that land Sir H. Rawlinson has said that it is the most romantic in the world, with a sort of weird mystery about it from the very difficulty of penetrating it. Mr. Hogarth adds his own testimony as to this approach to Arabia, asserting that it is only entered with great difficulty and pain by man and beast, so that present-day pilgrims have almost abandoned the land route for the sea; and the central plateau is become more an island than ever. If, now, we pass to examine the rich and, from its neighbourhood to the seaboard, the more accessible oasis of Hasa, the land of running streams and many springs, we find it is but a mere narrow strip, while immediately without to south and west ‘stretches the unknown.’ Further yet, when we turn to the nearer and more luxuriant spots of the south-west corner of the peninsula, the portal, as it were, of the region we seek to reach,

the alluring plains which ere now have led explorers to hope to gain a footing, whence they might extend our knowledge—the ‘Happy Arabia’ of ancient geographers—where once the waters were held back by huge artificial dams, we find ourselves equally baulked, for we learn that the newest of these works is no later than the sixth century. All are broken now, and the waters filter away, allowing the sand to creep once more about the villages.

Enough. We can but avail ourselves of such legendary information as is to hand to at least form some allowable conjecture of what the great unknown has to reveal, and how well worth at least a cursory survey. It appears that from whatever side this region is approached, tribesmen dwelling on the outskirts have, in place of any definite information, mere tales of awe and wonder bred of a certain superstitious terror. It is a wilderness upon which Nature vents her fiercer moods; it is a land of wrath where the earth is shaken and the soil in perpetual unrest. There is a vague talk of saline oases and of wild palm groves; but it is said that ere men can reach these the earth opens to engulf them, or they are swallowed up in subtly shifting quicksands. The mysteriousness of these reports endows the country with a species of enchantment, and we can no longer regard the so-called desert as a mere waste—the more so when we unmistakably trace up to the limit of where any European has yet trodden how beneficently Nature has dealt with the land, converting the desert soil into very gardens of Paradise, and whole regions into luxuriant fertility. Every thoughtful traveller through the Red Sea must look out over those blue mountains to the eastward, and feel that beyond those far and fascinating slopes must lie the hope of new discovery and fresh scope for enterprise.

Now, if the generally accepted estimate of the upper wind currents is fairly correct, then, for a preliminary aerial survey, a balloon no larger than that recently employed by Count de la Vaulx might suffice, especially if the mode of inflation by hydrogen, artificially produced on the field, were adopted, and for the rest little more would be needed than a proper outlook maintained on the eastern shore of the peninsula. This, of course, is essential, as at the end of the voyage the aeronaut will need certain efficient assistance. If he elect to alight on the coast, he will not succeed in doing so without assuredly having been sighted by the fanatical native, who, to say the least, is liable to give trouble. If, on the other hand, he prefer to drop on the water, as many a balloonist has with safety done ere now, then there must be those afloat and sufficiently near at hand who, having been watching the balloon in the sky, will have opportunity to direct their course and ‘stand by.’

An initial experiment, altogether inexpensive, comparatively speaking, and readily carried out, should be made by fleets of pilot balloons designed to remain aloft in such a climate as the Arabian

desert for the time considered sufficient to cross the breadth of the country, dismissed from chosen positions on the west side, and looked out for on all the available places on the eastern seaboard. It would not be necessary that these should be captured. If batches were dismissed from different points on different pre-arranged dates, and if after crossing the land any were sighted in the sky, the route that they had taken, as also the time of transit, would be well determined.

But so far we have not said all that is to be advanced as to the chances on the side of the aeronaut. Should it appear from preliminary tests that the passage across the peninsula would occupy a longer—even a far longer—period than we have assumed, the resources of the aeronaut may yet by special means be rendered fully equal to meet any enforced detention in the sky. Ordinary aerial voyages, though they seldom fail through any inanition of the balloon itself, are nevertheless commonly undertaken without any special economising of the gas which, for safety against bursting as also for the sake of a certain indolent convenience, is allowed to escape by natural diffusion from the neck of the balloon, kept constantly open. A suitably devised valve, however, might be made to considerably diminish this waste of gas at the lower aperture; while from the upper opening, usually closed with a hinged valve, the ordinary and by no means negligible amount of leakage can be entirely obviated by a solid valve of varnished silk, which is firmly bound over the aperture, and which remains perfectly impervious until finally rent open at the termination of the voyage. But should it be considered that, even so, a single balloon would not possess sufficient 'life' for due safety, then a method that has been advocated by practical aeronauts, but never yet needed to be put in force, could be adopted. This consists in starting on the voyage, not with a single balloon, but with two or more in tandem, and so arranged that when by lapse of time the main balloon became unduly shrunken it might be replenished by the gas from a spare balloon, which could then be discarded.

Anyhow, the fact remains that seventy years ago a balloon of no extraordinary size, and with no special fittings, inflated, moreover, only by household gas, then but recently adopted for ballooning purposes, carried three passengers and an enormous reserve of ballast across five hundred miles in eighteen hours. This voyage, conducted by Charles Green, extended from London to the heart of the German Forests, and was continued, moreover, through a long, cold winter night, which must have told considerably against its sustentation, yet at its termination, dictated only by considerations of convenience, so much ballast was still remaining that there can be no reasonable doubt that with the sun about to rise the length of the journey might have been doubled if desired. It may further be pointed out that no balloon voyage soever yet undertaken in Europe or America has been carried through under conditions which would tend most to its



prolongation. This is easily made clear, for wheresoever in balloon travel there is much diversity of country traversed there will also be frequent variations in the amount of heat radiated into the sky, a fact which influences the height at which a balloon would ride not only directly but indirectly also; owing to the vertical currents ascending and descending which will be engendered. And this is but the smaller disturbing element in the sky to be met with commonly over European or American soil. A greater disturbance in equilibrium will be found in the diversity of cloud and sunshine assuredly to be encountered in any extended travel. Passing in and out or even in the neighbourhood of cloud in the free sky commonly causes great variation of temperature within the envelope of a balloon, and then great waste of its life inevitably ensues. This may be readily understood, for any accession of heat causes an immediate rise to higher altitudes, where, external pressure being diminished, a certain loss of gas is the consequence, followed presently by a descent of the balloon below its previous level, which can only be regained by another loss, equally serious—that of ballast.

Now it is not to be doubted that the above-mentioned frequent vicissitudes would be practically eliminated in the case of a sky passage across such country as lower Central Arabia must be supposed to be, while the withdrawal of the sun's rays at night would simply entail a steady subsidence of the balloon to some lower altitude, where the heat steadily radiated from the now adjacent earth would keep it at a safe, if not at a constant, level without waste of ballast. Thus an aeronaut of experience should have no difficulty in remaining in the sky throughout any period that might be rendered necessary.

A further all-important point remains as to whether the aeronaut voyager could keep in touch with earth by means of wireless telegraphy. Of this possibility I am able up to a certain point to speak from actual experience in a trial specially organised four years ago. At the hands of all experimenters one main obstacle had been found in the disturbing influence of earth. Across water success was invariably greater than over land—a fact which, indeed, continues to be borne out in the most recent practice. It then naturally suggested itself that a suitable instrument, transported high above the earth's surface in a balloon, and put in due communication with another instrument on the ground, might act with far greater advantage than would similar apparatus operating between two land stations. And this actually proved to be the case.

The apparatus was designed by Mr. Nevil Maskelyne, who also presided at the ground station. The trial took place on the occasion of the garden party of the British Association meeting at Bradford. Here the ground station was established at one end of Lister Park, while a small mine with an electric igniter was also constructed, and this it was my task to endeavour to fire five minutes after I had risen

into the sky. The balloon carried both receiving and transmitting instruments, making up a somewhat heavy apparatus, which unfortunately suffered several smart concussions from impact with the ground during a rough and difficult launching. It required the five minutes' grace allowed me to restore the working parts of the instruments to something like order, and, this interval having elapsed, I pressed the button, at the same time calling the attention of my companion in the car—Sir Edmund Fremantle—to the fact. In about fifteen seconds the report of the exploded mine was loudly heard, confirming our own estimate of distance, which amounted to some three miles.

According to agreement, during the next five minutes the receiving instrument was now switched into action, and the signalling of my colleague was at once found to be going forward, and in perfect order. Moreover, his messages had in no way deteriorated in clearness after the balloon had sailed thirty miles away, and was then settling to earth. On the other hand, it was found that after the firing of the mine a wire in the transmitting instrument, which had received damage at the start, had parted, and thus the majority of the messages from the balloon were lost.

This, as I have stated, was four years ago, and the methods of wireless telegraphy have so greatly improved since that no shadow of doubt remains in my mind as to its successful use over very extended land distances, where one of the stations is a high-flying balloon. Presumably the chief obstacle would be, as in the case at sea, the interference of a thunderstorm region; but though this may be constantly feared amid the storm systems of the Atlantic, the case must be far otherwise over the arid plains of Arabia.

In the venture thus far sketched out, the advantage that would accrue if the balloon were equipped with wireless telegraphy instruments must be now apparent, for not only could the traveller continue to transmit back to his base a connected description of the land opened up to his view, but in due course he could announce to some appointed look-out station on the far shore his approximate course, with a view to timely succour.

JOHN M. BACON.

*Colilash, Newbury.*

*SOME MAXIMS OF THE  
LATE LORD DALLING AND BULWER*

IN the month of June 1852 I was sitting at my desk in the Foreign Office when I was sent for by Lord Malmesbury, recently appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He told me to start as soon as possible for Florence, to which Legation he had attached me, and where hands were very much wanted. I started, I think, the next day, and after rather a difficult journey, now much easier, I arrived at Florence.

In those days one had to go by railway from Paris to Châlons, then down the Saône by river to Lyons, where one was transferred to another boat for the passage down the Rhone to Avignon. At Avignon one found the railway again, and in three hours arrived at Marseilles. Thence the steamer went on to Genoa and Leghorn.

On arriving at Florence I was desired to go to the Villa Salviati, on the hills beyond the Porta San Gallo, a beautiful old villa, subsequently purchased by Mario, the great tenor. It was then occupied by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the head of the Mission to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. I arrived at about ten in the morning, and made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Bulwer, a most remarkable figure in British diplomacy. I had before known several of his relations who lived in Norfolk, and subsequently to this visit, and all through life, I have been more or less in frequent communication with some member of the family.

Sir Henry Bulwer had passed, and continued later, a very varied career, accumulating a vast amount of experience. He had been in the Life Guards, in diplomacy at Paris, at Brussels, at Constantinople, where he negotiated a treaty of commerce, at St. Petersburg, and again at Paris; and in 1843, only sixteen years after his entrance into diplomacy at Berlin as an *attaché*, he was made Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Queen of Spain.

After holding office for five years in Spain, during a period of unexampled activity and excitement, Marshal Narvaez had caused him to be expelled on account of alleged communications with the revolutionists.

At that time the English Government had adopted a tone making

it very unpopular in foreign retrogressive countries. Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Minister, whose great career it is not for me to criticise, had laid down as his policy the advocacy of constitutional against despotic forms of government in the countries where England had influence. England had certainly taken great part in the politics of Spain. She had co-operated openly with the Cristina and the Cristino party for the establishment of the young Queen Isabella, and had authorised recruiting in England for an armed body known as the British Auxiliary Legion, organised and commanded by an English General, Sir De Lacy Evans.

Subsequently to his leaving Spain, Sir Henry Bulwer had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary at Washington, where he negotiated and concluded the well-known Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It was signed one evening by himself and Mr. Webster over a cigar. From Washington he was, at his own request, transferred as Minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1852. This he resigned in 1855. He did not intend, however, his retirement to be permanent, and in 1856 he was named Commissioner, under the Treaty of Paris, to investigate the state of the Danubian Principalities, and to propose a basis for their future organisation. It may here be said parenthetically that the object held in view by Europe was to a certain extent frustrated by the extraordinary self-control on the part of the inhabitants of the Principalities during the sittings of the Commission. By the treaty it had been stipulated that the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be kept separate, the creation of one State being considered dangerous to the welfare of Turkey. Such were the lines on which the Commission proceeded, and they carefully laid down an organisation for each Principality separately. But one factor had been overlooked. It had been laid down that, when the constitutions had been drawn up, the people of the two Principalities should each elect their own prince. To the astonishment of everybody, an unlooked-for development occurred from the action of the two populations when each Principality elected the same man, Colonel Couza. Thus, while the stipulations of the treaty had been carried out, the populations in a legal manner practically consolidated the two Principalities into one. This took place in 1858, in which year Sir Henry Bulwer was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Constantinople.

He retired from the service in 1865, was elected M.P. for Tamworth in 1868, and in 1871 was created Baron Dalling and Bulwer, in the county of Norfolk, his younger brother, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, having previously been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Lytton.

I have rather diverged from my original intention to limit my remarks to the personality of Sir Henry Bulwer as he then was at Florence. The political situation was difficult. Tuscany was occupied

by the Austrians, who, notwithstanding Lord Palmerston's retirement, still associated England and her representative with his policy. These difficulties had been increased by an assault on a British subject, Mr. Erskine Mather, who stood in the way of an Austrian officer marching with his regiment. The officer cut him down with his sword, and the relations between Great Britain and Austria became very strained. This incident was followed by many others. It was related that water accidentally thrown out of a window by a tradesman had fallen on the Grand Duke, who was passing. The tradesman, horrified, rushed before the carriage, and, falling on his knees, begged for forgiveness. The Grand Duke replied kindly, adding, 'It is lucky for the Minister I am not an Englishman, or there would certainly have been a question with the British Legation.' The Legation was then also engaged in advocating the cause of the Madiai, an old couple imprisoned on the accusation of proselytism.

¶ Much bitterness was avoided by the tact, amiable bearing, and profound knowledge of character of Sir Henry Bulwer. At this time my colleagues at the Legation were Mr. Lytton, the son of Sir Edward Lytton, who had been attached to his uncle's Mission at Washington, and had come to Florence after his father's victorious return for Hertfordshire as a Protectionist. He was later Minister at Lisbon, Governor-General of India, and Ambassador at Paris, where he died. The other was Mr. Fenton, who had for many years followed Sir Henry Bulwer as his secretary. He still survives, after an honourable and useful career at many posts, having elected to reside at the Hague, the scene of his latest employment, and where he possesses many friends.

Florence had always been a favourite post for statesmen requiring repose, and Sir Henry Bulwer was succeeded in those functions by Lord Normanby, who had been Viceroy of Ireland, a Minister in various English Governments, and Ambassador at Paris. The family of Bulwer is remarkably accomplished and gifted. Sir Henry Bulwer's elder brother, though living quietly as a country squire in Norfolk, was no doubt a man of great capacity, which could very usefully have been employed in the public service. He left three sons—one, like his father, an exemplary county magnate; the second a very distinguished general officer of the army; while his younger brother, Sir Henry Bulwer, has made a great reputation in several important governorships, amongst others Natal and Cyprus.

Lord Dalling himself had a most remarkable personal charm, and, though he had many adversaries and critics, few could withstand the attraction of his manner and the interest of his conversation. He had lived with very remarkable men—with Prince Talleyrand, Prince Lieven, Count d'Orsay, Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, besides many other English statesmen.

In his conversation he always appeared, and I believe naturally,

to take a great personal interest in those with whom he was speaking. He also took a joke against himself in good part. At Florence both he and I lived on intimate terms with Charles Lever. The latter could not refrain from noticing the weaknesses of his friends, and in one of his novels he ascribed to a diplomatist, by name, I think, Sir Horace Upton, one of Sir Henry Bulwer's characteristics, viz., always thinking himself ill and taking medicine. A long time after we had separated officially I called on Sir Henry Bulwer in London. While talking he rang for his valet to give him a dose, saying to me, 'I can never take a pill without thinking of that confounded novel of Lever's and Sir Horace Upton.' I did not know he had read the work.

The great peculiarity of his conversation was that he had evidently codified his life in fixed axioms and proverbial sayings. Two or three of these now occur to me. He used to say, 'Whenever you speak with a man older than yourself, always recollect that, however stupid he may be, he thinks himself wiser than you because he is older.' He would quote a saying of Talleyrand, which was, 'Acknowledge the receipt of a book from the author at once: this relieves you of the necessity of saying whether you have read it.' He laid down as a rule, quoting it from somebody else, I believe Lord de Ros, that you should never cut anyone, as your so doing deprives you of an opportunity of saying disagreeable things to him. He would also say, 'Never discuss, because neither you nor your adversary will give in to the other, and he will ever consider you a stupid fellow for not agreeing with him.' He defined the advantage of matrimony as this: 'That a wife will tell her husband truths which nobody else would venture to tell, and thus correct many of his defects.' He once said to me, and I think his observation is correct, that intimate friends are always about the same height. This he had found in his own case, and it is difficult for a tall man to be intimate with a short man, as they cannot talk confidentially when walking together. \*

In 1864 a little social paper was started called the *Owl*. The contributors were men of considerable importance in politics, society, and literature. It was devised by Lord Glenesk, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, assisted later by Mr. Laurence Oliphant, and administered by the first with his well-known tact and discrimination during the seven years of its existence. I do not know how far it is advisable or legitimate to enter into any details of this interesting publication, but suffice it to say that its pages occasionally contained papers by Lord Dalling. Amongst other contributions, he sent in a paper of proverbs; these were not considered adapted to the columns of the *Owl*, inasmuch as they did not relate to any passing circumstances of the day, but were of an abstract and general character. Shortly before Lord Dalling's death I paid him a visit, first at Hyères, later at Trieste. Here we stayed with Charles Lever, who, as has been mentioned, had been a friend of both of us from

Florence days. He was on his way to Egypt, from which journey he never returned home, as he died on the 23rd of May, 1872, if I recollect right, at Naples on his way home. Lord Dalling gave to me his rejected proverbs, begging me some day, when I found an opportunity, to publish them. This I now do, in the hope that they may be admired by others as much as I have admired them.

H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

### MAXIMS.

The maxims of wisdom are the pieces of glass in a kaleidoscope: they remain for ever unchanged and in the same case; but every age shakes them into a new combination of colours.

In nine cases out of ten, a man who cannot explain his ideas is the dupe of his imagination in thinking he has any.

To say to a man when you ask him a favour, 'Don't do it if it inconveniences you,' is a mean way of saving yourself from an obligation, and depriving another of the merit of conferring one.

The flattery of one's friends is required as a dram to keep up one's spirits against the injustice of one's enemies.

Do not trust to your railroads, nor your telegraphs, nor your schools, as a test of civilisation; the real refinement of a nation is to be found in the justice of its ideas and the courtesy of its manners.

The knowledge of the most value to us is that which we gain so insensibly and gradually as not to perceive we have acquired it until its effect becomes visible in our conduct.

The quiet of a city is the quiet that one most appreciates, for the sense of quiet in the country is lost by want of contrast.

You will never be trusted if you do more to gain an enemy than to serve a friend.

You are not obliged to give your hand to anyone; but never give your finger.

The way to be always respected is to be always in earnest.

When you notice a vague accusation you give it a reality and turn a shadow into a substance.

You cannot show a greater want of tact than in attempting to console a person by making light of his grief.

One of the charms of an intimacy between two persons of different sexes is that the man loves the woman for qualities he does not envy, and the woman appreciates the man for qualities she does not pretend to possess.

The best way of effacing a failure is to obtain a success.

Friendship and familiarity are twin sisters, very much alike, but rarely agreeing.

Whilst a second-rate man is considering how he should take the lead, a first-rate man takes it.

There are a great many idle men constantly busy about something which they know is not the thing that ought to occupy them.

When you go into mixed company, the air you should carry with you there is that of fearing no one and wishing to offend no one.

Religious persecution is the effect of an exaggerated vanity rendered ferocious by the best intentions.

If you expect a disagreeable thing, meet it and get rid of it as soon as you can ; if you expect anything agreeable, you need not be in such a hurry, for the anticipation of pain is pain—the anticipation of pleasure, pleasure.

The practical man is he who turns life to the best account for himself; the good man, he who teaches others how to do so.

Only let those know you intimately who speak well of you ; and only know intimately those of whom you can speak well.

An obstinate man dies in maintaining a post which is utterly defenceless. A resolute man does not abandon his fortress as long as he can bring a gun to bear on the enemy.

You may be gentle in your dealings with men just as you can be firm. Never say 'no' from pride, nor 'yes' from weakness.

The great art of speaking and writing is that of knowing what to leave out.

It is very difficult to get stupid people to change their opinions, for they find it so hard to get an idea that they don't like to lose one.

To despair is to bury one's self alive.

We have never won a complete victory when we have not gained the good will of those we have subdued.

If you can associate your career with the ideas of your epoch, you will be sympathised with if you fail, and forgiven if you succeed.

A dwarf, a hunchback, and a natural son are never at their ease in the world, for they entered it with a sore which some vanity is always rubbing.

The best trait in a man's character is an anxiety to serve those who have obliged him once and can do so no more.

Always go out of your way to serve a friend ; never to avoid a foe.

Some men ride a steeplechase after fortune ; some seek it leisurely on the beaten track ; and some hope to attain it by a new path which they think they have discovered. The first arrive rapidly or not at all ; the second arrive surely, but generally too late ; the last usually lose their way, but are so charmed with their road that they forget the object of their journey.

Friendships are founded on character ; intimacy, on habits.

You are no better for being well thought of by those you live with if the world thinks ill of them, and you gain nothing by living with those of whom the world thinks well if they think ill of you.

Nothing is so common as to make a great blunder in order to remedy a small one.



A Spanish proverb says that 'He who makes himself all sugar, the flies will eat him up;' but another observes, 'He who makes himself all vinegar will never catch any flies.'

Striking actions make reputations; useful ones, a career.

A lady at Court assured the Prince de Conti in his later days that he was as young as ever. 'No,' he said, 'Madame, and I will tell you how I discovered it. Formerly, when I paid your sex compliments, they were taken for declarations; now, when I make a lady a declaration, she takes it for a compliment.' We can always ascertain what we really are if we do not blind ourselves as to the effect we produce.

Superior men rarely underrate the talents of those who are inferior to them. Inferior men nearly always underrate the talents of those whose abilities are above their own; for the tendency of genius is to raise to its own height, that of mediocrity to depress to its own level.

You cannot do anyone more good than by trying unsuccessfully to do him an injury.

Man is by nature a hunter, who cares more for the sport of the chase than the prey he is in quest of. This is why the objects we seek after are not to be estimated by the pains we take to procure them. People say, 'Why give yourself so much trouble for so small a pleasure?' They forget that the trouble is the main part of the pleasure.

Bad temper and bad manners are equally bad habits, which we indulge in because they rather affect others than ourselves. Few find it difficult to govern the first when they are in the presence of those whom it is their interest not to offend, and almost everyone can correct the last when he is in the presence of those he is desirous to please.

A man's expressions of gratitude are according to the service he receives; his feelings of gratitude according to the manner in which the service was rendered.

Vanity shows itself in a person in two ways: by the endeavour to please, and by the confidence that he does please. The first makes an agreeable impression, the latter quite the reverse.

The worst thing that you can do, if you wish to be well with the world, is to let it see that you are afraid of losing its good opinion.

If you begin by thinking that nothing can be done without difficulty, you will end by doing everything with facility.

Many people who seem clever are merely plumed with the cleverness of others.

Nothing is so foolish as to be wise out of season.

Make anyone think he has been clever or agreeable, and he will think you have been so.

## *PEPYS AND MERCER*

PEPYS as the statesman, the connoisseur, the musician, or the man of letters, is full of interest for the student ; but it is Pepys the man who chiefly charms the fancy of ordinary folk. Not that his character was either powerful or without blemish. On the contrary, in the strange medley of qualities which his Diary reveals, we find resolution and cowardice, integrity and meanness, selfishness and benevolence, cultivated tastes and vulgar aspirations, religious earnestness and moral laxity, linked in a bewildering companionship. But so far as it extends, the Diary tells the story of a life which was lived to the utmost, and the intense humanity which throbs through it makes even its smallest details tingle. And many of the details are small enough. A greater man would have passed them over in silence ; a smaller man would have presented them as lifeless trivialities. But everything connected with himself was full of importance to Pepys, and thus the minutiae of the Diary seem to have caught fire at the flame of his personality. This has given to the minor characters an interest which they would not otherwise have acquired. Though we know them only imperfectly, they are real men and women to us, not mere descriptions. The central figure does not throw the others into shade, but kindles them into brightness. Yet the illumination is partial only. So far as they enter into his life of the moment, they are caught up and carried along by its story ; but let them once drop out of it, and they pass straightway into oblivion. They shine, but not with their own light ; and, though not devoid of individual interest, their value lies rather in what they reveal to us of the life and surroundings of Pepys himself.

Among these lesser figures Mary Mercer stands conspicuous. She became Mrs. Pepys' maid in the autumn of 1664, and her intimacy with the family for the next four years covered the brightest and most interesting part of the period with which the Diary deals. The previous experience of the Pepyses in their domestic servants had been chequered. Jane Wayneman, their servant when the Diary opens (January 1, 1659), was a single-handed 'general,' and it was not till some months later, in November 1660, that Mrs. Pepys could indulge in the luxury of a maid of her own. Pepys' own sister, Paulina,

then came to them in this capacity. Such a situation is at best beset with difficulties, and as a matter of fact the experiment was not a success. Pepys himself attempted it with many misgivings, and out of pure benevolence to his sister. But 'Pall' was not an amiable character. He was 'afraid of her ill temper'; and this was not the worst of her faults, for, even as a guest, she had been caught pilfering. He determined to keep her in her place from the first, and refused to let her sit at table with himself and his wife, 'so that she may not expect it hereafter' from him. However, she soon grew lazy, and demoralised the other maid, Jane. Matters finally came to a head on the 25th of August 1661, and after a stormy interview, at which he 'brought down her proud spirit,' it was arranged that she should retire to his father's house at Brampton in Huntingdonshire, whither she departed on the 5th of September 1661, 'crying exceedingly,' with 20s. and some excellent advice from Pepys. Some others followed in rather rapid succession, none of whom were of any note except the brilliant Gosnell, whose term of service, however, was only four or five days—from the 4th to the 9th of December 1662. Ostensibly she was withdrawn by her uncle, Justice Jiggins, who required her services for some special business. But from Pepys' account of the matter she seems to have expected more liberty than she would have obtained in his household, and probably was not unwilling to give up her place. Shortly afterwards we hear of her appearance on the stage, where she rose to considerable distinction. By this time the number of servants in the house had increased to at least three; but Mrs. Pepys seems to have managed without a maid of her own till Mary Ashwell was engaged in this capacity on the 12th of March 1662, at 4*l.* a year. Pepys considered these wages (equivalent to about 18*l.* of our money) high; but on the 6th of October 1666, he speaks of a maid who asked 20*l.* a year, and who, though coming with a great reputation, turned out to be 'a tawdry wench who would take 8*l.*' It is not quite easy to determine whether it was servants' wages or Pepys' ideas which had risen in the interval of four years. Pretty, witty, a good dancer, and 'with a very fine carriage' which put his wife's to shame, Ashwell delighted Pepys with her merry talk, and still more with her musical ability. Before long, however, Mrs. Pepys, stimulated perhaps by the 'very fine carriage,' became jealous, reproaching her husband and rating her maid. Domestic relations became very strained, and once, much to Pepys' annoyance, there was an altercation between them at Hinchinbrooke House. At length they came to blows, and soon afterwards Ashwell left, on the 25th of August 1663.

Incidents of this kind, though somewhat startling to us, were by no means unusual in the domestic life of the period.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Pepys seems to have used her fists freely in her household management, though, judging by her portrait, the punishment can hardly have

<sup>1</sup> *Domestic Life under the Stuarts*, by Elizabeth Godfrey, p. 209.

been very painful. On the 11th of January 1663, Pepys, being angered at the idleness of his servants, directs his wife 'to beat at least the little girl'; and on a subsequent occasion the same or a similar small culprit was punished rather mercilessly for the sins of the others (February 19, 1664):

At supper, hearing by accident of my mayds their letting in a rogueing Scotch woman that haunts the office, to helpe them to washe and scoure in our house, and that very lately, I fell mightily out, and made my wife, to the disturbance of the house and neighbours, to beat our little girls, and then we shut her down into the cellar, and there she lay all night.

He himself frequently chastises his boy, and he once committed an atrocious assault upon a woman servant (April 12, 1667):

Coming homeward again, saw my door and hatch open, left so by Luce, our cook mayde, which so vexed me that I did give her a kick in our entry and offered a blow at her.

Nemesis, however, was present in the shape of Sir William Penn's footboy, who witnessed the incident, and as Pepys feared (probably with good reason) would 'be telling the family of it.' Even Mrs. Pepys was not safe from corporal admonishment, and he once came to blows with her in bed—an arena which must have seriously cramped the style of the combatants (October 7, 1664):

Lay pretty while with some discontent abed, even to the having bad words with my wife, and blows too, about the ill-serving of our victuals yesterday; but all ended in love.

Sometimes, however, she was not so easily appeased (December 19, 1664):

Going to bed betimes last night we waked betimes, and from our people's being forced to take the key to go out to light a candle, I was very angry and begun to find fault with my wife, for not commanding her servants as she ought. Thereupon she giving me some cross answer, I did strike her over her left eye such a blow as the poor wretch did cry out and was in great pain, but yet her spirit was such as to endeavour to bite and scratch me.

So again (July 12, 1667):

So home, and there find my wife in a dogged humour for my not dining at home, and I did give her a pull by the nose and some ill words, which she provoked me to by something she spoke, that we fell extraordinarily out, insomuch that I going to the office to avoid further anger, she followed me in a devilish manner thither, and with much ado I got her into the garden out of hearing to prevent shame, and so home, and by degrees I found it necessary to calme her.

Our natural indignation at Pepys' behaviour is half paralysed by the indifference with which it is narrated. Cuffs and blows seem incidents of domestic life too ordinary for comment, and, though Pepys displays his usual sensitiveness to outside opinion on the

subject, internal family relations do not appear to have been disturbed by them. But it shows incidentally that, in reference to women, the chivalry of the day still savoured of the age when woman was 'half wife, half chattel.'

Five centuries before Pepys the Troubadours had preached, and to a certain extent effected, the deliverance of woman from this thralldom; but even they could not wholly shake off the instincts of the old Adam.

My boy, if you wish to make constant your Venns,  
Attend to the plan I disclose—

Her first naughty word you meet with a menace,  
Her next—drop your fist on her nose.

RUTHERFORD, *The Troubadours*, p. 129.

This was the advice of Rambaud of Vaquieras in the twelfth century, and it was evidently not out of date at the end of the seventeenth.

However, to return to the story. After Ashwell's departure, Mrs. Pepys remained without a lady's-maid for more than a year, till, on the 8th of September 1664, Mary Mercer came to fill her place. Her engagement had been a matter of much consideration by the Pepys. On the 28th of July 1664 he writes

My present posture is thus: my wife in the country and my mayde Besse with her and all quiett there. I am endeavouring to find a woman for her to my mind, and above all one that understands musique, especially singing. I am the willinger to keepe one because I am in good hopes to get 2 or 300*l.* per annum extraordinary by the business of the victualling of Tangier.

But as he further tells us:

I do now live very prettily at home, being most seriously, quietly, and neatly served by my two mayds Jane and Sue, with both of whom I am mightily well pleased.

It was accordingly with some misgivings that he ventured to disturb this peaceful state of things; and even after Mercer had been definitely engaged, he writes on the 29th of August 1664:

But I must remember that, never since I was a housekeeper, I ever lived so quietly, without any noise or one angry word almost, as I have done since my present mayds Besse, Jane, and Susan came and were together. Now I have taken a boy and am taking a woman, I pray God we may not be worse, but I will observe it.

The boy was Tom Edwards, also a songster, 'having been bred in the Kings Chappell these four years.' Pepys engaged him as a clerk, but no doubt with an eye to his musical capabilities. These gave great satisfaction to his master, who writes of him on the 9th of September 1664: 'My boy, a brave boy, sings finely, and is the most pleasant boy at present, while his ignorant boy's tricks last, that I

ever saw.' The last part of this eulogy may sound strange to us, but Pepys had a large heart.

Mercer came on the recommendation of Will Hewer, Pepys' clerk and factotum, but the situation had almost been promised to 'a kinswoman' of his friend Mr. Blagrove, who seems to have been prevented at the last moment by ill-health from accepting it. Pepys was at first not over-anxious to engage Mercer, for a reason which illustrates his sensitiveness to public opinion (August 1, 1664):

So home, and there talked long with Will about the young woman of his family which he spoke of for to live with my wife, but though she hath very many good qualitys, yet being a neighbour's child and young and not very staid, I dare not venture of having her, because of her being able to spread any report of our family upon any discontent among the heart of our neighbours. So that my dependance is upon Mr. Blagrove.

So too in the following entry (August 31, 1664):

She is one that Will finds out for us, and understands a little musique, and and I think will please us well, only her friends live too near us.

And a similar fear of social criticism sharpens the sting of remorse for his behaviour to the 'cook mayde Luce' already mentioned. But these doubts speedily vanished on the arrival of Mercer, who rose at once into high favour. Probably 'the strange slavery that I stand in to beauty, that I value nothing near it' (September 6, 1664), contributed to her esteem in her master's eyes; but independently of her looks, she undoubtedly possessed some attractive social qualities. Unlike poor Pall, she is admitted from the first to her master's dinner table (September 9, 1664):

Mercer dined with us at table, this being her first dinner in my house. After dinner left them and to White Hall, where a small Tangier Committee, and so back again home, and there my wife and Mercer and Tom and I sat till eleven at night, singing and fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house, that it is and will be still, I hope, a constant pleasure to me to be at home. The girle plays pretty well upon the harpsicord, but only ordinary tunes, but hath a good hand; sings a little, but hath a good voyce and eare.

Pepys must have made no secret of his admiration, for Mrs. Pepys very soon took occasion to interfere (September 19, 1664):

Up, my wife and I having a little anger about her woman already, she thinking that I take too much care of her at table to mind her (my wife) of cutting for her, but it soon over.

Pepys, however, took the hint, and evidently became more discreet. On the 29th of September 1664 he finds Mercer playing on her 'Vyall,' 'So I to the Vyall and singing till late.' But with this exception we hear no more of music with her till the 11th of November 1664; and for many months afterwards, so far as appears from the

Diary, there was nothing more than the most ordinary intercourse between master and maid. Moreover, in May 1665 the plague made its appearance, and on the 5th of July 1665 Mrs. Pepys and two of her maids leave London for Woolwich, her husband following early in September, and taking up his quarters at Greenwich, whither his office had been removed in the middle of August. Notwithstanding the natural anxieties of the time, he continued, as usual, to enjoy himself. He admits in his retrospect of the year (December 31, 1665) to the 'great store of dancings we have had at my cost (which I was willing to indulge myself and my wife) at my lodgings.' Mercer figured in these entertainments and distinguished herself as a dancer. On the 11th of October 1665 we hear of

a fine company at my lodgings at Woolwich, where my wife and Mercer, and Mrs. Barbara danced, and mighty merry we were, but especially at Mercer's dancing a jig, which she does the best I ever did see, having the most natural way of it, and keeps time the most perfectly I ever did see.

This corroborates his previous testimony to her good ear.

About this time, however, began Mrs. Pepys' quarrels with Mercer, which broke out periodically afterwards. Their first serious dispute occurred towards the end of August (August 29, 1665) :

In the morning waking, among other discourse my wife began to tell me the difference between her and Mercer, and that it was only from restraining her to gad abroad to some Frenchmen that were in the town, which I do not wholly yet in part believe, and for my quiet would not enquire into.

Probably Pepys was right in concluding that the charge had a foundation in fact, though his wife's account of it might be rather highly coloured; and every man must sympathise with his truly masculine cowardice in keeping clear of the quarrel altogether.

Mrs. Pepys returned to their London home on the 2nd of December 1665, but Pepys himself did not return there finally till the 7th of January 1666. In the February following, Mercer accompanies them on their visit to Sir George Carteret, at Cranbourne, and thence to Windsor. This visit, and the reception which greeted him, pleased Pepys' vanity enormously. As he tells us (February 26, 1665) :

So much love and kindnesse from my Lady Carteret, Lady Jemimah, and Lady Slaning, that it joys my heart, and when I consider the manner of my going hither, with a coach and four horses and servants and a woman with us, and coming hither being so much made of, and used with that state, and then going to Windsor and being shown all that we were there, and had wherewith to give every body something for their pains, and then going home, all in fine weather and no fears or cares upon me, I do thinke myself obliged to thinke myself happy.

[ Possibly the ladies may have been a little upset by their exertions,

but we learn with regret that the harmony of this happy day ended in a discord.

After a little at my office, I to bed; and an houre after was waked with my wife's quarrelling with Mercer, at which I was angry, and my wife and I fell out. But with much ado to sleep again, I beginning to practise more temper and give her her way.

On the 8th of April 1666, Mrs. Pepys being at the time on a visit to his father at Brampton, we read: 'At night had Mercer to comb my head and so to supper, sing a psalm, and to bed.' This task, which Mercer was called upon more than once to undertake, may sometimes have been rather unpleasant. Personal cleanliness was not a strong feature of the period, and Pepys was in no way ahead of his times in this respect. On the 23rd of January 1668 he tells us with the utmost composure that, suspecting the presence of parasites, he caused his wife to make the necessary search. His suspicions proved to be fully justified, and here the language of the Diary becomes too plain for our politer ears. But to Pepys the discovery was evidently insignificant, though he was moved to a mild astonishment at the numbers of the enemy, 'which I wonder at, being more than I have had I believe these twenty years.' Indeed, it almost seems from an entry of the 21st of February 1664 that he regarded cleanliness as a sort of affectation.

My wife being busy in going with her woman to a hot house to bathe herself, after her being long within doors in the dirt, so that she now pretends to a resolution of being hereafter very clean. How long it will hold I can guess.

Mrs. Pepys returned somewhat unexpectedly, on the 19th of April 1666, from her visit to Brampton, as to which Pepys observes: 'Anon comes my wife from Brampton, not looked for till Saturday, which will hinder me of a little pleasure, but I am glad of her coming.' The remark concisely sums up his general attitude towards her. In his light-hearted way he was really fond of her, and liked her company. He pays a charming tribute to her care and affection for him in the days of their poverty, 'for which I ought ever to love and admire her, and do' (February 25, 1666). And again he exclaims, 'For my part I and my wife will keep to one another and let the world go hang, for there is nothing but falseness in it' (March 5, 1666). But her follies and her indifferent management of the household annoyed him. Thus he writes bitterly on the 4th of February 1664:

Was cruelly vexed in my mind that all my trouble in this world almost should arise from my disorders in my family and the indiscretion of a wife that brings me nothing almost (besides a comely person) but only trouble and discontent.

He was also rather in dread of her tongue and her temper, but he never hesitated to sacrifice her to his selfish pursuit of pleasure.

And now we begin to hear more of those impromptu musical



gatherings which form such a delightful element in the picture of his life. No time or place came amiss for them, and on one occasion he and Mercer sing together in Spring Garden till they collect a crowd round them. But it was mostly in his garden, or on his new leads, that he and his wife and Mercer, sometimes assisted by his boy, Tom, or by musical friends like Mr. Hill, would pass evening after evening in music and song. One instance will suffice (May 5, 1666):

About 11 I home, it being a fine moonshine and so my wife and Mercer come into the garden, and, my business being done, we sang till about twelve at night, with mighty pleasure to ourselves and neighbours, by their casements opening, and so home to supper and to bed.

About this time his attachment to Mercer was evidently becoming stronger, and he was greatly disturbed by a serious quarrel between her and his wife, which resulted in the former returning to her mother's house on the 23rd of June 1666. Of this he writes:

I to my papers, but vexed at what I heard but a little of this morning, before my wife went out, that Mercer and she fell out last night, and the girl is gone home to her mother's for alltogether. At the office all the morning, much disquiett in my mind in the middle of my business about this girl. Home at noon to dinner, and what with the going away of my father to-day and the losse of Mercer, I after dinner went up to my chamber and there could have cried to myself, had not people come to me about business.

However, the quarrel was patched up, Mercer returned, and the musical parties were resumed. Thus we hear (July 24, 1666): 'At noon to dinner, and after dinner with Mercer (as of late my practice is) a song and so to the office.' But, alas! this furnished Mrs. Pepys with a new ground of offence (July 30, 1666):

. Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her. Which I acknowledge; but it is because the girl do take musique mighty readily, and she do not, and musique is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.

Still matters seem to have proceeded on the old footing, Mercer continuing to be their companion as before in musical parties, picnics, and other entertainments. Certainly there was no unpleasant feeling on the 14th of August 1666, the Thanksgiving Day appointed for a victory over the Dutch, when the remarkable party at Mrs. Mercer's took place. The Diarist shall describe this for himself.

And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets; and there mighty merry (my Lady Penn and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright), till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most

spent, we into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing (W. Batelier dancing well), and dressing, him and I and one Mr. Banister (who with his wife come over also with us) like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's like a boy ["Oh, Mercer, Mercer!"] and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jig; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on periwiggs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

After a night like this it is not surprising to find that the first entry in the Diary for the next day is 'Mighty sleepy.' But three weeks later the final quarrel occurred between Mrs. Pepys and Mercer, and on the 3rd of September 1666 Mercer was dismissed. This is Pepys' account of the affair:

This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, met her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry, and when she came home, bid her begone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, fear of coming into in a little time of being less able to keepe one in her quality.

Pepys' fears were probably due to the Great Fire which was then raging; but his allusion to Mercer's 'quality' seems to indicate that she was superior to the ordinary run of maidservants. Negotiations for her return were subsequently opened, Pepys bribing his wife with a gown at 15s. a yard 'to incline her to have Mercer again'; and a treaty in the following terms was finally arranged between husband and wife (September 28, 1666):

Lay long in bed, and am come to an agreement with my wife to have Mercer again, on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance, and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing, and all this I am willing enough to.

Mercer herself, however, was not disposed to return, notwithstanding her mother's desire that she should do so, and on the 12th of October 1666 her place was filled by Barker. But this separation did not last long, and friendly intercourse between Mercer and her old master and mistress was soon resumed, though on a far more natural footing. With all due allowance for the different conditions of the period, she was evidently above the status of an ordinary servant, and was fully qualified for that of a friend. This position she speedily fell into, and became the constant companion of Mrs. Pepys, who, in spite of occasional tiffs, evidently enjoyed her society. On the 18th of November 1666, a little more than two months after her dismissal, Mercer dines with the Pepyses, and from this time forth she was a constant visitor and not an infrequent guest at their house. On the 24th of February 1667 Mrs. Pepys declares that she

will not send for Mercer 'to dine with us as heretofore,' on the ground of the ill report which she 'hath got by her keeping of company.' It may be conceded that Mercer was something of a flirt, but probably this resolution was due more to a passing fit of ill-temper or jealousy on the part of Mrs. Pepys than to any serious scandal attaching to Mercer. It is certain, at any rate, that her resolution was not kept, for on the 8th of April 1667 Mercer filled a place in a grand dinner party of twelve, where Pepys, with a certain characteristic snobbishness, brought out all his best plate for the express purpose of annoying his guests.

But Lord! to see with what envy they looked upon all my fine plate was pleasant; for I made the best show I could, to let them understand me and my condition, to take down the pride of Mrs. Clerke, who thinks herself very great.

Indeed, Mercer seems to have shared most of their amusements, theatres, picnics, and other jaunts. Moreover, the old musical meetings are revived, with Barker (the new maid) to swell the choir—a valuable addition according to Pepys.

On the 2nd of April 1668, Mrs. Pepys goes on a visit to Brampton till the 26th of May, and Pepys at once blossoms out into a grass widower of the most vigorous growth. His life becomes a round of festivities in the company of Mercer, Mrs. Gayet, Mrs. Horsfield, Mrs. Turner, and others, and he plainly enjoyed himself hugely. Small wonder, however, that Mrs. Pepys, when tales of these junketings came to her ears, should take an unsympathetic view of them; and they certainly aggravated her bitterness in the domestic convulsion which darkens the last months of the Diary. This is Pepys' account of the situation on the 18th of June 1668, after the return of himself, his wife, and Deborah Willett (who had then been installed as maid in Barker's place) from their tour to Oxford, Bristol, Salisbury, and elsewhere:

My wife still in a melancholy fusty humour, and crying, and do not tell me plainly what it is; but I by little words find that she hath heard of my going to plays, and carrying people abroad every day in her absence.

He fears that the storm will soon burst; and it does, Mrs. Pepys reproaching him with his selfish devotion to pleasure, and begging, with tears, 'that she might go into France, and live there out of trouble.' However, peace was patched up in a fashion, and the old routine continued outwardly unbroken. Mercer is still constantly in their company, and on one occasion (May 29, 1668) she brings a friend of her own—a Mr. Monteith—to sing with them. Pepys was not too well pleased with this, possibly from jealousy of Monteith, whom he described as 'a swaggering, handsome young gentleman,' contrasting him unfavourably with his companion, one Pelham, 'a sober citizen merchant.' However, he was obliged, as he tells us, to spend 'all this evening till eleven at night singing with them, till I was tired

of them, because of the swaggering fellow with the base, though the girl Mercer did mightily commend him before me.' On the 10th of September 1668 Mrs. Pepys abuses her husband violently for staying with Mercer in the coach to teach her 'the Larke's song,' while she herself is shopping. But this was only a passing displeasure, as on the 15th of September 1668 Mrs. Pepys, Mercer, Deborah, and W. Hewer all go on a visit to Roger Pepys at Cambridge, to see 'Sturbridge Fayre.' There is a gap in the Diary between the 29th of September and the 11th of October, but they must have returned from this visit by the latter date, as we find on the 12th of October 1668 that Mrs. Pepys, Mercer, W. Hewer, and Deborah go to the King's playhouse; and at this point Mercer disappears from the story.

It is almost more by inference than from direct information that we can gain any general idea of this attractive but elusive figure, who entered so largely into the Diarist's life. Her social antecedents we know to have been good. Pepys speaks of her (September 8, 1664) as 'a decayed merchant's daughter.' Nowadays a girl of such position would hardly go into service, but it was by no means unusual in the seventeenth century, when 'tradesmen of the better sort were gentlemen, not only in point of cultivation, but belonging to good families; younger sons of men of position went into trade as a matter of course, and did not lose caste in any way by so doing.'<sup>2</sup>

Pepys himself belonged to an old family, the Pepyses of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, and his great-aunt, Paulina, married Sir Sidney Montagu, and became the mother of the first Earl of Sandwich. Yet Pepys' father, before succeeding to his brother Robert's estate at Brampton, followed the trade of a tailor, and young Samuel as a lad used to carry parcels to his customers (March 11, 1667). Again, 'the superior sort of servants were as well educated as their masters, and wrote letters at least as well, if not better, spelt and expressed than those of their mistresses.'<sup>3</sup>

But we need not go outside the Diary for evidence of the comparatively high social level from which the better servants were drawn. Thus Gosnell, as we have seen, was niece to Justice Jiggins. Deborah Willett's uncle was a Bristol merchant, 'a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober, wealthy, London merchants, as pleased me mightily.' Indeed, her arrival at Bristol (June 13, 1668) produced a mild social excitement, many visitors coming to see her out of affection to the memory of her mother, who had been 'a brave woman mightily beloved among the poor of the place.' So, too, in September 1664, after Mercer had been engaged, but four days before she came, Pepys records that:

Mr. Hill came to tell me that he had got a gentlewoman for my wife, one Mrs. Ferrabosco, that sings most admirably. I seemed glad of it; but I hear she is too gallant for me, and I am not sorry that I misse her.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Life under the Stuarts*, Intrcd. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 219.

Considerations of this kind throw an instructive light on such incidents as Mrs. Mercer's party. Pepys was keenly alive to the quality of his company, and unless he had recognised the Mercers as socially his equals, he certainly would not have betaken himself readily to a boisterous romp at the house of his maidservant's mother. Of Mercer's appearance we can glean next to nothing. Pepys describes her (December 31, 1664) as 'a pretty, modest, quiett mayde'; and on the 20th of April 1665 we find this entry: 'At noon dined, and Mr. Povey by agreement with me (where his boldness with Mercer, poor innocent wench, did make both her and me blush).' Whether she was dark or fair we know not, but her general appearance must have been rather distinguished, for a certain Captain Herbert (September 22, 1665) 'did mighty seriously inquire after who was that in the black dress with my wife yesterday, and would not believe that it was my wife's mayde, Mercer, but it was she.' On one other occasion only, so far as I know, is her dress noticed—namely, on the 6th of August 1667, when, on returning to dinner at noon, Pepys finds 'Mrs. Wood, formerly Bab Shelden, and our Mercer, who is dressed to-day in a paysan dress, that looks mighty pretty.' She was then, of course, no longer in service, and perhaps we may assume that while she was a member of Pepys' household a decorous black attire veiled the well-springs of frolic that lay beneath the surface. We may be certain, at all events, that she was *simplex munditiis*, for Pepys, whose taste was most wholesome in this matter, abhorred artificial adornment in women. He flies into a rage over his wife's 'white locks,' as he scornfully calls the side puffs of fair hair with which she had tricked herself out (May 11, 1667). He also detested paint (September 16, 1667): 'My wife and Mercer called me to Mrs. Pierce's, by invitation to dinner, where I find her painted, which makes me loathe her.' There are indications that Mercer always inclined to *embonpoint*; indeed, on the 28th of October 1667 Pepys ungallantly records that she 'grows fat.' But the excellence of her dancing forbids the idea that she was in any way clumsy.

Her musical powers, and, indeed, the general diffusion of musical ability among the middle classes, must strike us as remarkable. Pepys was continually on the look-out for musical servants, and seems to have had little difficulty in obtaining them. Nor was he singular in this respect. Sir Ralph Verney, writing from abroad, speaks of a maid whose merits and demerits present a peculiar combination. 'Her two sisters are but Ramping girls, but truly she is a civill wench, and plays well of the lute, she is well cladd, and well bred, but rawe to serve and full of the itch.'<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that musical proficiency was much commoner in Pepys' community than in our own. And this was not unnatural, seeing that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the study of music

<sup>4</sup> *Home Life under the Stuarts*, p. 213.

usually comprised not merely musical notation, but the principles of harmony also. In musical execution we doubtless surpass the older musicians; but few ordinary pianists of the present day could play from the figured basses which were in regular use in Pepys' time. Sir Frederick Bridge tells us that there was then 'a general custom of keeping a cittern in a barber's shop, so that the person waiting to be shaved could pass the time pleasantly till his turn came.'<sup>5</sup> Such a custom could only have arisen in response to a tolerably wide demand. It may be that Pepys' own circle was rather exceptionally musical; but he once invites a casual fellow-traveller to sing with him, and the readiness with which the invitation is accepted shows that singing must have been a common recreation. Mercer's musical accomplishments, therefore, were not singular, and in point of fact it appears that they were not above the average. With Pepys it was a passion, and there is something rather droll in his unaffected confession (February 27, 1667) that 'the wind-musique' (in *The Virgin Martyr*) 'when the angel comes down is so sweet that it ravished me, and, indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife.' And for the converse we may turn to the following entry of the 22nd of January, 1667:

Lord! how did I please myself to make Betty Turner sing, to see what a beast she is as to singing, not knowing-how to sing one note in tune; but, only for the experiment, I would not for 40s. hear her sing a tune: worse than my wife a thousand times.

It seems, however, that neither he nor Mercer was a highly trained singer, and, like her, he preferred to rely rather on his ear and native taste. This he admits (April 12, 1667):

I tried my girles Mercer and Barker singly one after another, a single song 'At dead low ebb, &c.' and I do clearly find that as to manner of singing, the latter do much the better, the other thinking herself as I do myself above taking pains for a manner of singing, contenting ourselves with the judgment and goodness of eare.

He had learnt harmony, however, and his song, *Beauty Retire*, is, on the whole, good in its contrapuntal construction, and, though slightly heavy, is by no means a bad song in itself.

This community of musical tastes is the pleasantest feature of Pepys' intimacy with his pretty maid. Whatever unworthier elements he may at times have forced into them, their relations, so far as music was concerned, were purely idyllic. Quite an Arcadian charm hangs over the merry picnics with his wife, Mercer, and sometimes Deborah, to 'Barne Elms,' 'Fox Hall,' 'Moorlake,' and elsewhere, bright with the beguilement of music, light hearts, and the moonshine in which he delighted, and those quiet evenings of song in the

<sup>5</sup> *Samuel Pepys, Lover of Musique*, p. 78.

garden, which he missed so sorely in the troublous days which bring the Diary to a close.

We hear a good deal of Mercer's pretty discourse, but not a single remark of hers has been preserved; and though her talk may well have been sprightly, there is no reason to suppose that she was intellectually brilliant. Probably her charm lay largely in her amiability, which, on the whole, was proof against the constant petulance of Mrs. Pepys. Moreover, in none of their disputes do we find any trace of that unseemly violence which so often appears in Mrs. Pepys' altercations with her other servants. Pepys testifies (September 8, 1664) to her skilfulness in her own business, and except once (December 26, 1665), when she wanted to have a servant under her, she never seems to have given any trouble. Her chief stumbling-block was her taste for getting out, a taste not unknown to modern households, and which seems to have been rampant in Pepys' time. One of their maids was really a gem in this respect (July 10, 1667):

Our girl Mary, whom Payne helped us to . . . did go away declaring that she must be where she might earn something one day, and spend it and play away the next.

It is difficult to see how a household could be conducted on these principles at all; but Pepys does not appear to think her conduct particularly unusual. Mercer's personal attractiveness probably ministered to Pepys' inordinate love of display. His undisguised delight in having 'all things mighty rich and handsome about' him may well have been gratified at the adornment of his *ménage* by the smart maid whose culture was fully on a level with that of his ordinary guests. But apart from this, the mere possession of a maid was an accession to his social pretensions which he appreciated keenly. Thus, on the first Sunday after Mercer's arrival (September 11, 1664), we find:

Up and to Church in the best manner I have gone a good while, that is to say, with my wife, and her woman Mercer, along with us, and Tom, my boy, waiting on us.

And the same feeling is displayed in the account of his visit to Sir George Carteret.

It is, of course, obvious from the Diary that, for a time at any rate, Pepys infused considerable warmth into the relations between Mercer and himself; but, none the less, they reveal an unmistakable element of restraint which is conspicuously absent from most of his attachments. Moreover, he records all his peccadilloes with a frank minuteness which makes it certain that no detail of his intimacy with her would have been omitted; and hence the silence of the Diary is almost conclusive to show that she filled her somewhat perilous position with considerable tact and skill, and emerged from it without being seriously compromised.

Pepys' apologists have no easy task, and it is better to admit frankly that no real apology is possible. His irregularities cannot be ignored or explained away, but the sternest moralist will be constrained to deal gently with them. Admitting all that can be urged against him, the character of the man pleads for lenience, for in many respects it is the irresponsible character of a child. We have but to consider his puerile squabbles with his wife, his absurd little vows of self-denial, and the equally absurd devices by which he evaded them; the childish pleasure which he takes in playing with his new watch (May 13, 1665); the want of self-control which makes him 'throw the trenchers about the room' in a fit of temper because the cloth was crumpled (December 7, 1666); and, under all, the irresolute nature, which, as he confesses (January 5, 1667), makes him 'mighty unready to answer "No" to anything.' He is filled with a child-like delight in life which drives him to live for the sensations of the moment (January 6, 1667):

And so I do really enjoy myself, and understand that if I do not do it now I shall not hereafter, it may be, be able to pay for it, or have health to take pleasure in it, and so fill myself with vain expectation of pleasure and go without it.

The seduction of the fleeting hour was usually effective to stifle not only his moral sense, which was weak, but his religious convictions, which, in a way, were strong. He is genuinely concerned about his wife's leanings to Roman Catholicism, and genuinely pleased to find that she will still go to church with him (December 6, 1668). His prayers for Divine pardon are apparently sincere, but a repetition of the offence is usually treading on their heels. His carefulness in religious observance is in curious contrast to his laxity of moral restraint, and when the two are jumbled together the effect is rather ludicrous. Thus, on the 28th of January 1666:

Fast day for the King's death . . . it being a little moonshine and fair weather, and so into the garden, and, with Mercer, sang till my wife put me in mind of its being a fast day; and so I was sorry for it, and stopped, and home to cards awhile, and had opportunity para baisier Mercer several times, and so to bed.

It is certainly difficult to appreciate the principles of an abstinence which prohibits music, but is compatible with cards and a somewhat practical flirtation. It should not be forgotten, of course, that kissing as a mode of salutation was freely practised in Pepys' day, and was by no means uncommon even between men. But Pepys undoubtedly took a generous view of his privileges where women were concerned. He seems to have recognised this himself, and to have tried to restrain his inclinations by the frail curb of a vow. There is an amusing entry as to this on the 3rd of February, 1664:

Thence, being invited to my Uncle Wight's, where the Wights all dined;



and, among the others, pretty Mrs. Margaret, who indeed is a very pretty lady; and though by my vow it costs me 12*d.* a kiss after the first, yet I did adventure upon a couple.

But though a keen lover of pleasure, he was no mere voluptuary. Every branch of literature, science, and art was full of interest to him, and the value of his work at the Admiralty is beyond dispute. Sir Frederick Bridge justly reminds us that Pepys was a young man—twenty-seven to thirty-six—during the period covered by the Diary, but in other respects I fear that his apology breaks down. His plea that the closing words of the Diary show a genuine repentance on the part of the Diarist is altogether untenable, for the premisses are based on a misquotation of the passage in question, and the conclusion is contradicted by an entry a few lines above it.

No, Pepys must be taken as we find him; and we find him with many a fault that no kindness can conceal, but even in his faults intensely human, intensely alive, and withal ‘mighty merry.’

But to return to Mercer. Her story has rather a special interest for us in these latter days, when there is a certain demand for a repetition of the experiment which Pepys attempted, and with such small success. He tried, as far as circumstances would permit, to treat his maidservants as ladies; and the result was not encouraging. The attempt succeeded best with Mercer; but even in her case it produced domestic derangement, and her friendship with the Pepys was evidently on a far happier footing after she left their service. In the case of her successor, Barker, the experiment failed altogether, as appears from her master’s own admission on dismissing her (May 13, 1667):

I am the more willing to do it to be rid of one that made work and trouble in the house, and had not qualities of any honour or pleasure to me or my family, but what is a strange thing did always declare to her mistress and others that she had rather be put to drudgery and to wash the house than to live as she did like a gentlewoman.

Pepys’ mortification is intelligible, but nevertheless the girl’s instinct was sound. She was unequal to the position to which he sought to raise her, and she found the strain of this unnatural elevation unbearable. The lesson may usefully be taken to heart by ambitious maids of the present day, and the crotchety reformers who stimulate their aspirations. It may be doubted whether the general culture of our domestic servants is even actually superior to that of the servants of the seventeenth century, and relatively to their respective periods it is certainly inferior. There was often a real equality between the servants of the earlier period and their masters, which justified the position to which they frequently attained. But where such equality is wanting, no artificial devices can bridge the gap. Moreover, life loses in simplicity as time rolls on, and the experiment which failed in the seventeenth century can hardly hope

to succeed in the twentieth. But here retrospect is pleasanter than prophecy. Mercer's successors, if any, may safely be left to the tender mercies of the future. Mercer herself will remain untouched by any of their failures. She is not a striking figure in the *Diary*, but the mere fact that she entered so closely into the life of the famous author gives her an interest which cannot be overlooked; and as a side-light upon the social life of the times her story is of real value. Slight as the sketch of her is, it gives us the impression of a pleasant and attractive girl, of considerable culture, with the high spirits of youth and some of its indiscretions. But she moves, be it remembered, in an environment altogether strange to us, and she is the creature of her own age, not ours.

NORMAN PEARSON.

## SOME INDIAN PORTRAITS

NOTHING must strike the quiet observer in India so much as the marked differences in the typical characters of the people who inhabit the continent of India. To most people in England these differences merely suggest the broad classification of the native population into Hindus and Muhammadans. But to those who have had any personal knowledge of the country, difference of creed will very insufficiently account for the physical and social differences they have observed among the dark or copper-coloured people they have known. The *Arāin* (or cultivator), the *Say'ad* (who claims direct descent from the Arabian prophet), the domestic *Khansama* (or head-butler), and the *Bhisti* (or water-carrier), are all Muhammadans. But in respect of every element which goes to constitute the microcosmic man as a whole, the *Arāin* differs as much from each of the other three types as each of the latter differs from the others, although all four may be Panjabis by birth and Muslims by religion. Again, the *Banya* (or village banker and general grocer), the *Mahajan* (or city banker), the *Parohit* (or family priest), the *Rajput* farmer, the domestic *Bearer* (or valet), and the office clerk may all be Hindus, and all born in the one province, possibly within a radius of twenty miles, and yet who familiar with these types could mistake one for the other, or fail to be struck by their essential differences? The phenomenon is a curious one which baffles the ethnologist, the sociologist, and all the other scientists or ologists to explain in a satisfactory manner. I do not propose in this paper to offer any solution of my own. My object is the less ambitious one of trying to present a faithful picture of some of the more prominent types I have met, from the point of view of one who has spent a lifetime in India, and who has the deepest sympathy with the people of that magnificent country.

Take, for instance, that much abused but very indispensable person, the village *Banya*. Squat, flat-nosed, sharp-eyed, rotund-shaped, and generally close-shaven, it is impossible to mistake him for anyone else, or anyone else for him. And if his physical personality is so well and sharply defined, his intellectual and moral qualities are no less so. His capacity for trade may be said to be hereditary; it descended to him from his father, and he will transmit it to his son.

He deals in everything. He is a vendor of every description of dry goods suitable to supply the wants of the community amongst whom he lives. He also supplies oil and sowing seeds, drugs and condiments. He keeps a small stock of drapery for rustic use. But above all he is the village banker and financier, and it is in this rôle that his presence is most felt. He advances money to needy agriculturists—and nearly all Indian agriculturists are needy—on the mere asking, without security as a rule, and on easy terms as to repayment, on Shylock's principle of making the rate of interest cover the risk of an unsecured loan. He requires no investigation as to the purposes for which the loan is demanded, nor as to the solvency of the borrower, while the only record of the transaction that is usually made is an entry in his day-book, setting forth the particulars of the loan, which the borrower is asked to verify by affixing his mark or seal. The agriculturist finds much in this system of trade which suits his tastes; it is informal, it involves no trouble, and it procures him what he wants at his very door. And as to repayment, the *Banya* is indulgent, and what need not be faced at once never presents much anxiety to the agriculturist. Thus the *Banya* is left to make up his account at the end of the year, to add the interest to the principal, and with perhaps a small further advance to the debtor to enable him to purchase sowing seeds, or agricultural cattle and implements, the total is carried forward, bearing the same rate of interest, and the debtor having merely affixed his seal or mark to the entry in token of his admission of its correctness, thinks no more about the transaction till the harvest season again comes round. Then the *Banya* has to look alive after his own interests. If he is not sharp enough, the debtor steals a march upon him and conceals as much of the produce as he can, for be it known that the agriculturist of the present day in most parts of India is by no means the Peter Simple he is usually represented to be, and is quite capable of playing a trick on his creditor if the chance presents itself. It is not often, however, that the *Banya* is found napping, and it is at harvest time that he shows his capacity for exacting his full pound of flesh. A certain portion of the produce, appertaining to the agriculturist's share, is first set aside to cover the current interest due: if the harvest has been a good one, perhaps a further portion is taken by him to reduce the principal of the debt, which, as already stated, includes the unpaid portion of the original loan, plus previous interest up to the date of the last balance; of the remainder of the produce the agriculturist is allowed to retain what is absolutely necessary for the wants of his household, and if there is any excess over, the *Banya* appropriates it by a credit in his account at an agreed rate, which, as might be expected, is generally favourable to him. At sunset, and before the evening meal, the *Banya* may be seen in his little shop, balancing his accounts for the day; his system is simple—a daily entry in a single book, or if his transactions are extensive and his trade

prosperous, he adds a ledger and a journal to his series. He is seldom found to have recorded a fictitious item, or to have omitted a true one, and no beggar ever passes his shop without receiving a farthing's worth of *doll*, or rice, or maize, or other useful staple of food. He is usually the husband of a single wife, and, as a rule, he lives in conjugal happiness. The *Banya* seldom plays the part of a gay Lothario, and when he does he generally plays it badly and comes to grief. He often becomes rich and fattens in the process; he is rarely poor, and never troubles the bankruptcy court. Such is the man who may be said to regulate the internal economy of the village system, without whom the agriculturist could scarcely exist, for he is dependent upon his resources for all his wants, who is a Shylock in one sense and a benefactor in another. Contrast him with the well-fed, oil-besmeared, opulent and consequential *Shoukar* or *Mahajan* (the city banker), and you will be disposed to say that he stands in much the same relation to the latter as a rabbit to a fox, a terrier to a bull-dog, or a weasel to a stoat. Yet both are Hindus, both belong to the third of the three great regenerate classes, whose vocation is trade and who have a soul to save from the torments of that Hindu hell called *pūt*. There is a family likeness between them, and the difference upon a closer acquaintance may seem only to be one of degree. But that may mean a great deal or it may mean next to nothing, according to the standard you apply for computing the degree. Speaking generally, it may be safely asserted that the difference is at all events a substantial one, and in no case could it be said to be microscopic. Look, for instance, at the *Mahajan* clothed in spotless white, with a flat turban of the finest muslin artistically arranged to cover his baldness or to conceal his one solitary lock of hair, seated in his carriage drawn by a pair of fast-trotting greys, as he drives forth to 'eat the air' at the close of a busy day; and then picture to yourself the squat village *Banya* riding home on his jaded pony, with a bundle of account books slung on his back after a troublesome day spent in court suing one of his many constituents, and your comment if you know both men will be, *alike and yet how different!* The difference in truth lies, as Teufelsdröckh would say, in the outer garment and not in the inner soul. The soul in each case is that of Mr. Isaacs.

Then let us take another and a widely different type—the ordinary native clerk in a Government office. He may be a Hindu or he may be a Muhammadan, but the former is the more general type. He also is a very distinct species, the like of which is not met with out of India. He is a skilled penman, his calligraphy is unique, distinguished for its regularity, clearness, and superb flourishes. His intellectual attainments as a rule are represented by a Middle School Pass Certificate, but occasionally he boasts of being a failed First Arts or even a failed B.A. In the latter case his ambition is proportionately higher, just as his value in the matrimonial market is enhanced. He is an

indefatigable worker, and his desk has an attraction for him which it possesses for no Englishman. He soon makes himself acquainted with the rules of his department, and becomes a veritable walking compendium of regulations, the terror of officers who have to submit returns to his official superior, and the unfailing Mentor of the latter in all that concerns the red-tapism of his department. His knowledge of the English language is not generally profound, but his vocabulary is astonishingly wide, and he has a particular fancy for long words, for uncommon words, and for words having two or more meanings, which he usually contrives to use in an unconventional sense scarcely sanctioned by Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*. His style of epistolary correspondence, when clothed in an English garb, presents a wonderful combination of pathos rising to sublimity, and bathos descending to the most absurd comicality. It is a style which has made the clerk or babu a wide-world celebrity, and which perhaps finds its highest literary expression in a *Biography of Mr. Justice Onocool Mukerji*, which was published at Calcutta a few years ago. But the babu's knowledge of English and his magniloquent style are merely some of his 'outside accomplishments.' The real man is an official product; he is made up of red tape, and when he has run his earthly career, and his ashes have been collected, we feel sure that his soul would rest in peace if they could be put away in an official envelope, neatly tied with red tape, and sealed with the Government of India seal in red sealing-wax, bearing an outside inscription, written in a large official handwriting, '*To the memory of Bindrabun Babu.*'

The *Grasscutter* may be taken to be a third type. His vocation is to supply grass for his master's horse, which he cuts with a small hand-scythe, and carries home on his head. He is the worst paid servant in an Anglo-Indian's establishment, and he is usually in possession of the most ready money. This may read paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true. To say he is frugal is only to express a half truth, for his frugality reaches a point which Hobson is reputed to have attempted in regard to his horse, and failed to achieve. His bodily sustenance is supplied by a single meal, which consists of a piceworth of your horse's grain, followed by a copious drink of cold water. That his liver and his spleen do not thrive under such a dietary has been proved by many a *post-mortem* examination, but his purse is largely increased by his self-denial. His savings are lent out to other servants of the household at a rate averaging 20 per cent.; and thus, while his body becomes more and more emaciated, his ribs so prominent that they seem to have no flesh covering, and his liver assumes an alarming size, he rejoices to see his hoard of the shining metal rapidly increasing. Is the poor creature then nothing but an uninteresting, selfish miser, who loves his money more than himself? By no means. In reality it would be difficult to find a human being

in any part of the world more thoroughly unselfish. He is no miser, and he does not love his money for its own sake. The truth is that he is self-sacrificing for the sake of others, for the sake of a wife and children he has left behind him in a distant home in Oude—for his class are generally *purbiahs*, or men who come from the East—or for parents or brothers or sisters who are dependent upon him for their support. To them his savings are regularly remitted, which he starves himself to acquire for their sakes. It is needless to add that he does not live to an old age, but he is patient and uncomplaining; and when at last his body can no longer supply a habitation for his soul, he passes away peacefully, no one perhaps knowing that he has solved the mystery of humanity until the coachman or groom goes to his hut to discover the cause of his non-appearance with his bundle of grass, and finds that he has borne his final burden, and that his spirit has fled from a body no longer able to give it shelter. Such is the Indian grasscutter, and where is the land that can give a duplicate of the type?

Let us turn for our next example to the higher ranks of society, to the polished courtier whose memory can recall the last flickering gleams of an expiring empire anterior to the British, as in the case of some still living in the Panjab—at Lahore and Delhi—for instance. He belongs to what is now termed the old school, that is to say, a school which was still Oriental in thought and language, and which did not ape European customs and manners. Usually well versed in Persian literature, and, if a Muhammadan, equally well versed in Koranic scripture and tradition, he is always dignified, faultless in manners, and, when he is not conversing with a high English official, entertaining in conversation. He has always an appropriate apophthegm worthy of a Rochefoucauld to illustrate any remark, and he seems to carry a complete anthology of the Persian poets in his brain, from which he quotes frequently and always aptly. He is unrivalled in his dexterity of paying a compliment, and a *faux pas* is an offence which can never be laid at his door. He is as skilful in letting you know within ten minutes of his first introduction to you that he is the humble descendant of a long line of illustrious ancestors, whose merits you may be sure do not suffer at his hands, and a parenthetical remark thrown in here and there testifies to the wisdom and loyalty of a much revered father or of a universally respected grandfather. The most trivial or commonplace remark you may happen to make supplies the opportunity to your visitor to enlighten you as to his family history. 'That reminds me,' he will begin, 'of a saying of my lamented father, who, as you are doubtless aware' (although he is certain you never heard of him, and, for that matter, it may be that the poor man had joined his forefathers without experiencing the notoriety of fame), 'was a trusted adviser of Maharaja —, or a man who was constantly consulted in any political difficulty by Lord

Lawrence, or Sir Henry Lawrence, or Nicholson,' or any other distinguished Englishman who had contributed to the making of history, and he then rounds off this allusion with a more or less apt quotation, which you may take for certain had never come from his father's lips. A little later you venture on some casual observation about the weather, and behold the grandfather, who had made the variations of weather a special study, and was renowned for his scientific researches, is made to confirm what you have said. You smile, perhaps, not so much at the grandfather's sagacity as at the deftness of his son's son, and this is a sufficient indication to your visitor that his ancestors have done their duty sufficiently on a first introduction, and they are left to slumber in peace in their silent chambers during the remainder of the conversation. Indeed, no one can be quicker than he is in discerning that a particular topic of conversation has gone far enough, and he turns to another with the easy gracefulness of a trained diplomatist. The inflectional character of the language he habitually employs—the Urdu, or *Camp* language—lends itself readily to this use, for no other tongue, with the exception perhaps of French, is so capable of being handled efficiently for the purposes of *finesse*. We see this pushed to the highest point of vantage when our Oriental friend is in the presence of a high English official. Reticence has then to keep guard on the door of his lips, but the flowers of flattery and the lances of veiled question and innuendo throw the official frequently off his guard, and as his visitor retires at the end of ten minutes, having learnt enough on the point he was interested in to supply food for reflection, you may hear the baffled official exclaim : 'Curse the fellow, he has got me to say more than I intended.' The picture above drawn is that of the native gentleman of the old school as he ordinarily appears on the outer surface of his social relations with Englishmen. But below that surface, and concealed by the veneer of polished manners, you have a man with the soul of a true gentleman, who would scorn to do a mean thing, who is grateful for kindness, and who would think no sacrifice too great to help a friend in distress. Let the Englishman gain his confidence, let him display an interest in what concerns the moral or intellectual progress of the natives of India, and no one will be more ready to acknowledge his efforts, and to appreciate his public spirit, than the typical native gentleman of the old school whom I have endeavoured to describe. If we compare him with the product of a later school, permeated with Western ideas and the outcome of our English educational system, he will lose nothing by the comparison. He will simply remain more distinctively the Oriental, softened perhaps as to many of his former prejudices by the culture around him, but still Asiatic enough to prefer the habits and customs of his forefathers to those of the white foreigner, and if the literature of the West is a closed book to him, he has at least been diligent in the study of his own, as rich in



beauty and wisdom, if deficient in scientific breadth and accuracy, as that of Europe. In honour, truthfulness, and all else that goes to make the gentleman, he is no whit behind his more learned compatriot, for he owes these virtues to Nature, which distributes them with no partial hand to her worthy children.

The native gentlemen of a later school, in whom, as the writer was once told by an ardent young Bengal Progressivist, we have to look for the product of modern culture, in contradistinction, as he put it, to the relics of barbarism represented by the survivors of the older school, must be divided into two classes, if we would wish to be just to them. There is the native gentleman who has derived all the advantage within his reach from a thorough English education, and who has still remained true to his racial instincts; and there is the other type who has undergone the same educational training, but has become a transformed being, his faith broken, his manners changed, his aspirations turned into a different channel, who is neither native nor European, outcast by his own countrymen, and either not admitted into or at least merely tolerated by English society, a mere hybrid product of the forcing-house of our present educational system. The former, it must be confessed, is not frequently met with, and will probably become extinct in another generation. But where he is found he is a man whom it is a privilege to know. His education has cleared his vision and widened his understanding, while his strength of character has enabled him to withstand the temptation of being anything but what he is, and what he is proud to be, a Hindu or a Muhammadan gentleman as the case may be. He represents the transition stage between the old and the new order of things, and as in the ordinary course of nature the former must give place to the latter, he cannot unfortunately be regarded as a permanent type of native character. He has already reached as it were the vanishing-point at which the slightest forward movement leaves nothing but the wreckage of the past behind it. He stands like the Colossus of Rhodes with one foot on one shore, representing the East with all its mystic lore and glorious tints of approaching sunset, while with the other he seeks a foothold on the opposite shore, representing the West with all its new learning and the dazzling brightness of the rising sun heralding a new-born day. He manfully bridges for the time being the gulf between the two streams of the Past and the Present, but as that gulf widens with the increasing waters of the stream of time, the alternatives are retreat or advance. To retreat would be to surrender to the spirit of retrogression; to advance, to uphold the cause of progress and enlightenment; and who can doubt in such a contest to which side the voice of the rising generation would be given? Regretfully turning away, therefore, from this first type of the new school, we experience something like a shock when we come to consider the second. For the most part

we find that it represents inordinate vanity, overweening self-confidence, and the arrogant assumption that all the rest of the world are fools ; the past which has its invaluable lessons is despised ; while customs and habits which had been consecrated by the pious observance of centuries are regarded as 'relics of barbarism.' And if the mind has been purged of its barbarism, the body must needs be clothed in newer garments. The modest, tight-fitting, black-cloth coat, which is always so becoming to a Bengali gentleman, is discarded for the latest fashionable Bond Street morning coat, with its mighty tails flopping behind like those of a Christy Minstrel's professional covercoat ; the graceful *pagri* is exchanged for that ugliest of human inventions, the top-hat ; and the close-fitting trousers of white cloth or dark tweed give place to a much looser pair of garments of a broad check material, as if the victim of this new craze for European dress were being decked out as a standing advertisement for Ogden's Guinea Gold. If Burns's kind power would only give the native youths who adopt this costume the 'giftie' to see themselves as others see them, it would be one of the greatest boons she could confer upon them, for they would most certainly soon revert to their 'cast-aways,' and thus save themselves much unnecessary ridicule. In criticising, however, these vulnerable points in the make-up of the type we are now considering, we must bear in mind that here also we are dealing with a state of society in a transition stage, and it behoves us not to be too rigorous in our fault finding. To a native youth who sees Europe for the first time, it is only natural that his imagination should be inflamed by the wondrous vista of what is to him a new world, which now stands revealed to his astonished gaze. The sense of novelty also bewitches him, and if, yielding to this sense, he exchanges his own national costume for that of our country, let us not look upon his act as a foolish display of personal vanity, but rather as a delicate compliment to our own superior taste, and, as the strangeness of his transformation becomes more familiar to us, perhaps we shall find less reason to ridicule him for the choice he has made. So also in regard to the other side of his vanity, his overweening self-confidence, and his assumption that he knows more than the rest of the heads in all Europe combined, we need only to exercise some patience and indulgence. Time will accomplish the rest. A few years' experience of the world will disillusion him, and he will be compelled to recognise the fact, patent already to everyone but himself, that he is neither a genius nor a scholar, that his voice when declaiming Joudest was *vox et præterea nihil*, that the world can get on very well without him, and that he is a very commonplace individual whose rôle is to eke out a modest livelihood, and to teach his children to avoid the extravagances of which he has been guilty himself.

No set of Indian cameos would be complete without some

reference to those yellow-legged<sup>1</sup> guardians of the public peace, the city and rural constables. They constitute an important factor in our administrative machinery, and be it said to their credit that, taken as a whole, they are a very useful body of public servants. The office of constable is not the peculiar privilege of any particular class or sect, for it is open to all, and there is no lack of keenness to obtain it. It is an office which inspires awe if not respect, for it is clothed with the majesty of the law, and the law to those who know it not is always the symbol of some mysterious authority, which is connected in the popular mind with punishments and prisons. The constable knows it, and he would be more than human if he did not encourage the notion. His pay, indeed, is small, too small to keep him from the temptations to which he is exposed, and it is made still smaller by the many contributions which are officially levied from him. But according to the unwritten code which is made up of the traditions of his service, this salary has long since come to be regarded by the force as a mere retaining fee, which is by no means to be considered as representing his legitimate income. On the contrary, it is expected to form a very small fraction of that income. Such, at least, he is told by his comrades is the well-respected tradition of his service. He may be a Hindu, a Muhammadan, or a Sikh, but whether he worships at the shrine of Siva, or bows with reverence at the name of the prophet of Islam, or joins in the cry of *Victory to the Guru*, his worst enemy must admit that his whole subsequent career is regulated by unswerving fidelity to this tradition. It was no doubt a similar tradition amongst the Jewish soldiers of the time of John the Baptist, who were probably called upon to do many of the duties that devolve upon the police under our Indian system, which excited the indignation of that unsparing denouncer of evils, and compelled him to exhort them to be 'content with their wages, to do violence to no man, neither to accuse any falsely' (Luke iii. 14). Indeed, one might almost read the exhortation as if prophetically intended to be addressed to the Indian constable of to-day. But we fear the soldiers who listened to it paid as little heed to the Baptist's words as the Indian constable would be disposed to give to them if addressed to him by some pious missionary of the present time. He would certainly think, if he did not actually say so, that the exhortation showed little knowledge of worldly wisdom, and that it was far easier to counsel contentment than to practise it when the wages one receives are wholly inadequate to keep the wolf of starvation from the door. From the underpaid constable's point of view, therefore, it is with contentment and moderation as Rochefoucauld says of true love and apparitions, 'Every one talks of them, but few persons have seen them.' Such virtues, he is rather inclined

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written the uniform, I believe, has been changed to one of a *khaki* colour.

to believe, 'lose themselves in self-interest, as rivers lose themselves in the sea.' And thus the moral obliquity of supplementing his salary by what he would regard as voluntary gifts on the part of those who desire his services, may not appear so manifest to him as it does to his employers. In accepting such offerings the constable is only yielding to a temptation which does not involve very great turpitude in his eyes. In fact, as the saying goes, he is merely 'true to his salt,' to the salt which imparts a relish to his labours, gives them a sweet savour, and incites fresh zeal for the future. Those who wish to enlist his good offices, or to conciliate him, or to induce him either to see too much or too little, must contribute towards this salt, and according to the measure of the contribution his friendly co-operation may be relied upon. But for the man who is so dense or absurd as to suppose that he can expect the constable to exert himself on his behalf with anything like a zealous spirit without such a contribution, upon the ridiculous ground that as a taxpayer he has already contributed towards the monthly retainer which the constable receives from the public funds, the yellow-legged guardian of the public peace has nothing but withering scorn and the most profound contempt. It is a piece of ungentlemanly behaviour, of gross meanness to which he is unaccustomed, and which he cannot be expected to tolerate. The recollection of it is written on the tablets of his mind, and never ceases to call for signal retribution. He may have to wait his opportunity, but in the fulness of time it is sure to come, and when it does, the man who has incurred his wrath will have reason to regret that in a foolish moment he did not recognise the sacred obligations of tradition. The 'moral expiation,' as a French scientific lawyer<sup>2</sup> would perhaps call it, thus exacted by the constable would serve its purpose for the future, and it would soon become known that it was after all the best policy for all who had occasion to seek his help to contribute with a generous hand to his salt. Can we wonder then that, underpaid as the post of a constable is, it is an office which always attracts many competitors? Happily for the community at large, the average intelligence of the constable class is distinctly low; were it higher, the danger would be greater. As it is, when he tries his hand at any complicated plot he usually fails, and displays his own clumsy handiwork. Temerity is his ruin, but a long course of successful petty trickery often induces him to tread this dangerous path, which eventually leads to detection and the prison door, until at length he realises when it is too late the truth of the old Bœotian poet Hesiod's famous lines, as rendered by Elton :

Still in the end shall justice wrong subdue :  
This fools confess, from sore experience true.

As we began with one phase of Indian village life, that represented by the *Banya*, so we may conclude with another phase represented by that of the farmer or agriculturist. The latter has not perhaps any marked peculiarities which differentiate him from those who carried on his pursuit in archaic times in other countries, but he is a distinctly interesting character who cannot be omitted from any album of Indian portraits. He is the same contented, easy-going, apathetic, unthriftly creature as of old, who spends most of his time, when he has neither crops to watch, nor land to plough or sow, smoking his *hookah* or conversing with any person who may chance to meet him at the village *chowpal*, the Bœotian λέσχη, or public resting-place, thinking of nothing in particular, and thoroughly enjoying his idleness, the very ideal to him of a peaceful life. Frugal in his habits, devoid of ambition, the future does not trouble him, and all that he demands of the present is sufficient food and raiment to keep body and soul together. If the season happens to be a favourable one, his farm yields him enough for the support of himself and his family, and he needs no more; if it turns out bad, he resorts to the *Banya* already described and increases his load of debt, and to obtain money he is ready to mortgage his land on any terms that are dictated to him. If he has sons, some of them are sure to enter the army, which until recent years was looked upon as the only other legitimate sphere of employment; but since education has spread under British influence, it is not uncommon to find at least one of the sons fired with the ambition to become an English scholar, and thereafter to acquire fame and fortune as a pleader, a doctor, or a Government official. If the farmer has no sons, but a daughter, he marries off the latter and induces her husband to settle in the same village, to help him to look after his land, on the promise of making him and his issue the ultimate heirs to his estate. He and his class supply the true manhood of the country, a peaceful and contented population, and a recruiting source for our native army. But his want of resourcefulness, his apathy and his indolence, bring him frequently into monetary troubles, and it is with the laudable object of extricating him from these meshes that the British Government has resorted to legislation in the Deckan and in the Panjab, which practically deprives him of the power to deal with even his own life-estate, and converts him into a modified Ward of Court, a position which he is not likely to appreciate. The problem how to respect his civil rights and yet to prevent his gradual extinction is no doubt a difficult one, but legislation has never been known to make a man moral, and it may be doubted whether it will succeed in making him provident or a good manager of his estate. What would probably meet the exigencies of the situation better would be the creation of agricultural banks, of the kind formerly proposed for the Deckan, but never introduced. Institutions of this kind would enable the needy farmer to obtain money on easy terms,

secure him against chicanery, and give him the means of tiding over the difficulties of a bad year without involving him in a heavy burden of debt which he can never hope to repay, as is generally the case under the existing system of *Banya* loans. But to make any such scheme a success there must be as little formalism about it as possible. The Indian farmer hates trouble, and sooner than subject himself to it he would prefer to borrow from the *Banya* in his village at an extortionate rate of interest, which he is also sufficiently shrewd enough to know the lender will never be able to recover from him, owing to his limited resources, while his land is already well protected by the revenue authorities against a forcible sale by mesne process issuing from the Civil Courts. Apart from his want of providence, his apathy and his idleness, the farmer as we still find him in the East, no matter what his creed may be, is a right good fellow. Of good physique, he holds himself like a free man; he is hospitable to the stranger; as a respecter of ancient customs and usages he is generally a law-abiding citizen, and he is tolerant, which a long residence in a mixed community comprising men of different tribes and religions has taught him to be. But he is quick-tempered, and when roused is as ready to use his stick as any irate Irishman to brandish his *shillelagh*. Broken heads do not give him much concern or excite his sympathy, but he is ready to admit that they must involve a penal consequence against those who cause them. He has no fixed standard in regard to truth or falsehood, the use of which depends rather on his individual ideas of expediency than of any dominating notion of right or wrong. He has a certain sense of humour, though naturally rustic of its kind, and an insatiable love for fairs and shows. He is in short a son of the soil, simple in his habits and tastes, though scarcely in the sense in which La Fontaine's nurse spoke of the mis-called French Homer, 'that God will not have courage to damn him,' who loves the free fresh air of his country life, and who knows no other guide to teach him when to plough or when to reap but the stars, the constellations, the sun and moon which look down upon him as they have looked down upon and guided his ancestors in the past. And finally, in his survival we have still before us a state of archaic society which has enabled us to correct a misconception of the terms law and sanction on the part of publicists who knew not Joseph.

It has been said by a recent writer in regard to Sicily that 'everywhere you are haunted by the ghosts of great men or the memories of great events or of great and departed nations,' and that you feel yourself to be 'a breathing man visiting, like Dante or Hercules, the realms of phantoms.' Well, India too has had her great men in rich abundance, and her history is full of memories of great events. But no one visiting that land has any such feeling of oppression. The shadows of the past are ever tinged with the rays of the bright sun of the living present, which has so much to deeply interest us, to attract

our sympathies, and to enlist our energies. It is the living present we must study if we wish to know India, and to realise what a great inheritance has fallen to the lot of the present generation of the British race. Let no one say that India is only a Land of Regrets, a mere place of temporary exile for the white man. To me, at all events, it will always be a land associated with the happiest memories and of ever-abiding interest, and I would fain express my hope of her future destiny, under the ægis of the British Crown, in the words of the Mantuan poet :

Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,  
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,  
Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.

W. H. RATTIGAN.

## *WHAT IS THE USE OF GOLD DISCOVERIES ?*

MANY years ago the late Lord Bramwell put to me the above question, and we found that on a comparison of our views we were in a large agreement as to the answer to be given to it. Some of the circumstances of recent months have brought back the discussion to my memory, and I have proposed the question from time to time to familiar friends, but the answers I have elicited have been very far away from what Lord Bramwell and myself agreed upon. It may be said at once that we held the utility of gold discoveries to be of such a mixed and doubtful character as to justify some feeling of regret that they should ever be made ; whilst the friends to whom I have recently bruited the question appear for the most part astonished that it should be raised, and somewhat scornful of the temper that could entertain a doubt as to the benefit mankind derive in the opening up of richer deposits of gold. The opinion must, indeed, be paradoxical which suggests that it may not be for the benefit of mankind that an object of universal human desire should be obtained with less labour. We are accustomed to speak of the fundamental principle of free trade—that it opens up the way for satisfying the wants of men with the least expenditure of toil—as containing within itself the complete and final proof of its excellence ; and yet here am I, a convinced free trader of the most absolute type, questioning the advantage of getting with less effort the gold all men desire. It seems worth while to examine the matter afresh, and arrive, if we can, at some exact statement of the truth about it.

There is one answer to the question of the use of gold discoveries, very common in the streets and markets, which will be promptly set aside by everyone who has mastered the primary elements of political economy. Can anyone, it is asked, doubt of this utility who realises the immense amount of labour that is called into activity by gold discoveries ? Miners have to be fed and clothed ; mining machinery is made and set up ; there is a great subsidiary employment of carriers by sea and land ; industry and commerce both become vigorous, and armies of labourers directly and indirectly find occupation and work.



This attractive picture cannot, however, be accepted as conclusive. All that has been here attributed, and rightly attributed, to the development of new goldfields would find an exact parallel in the influence of a great war, and yet everybody must be conscious that from the social and industrial point of view a great war, so far from being beneficial, is a great loss to humanity. A war may be necessary, may be justifiable, its result may be worth its cost, but apart from this result all the labour spent upon it is loss, all the industry it excites wasteful, and the community that has had to wage it ends by being poorer than when it began. The employment of labour for labour's sake is the idlest of all schemes for the betterment of labour; otherwise we might find an easy way to the improvement of the well-being of our masses by constantly building ships and taking them out to sea to be sunk, which, indeed, is one aspect of naval activity. The use of gold discoveries must be proved by the use of the gold when it is discovered, not by the quantity of labour expended in bringing it to market. If it does not, in some sort, help to reproduce the sustenance of labour, to keep in vigorous movement the great circle of interchanges of products satisfying the ever-recurrent wants of human lives, it must be pronounced as little entitled to the merit of utility as if no result whatever had been forthcoming. We must look, in a word, to the service of gold in the world for an answer to the question I have propounded.

A somewhat fantastic suggestion may be thrown out as a means of relieving ourselves from the confusion which enters into our thoughts when we dwell upon the labour of getting gold as proof of the utility of getting gold. Why not indulge in the theory of the discovery of gold without labour? Suppose a particular man had hit upon a huge mass of hidden treasure, the secret of which was known only to himself, but out of which he could, at pleasure, place large stocks of bullion to the improvement of his balance at his bankers'. In working out such a conception we seem to find a way of facilitating the solution of the naked question, What is the use of gold discoveries? and if we added to the hypothesis thus stated the condition that the man with the treasure should be one of a limited and isolated community—a dweller in a new kind of Treasure Island—within the borders of which the effect of his discoveries would work and their course could be traced, we should still further facilitate the segregation of the question from confused and disturbing circumstances of world-wide extent. After thus working out the problem in little, we might lift up the barriers within which we had confined our speculations, and perhaps come to see, without much difficulty, that the movements we had tracked in an island were essentially the same as the movements to be followed on the island of the globe. The lover of variety may indulge in another fancy—to wit, that someone had realised the dream of ages and discovered the 'philosopher's stone,' so

that under a strictly patented process he might transmute the baser metals into gold, and thus command boundless wealth. What would be the use of the invention to the community of men ?

The happy possessor of the hidden store, the discoverer of the great secret, would be able to go forth among his fellows and command their services or their goods with the certainty that whatever he wanted he could get. There might be some haggling about terms, but in the end his palace would be built, his chambers furnished to his desire, and his banquets supplied with the choicest foods and the best brands. He would secure a satiety of his wishes because those who served him would have a well-founded confidence that they, too, could be served in turn in exchange for the gold they had received from him. As long as they could get their subordinated supplies, he would get the satisfaction of his primary demands. What would be the situation in the end ? If the organisation of the community had been at starting one of dynamical equilibrium in which the round of production and consumption had been steadily maintained with no great superfluity on the one side or falling off on the other, the introduction of the new demand for additional services or additional commodities must have occasioned, more or less obviously, a diminution of the services and commodities remaining for the rest of the society, or else a calling into work of new recruits of production, who would find a recompense for their toil in some allotment of the gold which the new Midas was putting into circulation. In the absence of this last enlistment of new producers, it would appear that the treasure-master must get his wants supplied by a diminution in the supply of consumable things and services distributed through the rest of the community, the net result being that though more money was passing, and each unit might find his coin receipts increasing, the money in his purse could not command the same share as before of the satisfactions of life. Even when we entertain the suggestion of newer recruits being pressed into activity, we must still confess that the absorption by the plutocrat of so much as he separates from the common stock for the gratification of the wants of himself and of his minions is balanced only by a dissemination of more money throughout the community, which of itself adds nothing to the capacity of production or the mass of products. If the gold of the treasure-master could be made the basis of new industries, or of industries offering ampler reward for toil than had been heretofore practised, the whole stock produced might have been so enlarged as to yield enough to satisfy the man of gold without trenching upon what remained to be divided among the rest ; but it is the special characteristic of gold that it is comparatively of the least value in the processes of production and reproduction. It is of rare and occasional use in machinery. It does not lead to the improvement of machines, or in any practical way to their durability, or to the diminution of the labour of making

them. So far as the metal passes into the arts, it serves almost exclusively for purposes of adornment, and its chief employment, the employment which is always open to possessors of it, is in the shape of money stored and in circulation.

In my last sentences I may be said to have allowed myself to run to the end before I had well surveyed the beginning, but this kind of anticipation may enable the reader to go more easily over an argument prosaically conducted from circumstances more exactly corresponding to the actual facts of life. Let us put aside, then, the notion of a hidden treasure secretly found, and the other fancy of the discovery of a philosopher's stone. Let us confine ourselves to the hypothesis of an isolated community possessing, among the industries that make up the circuit of its employments, that of gold-mining. The gold-mines, we will assume, are worked under fairly steady conditions, yielding annual results which are put upon the market and converted into coin, or put to use in the arts and in the decoration of life. The problem may be further simplified by supposing that the addition thus made to the stock of coin in the community is just sufficient to meet the annual wear and tear and loss of gold, and any increasing demand that must be satisfied if the unit of coin in circulation is to maintain a fairly steady relation in exchange for commodities and services which have not themselves undergone changes affecting the extent and ease with which they may be respectively rendered. A little reflection may lead us to the conclusion that this state of things will be realised if, a certain number of mines being kept continually working, the normal day's wage of a miner in a mine just paying its way, or, in other words, on the margin of profitable work, remains the same. This means that the share of gold of the working miner—that is, the actual amount of gold assigned to him—is fairly constant, and his real wages must correspond to his money wages, since we have assumed that the mining industry maintains the same relative position with other industries. All this is by way of enabling us to realise the picture of an industrial community in a fairly stable and yet healthy course of life. One more circumstance may be imagined to give the wavering outline a more definite shape. Assume that, in the condition of things we have pictured, the monthly wage of the average miner, working at the margin of productive mining, is one ounce of gold. What results would be produced if, in the circumstances suggested, newer and richer deposits of gold were hit upon, yielding bigger weights of gold both for the recompense of the workman and the profit of the mine adventurer? Assume, for a time, that the whole produce of this added gold not only passes into the currency, as the bulk of it does, but remains also as currency and reserves of gold held through the community, putting aside, therefore, any consideration of that comparatively small proportion which is used up in the arts of life. The men who brought the gold

to the mints directly, or through their bankers, would have, as has been already suggested, a great command in the markets of the community, and would be able to acquire not only the means of gratifying their instant desires, but investments in funds or the abiding bases of industry, so as to secure the enjoyment of permanent incomes. The new demand would naturally excite an increase in the scale of prices where it was working, and as the money passed from hand to hand this increase would spread from commodity to commodity, and from occupation to occupation. Much admirable work has been done in tracing out the probable course of this movement, and, again, in noting statistically its onward flow; and science has been vindicated by the attestation of its speculations in accomplished facts. The names of Cairnès and of Jevons must be especially mentioned as eminent respectively in this analysis and observation. I do not purpose to follow on their track, but would rather reach forward to what may, I think, be justifiably assumed would be the end; and for the sake of realising this in a more definite and precise shape, I would assume, as the final result of richer discoveries, that the normal wage of the working miner, working in mines just holding their own, had become two ounces of gold per month. Now, as all the gold had been used up in currency or in reserves, no lasting effect would be produced in altering the ratio of productive effectiveness among the different industries of the community. Temporary movements and temporary excitement of particular occupations would doubtless have happened, but in the end the order of the community would have resettled itself in the form from which it started, wages and prices having just doubled themselves all round, and what would remain as permanent consequences of the change would be that the holders of fixed charges and of fixed incomes would find themselves half as rich as before, and the people who had had in their pockets or kept at their bankers money and money claims would find that these had diminished to half their value in buying, and the losses thus suffered would be counterbalanced by the gains of permanent debtors—including national debtors—and by the acquisitions of abiding sources of income by those who took the earliest occasion of exchanging their newly acquired gold for income-yielding properties. As between debtor and creditor, it may be argued with much force that it is a benefit to the community that the money claims of creditors should diminish in real value, and that the burden on debtors should be permanently lightened. Creditors are fewer than debtors, and, as the diminution in the real value of their property would be gradual, the loss would not be severely felt at any moment, and as a generation passed away the new generation that followed would, so to speak, be born into a less commanding position. On the whole, I should agree that if money must rise or fall in value, it is better for a community it should fall; but the ideal condition would be the maintenance of a value in

money undergoing the least possible change. If change must be, let us have a change that favours the working multitude; but the best thing would be no change at all. As for that other range of consequences, the installation of an enriched class who have got themselves well nested whilst the process of rising prices was going on, and whose position is counterbalanced by a general fall in the value of money in circulation, I confess I can see no gain to the community in this change which should make us regard it with any favour.

I have jumped from one condition of dynamic equilibrium to another, the change being that the profitableness of the gold-mining in the production of gold has just doubled, a miner getting twice the former weight of gold in wages, and the adventurer getting twice his former allotment; and I have assumed that all the additional gold produced has passed into the currency and reserves. On these hypotheses it would seem that in the end prices would be doubled, and the inert possessors of fixed money claims would find their command of things and services reduced to one-half. It is assumed that additions to the currency would not of themselves affect the relative efficiency of industry in its several occupations, and though there might be temporary oscillations through the diversity of demands made by these coming on the market with new supplies of gold, these oscillations would pass away and the old order re-establish itself. The mere multiplication of money would have no effect on the efficiency of industrial work. This is a difficulty with many people, and it is worth while to examine a little more closely an argument adduced by the other side. It is said that if more gold is produced in a country, and passes through its mints and its banks into circulation, the immediate effect is to increase the quantity of money on loan, to diminish the rate of interest, and to develop industry which is waiting for the advent of cheaper capital to grow larger or to come into existence. That this is the transitory effect is true, but it is one of those effects which are essentially transitory. The cheapness of the new money depends upon the fact that prices do not at once respond to the affluence of the new supplies, but as these rise the abundance of money in the market in relation to the demand for it disappears, until, in fact, that second state of dynamic equilibrium would be reached, when prices in circulation should conform to the new affluence of the metal, when, under the hypothesis of double productivity of mines, there would be double prices and double money necessary to maintain the same transactions. We come around to the same conclusion—that, in the absence of independent causes of change in the efficiency of industrial production, an increase in the currency produces only temporary and transitory consequences. How far is this argument modified by the consideration that all the new gold produced does not pass into employment as money? I answer—to a very slight extent. In the first place, it is admitted by statisticians that only a

small proportion—a fourth seems to be a general estimate—passes into the arts, and even of this small proportion a certain part is really kept as a reserve, as much as if it were coin in a purse or a hoard in the strong-rooms of a bank. Of the rest the greater part is used exclusively for ornament. It pleases the eye, satisfies the sense of possession, tickles the greed of man, but is of the smallest possible use in facilitating any reproductive work, in altering to the advantage of man the relation between human toil and the results of toil required for human sustenance. I have heard it suggested that, apart from pure ornament, the only use of gold is in dentistry; but perhaps this is a humorous exaggeration of the fact that it is of little real service. As a metal, gold would probably be too heavy for general employment, even if it became quite common. Miss Kilmansegg's golden leg was a pretty whimsical fancy; but when it is realised that, as described by the poet, it would weigh some hundredweights, the absurdity of the conception almost ceases to be tolerable.

For the sake of simplicity, I have imagined a small, self-contained community, and an increase of the productivity of gold-mines within it; but the argument is really not changed if we take the world within the range of our speculation. The processes of change would be slower, and the effects would at least appear to be diminished as they were removed from the original centres of disturbance. We may have to figure to ourselves the new gold supplies being brought to one country and passing from it from country to country, and from race to race, in streams only checked by the growing rise of prices, and this rise growing most slowly among dim multitudes in the East, less responsive in thoughts and habits to the changes coming upon them. The question, What is the use of gold discoveries? might thus have to be answered by a substitution of alert races for alert individuals, and of slower millions of outsiders for the sluggish majority of the community at home. The speculation would remain intrinsically the same. The period of resettlement might be longer; the gain of mankind at large could not be rated higher; the world's benefit would be no more real. Perhaps, after all, the one advantage indirectly accruing from gold discoveries, though this cannot be insisted upon with absolute certainty, is that they bustle people about the world and cause regions to be settled earlier than they would otherwise be filled up. It is a speculative point, but, in spite of high authority against me, I must think that the attractions of gold led swarms to California that would not otherwise have gone, and California has become, in later years, a great source of supply of wheat, of fruit, and of wine. So the stream of immigration into Australia and New Zealand, which had before been slow, became fuller and more rapid through gold discoveries, and Australasia has developed into a great exporter of foods and of wool. It is said, on the other side, that these great gifts to mankind would have been quickly realised in any case, and that gold discoveries only

turned the more energetic and adventurous of our race on a wrong scent; and it must be observed that if these consequences are to be reckoned to the good of gold, they are but accidental consequences, since no one supposes that the gold-mines of Klondyke are the preparation for a teeming agriculture in Alaska. But why waste words on these doubtful issues, or, indeed, why raise the inquiry as to the use of gold discoveries? Mankind will run after them, even though we could add, to a demonstration that gold was an illusory benefit when found, a complete statistical proof that it cost more than it was worth in the finding. This last proposition has been often asserted, and though it may not be capable of being strictly tested, it is not improbably true. Put the total expenditure on gold-mining in Australia against the total product, and the balance is an adverse one. Is there any difficulty in believing this when we know that the industry of gold-winning is practised year after year by speculative adventurers at Monte Carlo, although they all know that the bank beats them, taken all together? Men believe in their cleverness and their luck, and like to run the chance. All the same, the inquiry Lord Bramwell propounded, and which he and I talked over together, is worth pursuing, were it only for the inquiry's sake; and it is still more worth pursuing if, when strictly conducted, it leads to a reversal of the popular estimate of the world's gain through gold discoveries. The exposure of a fallacy is always good, and is yet more good when the fallacy has been submissively accepted as the basis of bad statesmanship and of a bad world policy.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

## *PHYSICAL CONDITION OF WORKING-CLASS CHILDREN.*

FOR the past thirty years I have been very closely connected with the work of the elementary schools in this country, first as a pupil teacher, then as an assistant teacher, then as a head teacher, and finally as a member of the London School Board. It will be seen, therefore, that I have had exceptional opportunities of watching the problem of the physical condition of the working-class children in our great towns. Upon the whole matter I have arrived at two very distinct conclusions. The first is that a sharp line may be drawn dividing the working-class children into those who were never better cared for, never better trained physically, and never better looked after generally than they are to-day; and those, on the other hand, who, in the matter of nutrition, clothing, housing, and so on, were never worse off than they are to-day.

Speaking broadly, I should say that 80 per cent. of the working-class children were never so well off as they are to-day. The influence of thirty-three years of compulsory public education, the habits of discipline formed in the schools, the physical training given in the schools and in the organised games of the playgrounds and playing fields, the elevating effect of the school system upon the home, the greater pride which working-class parents, as a result of the effect of the school system upon the homes, take in their children, particularly with regard to cleanliness, clothing, feeding, and so on—all these things leave me perfectly convinced that four-fifths of the working-class children, as I have said, are better off than ever they were.

Now, on the other hand, there remain the 20 per cent. on the other side of my sharp line. These are probably no worse off than they were thirty years ago, though probably in the great cities the need for better housing accommodation is more pressing now than it was then. But, in a way, the great Education Act of 1870 was a social lever which was inserted a little above the base of the social pyramid and not absolutely at its bottom. The result has been to raise the working-class social fabric above it, and, by contrast, to seem to



depress the condition of the 'submerged tenth.' What I mean is that there is a sharper contrast between the children of the very poor, the out-of-works, the thriftless, the drunken, and the indifferent on the one hand, and the steady industrious artisan on the other than there was thirty years ago.

As I have said, roughly about 20 per cent. of the working-class children are in the most hopeless condition with regard to food, clothing, and housing. It seems to me, therefore, that if these also are to become wise stewards of the British heritage we should concentrate ourselves upon their estate. First of all, with regard to feeding. In every big town the children of the slums habitually go to school improperly fed. Many of them are not only improperly fed, but the food they do get is far too little in quantity. In the hard winter season, when the building trades are idle, many again go to school either with no food at all, or having only staid their hunger in the morning with a crust of dry bread. In sharp frosty weather it is a common experience for teachers in the elementary schools of the poorer parts of our great towns—I have myself often seen it—to find children suddenly seized with vomiting. This is not so much caused by the fact that the stomach is upset as that it has revolted against the effect of the cold upon its empty condition. And not only is this state of things true of the poorer parts of the big towns. It is true also of many of the agricultural villages. Let a visitor to a village elementary school look closely at the children. They are in many cases flabby and pale. They need more nourishing food. A breakfast of 'tea-kettle broth,' a bit of bread and margarine, a bit of bread and treacle, and some abominably poor tea—these form the three meals daily.

To go back to the poorer parts of the urban areas, where no doubt the problem is most acute, let me say that I have gone very closely into this question of the feeding of the poorer children amongst the working classes in London during the past ten years. The London School Board, I may say, has during the last fifteen years convened three special committees, of the last two of which I have been a member. The first committee was convened in 1889. It came to the conclusion that 43,588, or 12·8 per cent. of the whole, of the London children came to school habitually hungry, and that volunteer agencies existed to an extent which enabled them to meet the needs of only half these children. The second committee was convened, at my instance, in 1894. It did little more than arrange for the collection of reliable and systematised statistics upon the problem. But the total effect of the two committees was to develop and organise to a very substantial extent volunteer agencies in which both the School Board members, school managers, and Board School teachers have all played most honourable parts for the purpose of alleviating the distress, particularly in the winter season.

The third committee was appointed in 1898. The following is the reference :—‘ That it be referred to the General Purposes Committee to consider and report whether any, and what, inquiry can be made before next winter as to the number of children attending public elementary schools in London who are probably underfed, and how far the present voluntary provision for school meals is, or is not, effectual.’ The majority of this committee, after a very careful examination of the question, *came to the vital conclusion that voluntary effort alone is not sufficient to meet the needs of this problem.* It therefore arrived at the following six extremely important proposals :—

(i.) It should be deemed to be part of the duty of any authority by law responsible for the compulsory attendance of children at school to ascertain what children, if any, come to school in a state unfit to get normal profit by the school work—whether by reason of underfeeding, physical disability, or otherwise—and that there should be the necessary inspection for that purpose.

(ii.) That where it is ascertained that children are sent to school ‘ underfed ’ (in the sense defined above) it should be part of the duty of the authority to see that they are provided, under proper conditions, with the necessary food, subject to the provision contained in clause (vi.).

(iii.) That existing or future voluntary efforts to that end should be supervised by the authority.

(iv.) That in so far as such voluntary efforts fail to cover the ground, the authority should have the power and the duty to supplement them.

(v.) That where dinners are provided it is desirable that they should be open to all children, and should be paid for by tickets previously obtained, which parents should pay for, unless they are reported by the Board’s officers to be unable by misfortune to find the money; but in no case should any visible distinction be made between paying and non-paying children.

(vi.) That where the Board’s officers report that the underfed condition of any child is due to the culpable neglect of a parent (whether by reason of drunkenness or other gross misconduct), the Board should have the power and the duty to prosecute the parent for cruelty; and that, in case the offence is persisted in, there should be power to deal with the child under the Industrial Schools Acts.

I must point out that this definitely admits the principle of public responsibility as a supplement to benevolent effort. A majority of the School Board, I may remark, refused to adopt this principle; and, substantially, things remain to-day as they were prior to the calling together of this third committee.

It will, of course, have been gathered that it is my very strong view that the time has come when the Local Education Authorities under the Education Act of 1902 should be empowered to supplement the operations of benevolent societies. I am gratefully appreciative of the improvement during recent years in the method and the extension of the area of the operations of private effort. But I repeat that I am convinced that the time has come for the community, as a whole, to recognise some obligation in respect of the physical condition of the children. I do not advocate what is technically known as

'free maintenance.' Parents who can should see that their children are well clothed, well shod, and well fed ; and the great bulk of them will, of course, continue to do this. (Nobody not practically acquainted with the daily lives of the working classes can have any real appreciation of the sacrifices which parents make for their children.) Those who can, and will not, should, in my opinion, be severely punished. But the community must step in and prevent the child suffering. It is a most short-sighted policy to allow our young to grow up ill-nourished, and therefore ill-developed.\* It is grotesque to lavish money on education for those who are unfit mentally and physically to receive the education offered to them.

To come to a practical suggestion. Let us schedule the poorer part of a great town containing, say, half a dozen elementary schools. A school kitchen should be provided, under the direction of a public official, for the schools in the area. 'Dinner coupons' should be procurable at a convenient public office, to be paid for or received gratuitously by the parents, according to the necessities of the case. There would, of course, be absolutely no difference between the style of the coupon, whether purchased by the parent or received free. Before setting out for school every morning the children would be provided with their coupons by their parents, and would go down to the dining-hall at midday. The cost of this system should, in my opinion, be borne by voluntary contributions, supplemented by public aid. This is the system which is in force in many Continental cities, and which works with the most excellent results. By-and-by I should hope that practically all the parents would avail themselves of these midday meals for their children. It would mean a great economy of time and money to them, and the meal provided would, in all probability, be a good deal more nutritious and satisfying to the children than that at present prepared in the home. But this idea of a communal meal is, of course, foreign to the English tradition, and would be a matter of gradual development.

If such a scheme as I have herein roughly outlined were put into general adoption, the charge upon the public purse would not, I believe, be very considerable. (The Municipality of Paris provides 8,000,000 meals a year for 70,000*l.*, of which 45,000*l.* comes from the rates, 20,000*l.* from sale of dinner coupons to parents, and the rest from voluntary subscriptions.) Many of the parents of the well-to-do artisan class would find it a matter of convenience and economy to avail themselves of the communal system of feeding their children ; and, so far as they are concerned, the thing would be self-supporting. For the rest, the continuance of benevolent support would lighten the burden upon the public purse.

I do not propose to weary the reader with any reflections upon the pitiable condition of many of the children who attend our schools at the present time. Neither do I put into contrast with this deplor-

able condition the immense improvement in the general physique of the children which must follow from the introduction of the system here suggested. But I go further than this question of the underfed condition of the children. I insist that it is equally essential to our future prosperity as a nation to see that no child lacks warm clothing and comfortable housing. I hold that the community, as a whole, and not the benevolently disposed person only, has a direct duty in this matter. I say, too, that the medical examination from time to time of the children, especially with regard to the condition of their eyes, and, indeed, their general physical state, is a matter of communal obligation. In contrast to our *laissez faire* attitude towards the children, I may direct attention to the final article in Volume II. of the *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* issued by the Board of Education, Whitehall. That article gives a description of what the people of Brussels consider to be their duty to the children. From this remarkable statement it will be seen that every school child is medically examined once every ten days. Its eyes, teeth, ears, and general physical condition are overhauled. If it looks weak and puny they give it doses of cod-liver oil or some suitable tonic. At midday it gets a square meal, thanks to private benevolence assisted by communal funds, and the greatest care is taken to see that no child goes ill-shod, ill-clad, or ill-fed.

As a Christian and civilised community, I urge that we cannot allow an appreciable section of our youth to slouch through lives of suffering and destitution into rickety misshapen and very frequently evil-minded adults. I cannot blame the social derelicts if they ultimately become a ruinously heavy charge upon the public purse as inmates of the public workhouses and gaols. Rather do I blame the community whose happy-go-lucky lack of concern to-day is building up for to-morrow a tremendous burden of financial cost and social degradation—a burden which I am firmly convinced need not in great part exist at all. All this sounds like rank Socialism—a consideration which doesn't trouble me very much. But as a matter of fact it is, in reality, first-class Imperialism.

T. J. MACNAMARA.

## GIFTS

OF the many foolish institutions which prevail in modern social life few are productive of more genuine discomfort than the custom of making unnecessary presents, *i.e.* giving, not to supply other people's wants, but merely because the donor is animated by friendly feelings—or at all events wishes to look as if he were. The custom is one of great antiquity, for we read in Tacitus that our early German ancestors delighted in gifts; though it is with a slight feeling of shame that we read his next sentence, 'but they neither reckon up what they give nor consider themselves under an obligation for what they take,' for the average Englishman of to-day is certainly not unmindful of his own generosity, and is as punctilious in repaying a gift as he is in returning a blow. Surely it is time a protest was made against this giving for the sake of giving—which is about as reasonable a practice as talking for the sake of talking—for under the cloak of kindness there has crept into the world one of the most irritating of social pests; arbitrary in its choice, for it does not let you give to whom you will; mercantile in its essence, for each man is bound both in his own eyes and those of the donor to make a fitting return, and maddening in the drain it makes on the intellect of the purchaser, who is not merely harassed by his ignorance of the other person's tastes, but is genuinely anxious to get the best show for his money.

Doubtless in theory it is a beautiful thing to give, and when one is quite young it is a joy to receive, but the system of anniversary gifts in vogue nowadays is the very antithesis of 'the quality of Mercy,' it blesses neither him that gives nor him that takes; certainly not the donor, for whom, if he does the thing handsomely, a due observance of birthdays, weddings, and other occasions to which the idle fancy of man has attached the custom of giving, makes up a formidable item in his yearly expenditure, as well as an untold amount of suffering in the selection of an appropriate offering; neither can the receiver be congratulated on finding himself in possession of one more useless article, which is generally quite different from what he would himself have chosen, and yet leaves him the debtor of the donor till it is repaid.

For, to be honest, we must admit that we have got down to a system

of barter ; the man who makes no presents receives none ; if his soul craves after them, he has but to cast his bread on his neighbour's waters and it is sure to come back to him before many days. The cost of his offering, too, will be duly taken into account, as may be learnt from the remarks of any wife to any husband over the breakfast table—' Why, dear old Harry is going to be married ! We must send him something really good, John ; remember those charming teaspoons he sent us.' Whereas had ' dear old Harry ' sent them an earthenware teapot they would perhaps have loved him none the less, but certainly would not have felt an equal necessity to give him ' something really good.'

From an ethical point of view the real objection to making presents is that every gift constitutes an infringement of the liberty of the subject. If the world really believed that it was more blessed to give than to receive, the man who took presents without making any would be looked on as a public benefactor ; the fact that he is regarded as a curmudgeon proves that the world looks on a gift as an obligation. And yet, despite the ever-increasing difficulty of maintaining one's freedom amid the responsibilities of daily life, we wantonly add to our brother's burden by binding gifts upon his back. Ere the hapless infant can repudiate its responsibilities in articulate speech, godparents and friends of the family take advantage of its helplessness to thrust upon it christening mugs, spoons and forks, and nest-eggs for the savings bank. Thus started on his downward career the child grows up to look on presents as his natural right, and to feel a strong sense of injustice if the expected tip is not forthcoming. It is not till later on that a truer morality begins to assert itself, and he feels uncomfortable at the idea of receiving a present, so that often, while his lips are framed to grateful words, his inner spirit is murmuring, ' Might have been sold for two hundred pence and given to the poor ' ; not that this reflection will at all prevent his trying to rid himself of his obligations by transferring them, in the shape of fresh presents, to the rising generation. However, his friends, perceiving his attitude, grow more considerate, and forbear to remind him by birthday gifts of his dwindling span, though they take an ample vengeance, when he has passed beyond all power of protest, by piling his bier with wreaths and crosses.

I once knew a man who had rendered a service to a lady not remarkable for the sweetness of her disposition ; full of gratitude, and knowing his tastes to be peculiar, she begged him to tell her what present she might make him as an acknowledgment of his kindness. With early Roman simplicity he told her that he had already more books than he could read, more clocks than he cared to wind, that knick-knacks and ornaments were an abomination to him, and for return—if any were needed—he asked for only such kindly thoughts as she could spare from time to time.

' How very annoying ! ' quoth she. Being a businesslike woman

she preferred ready-money payments, and would infinitely rather have spent ten pounds in cancelling her debt than feel bound, as she did, for she was an honourable woman, to try and think well of her creditor for the future. However, as he would none of her gifts, she diligently ruled both her thoughts and her tongue, so far as he was concerned, for a whole six months—a period unprecedented—at the end of which time the man, to her great relief, gave her some ground for offence, so that she felt herself entitled to resume her normal attitude towards him. But the man, being one of those who believe that thoughts are the only real things in the world, felt that for six months, at all events, both he and she had been better for his refusal to take her present.

For this is the pity of it, that gifts which should be the accompaniment of kindness are too often made the substitute for it. What is the readiest way in which a 'self-respecting' husband can atone for some act of injustice or neglect done to his wife? Lacking courage to own himself in the wrong, fearful of losing his dignity by any act of self-abasement, any acknowledgment of her even temporary superiority, my lord struts into a shop and buys her a ring or a trinket on his way home, feeling with a complaisant smile that, whatever his own shortcomings, he has retrieved the situation. And so the pretty patch is laid over the wound, both sides have maintained their dignity and there has been no scene—and yet, does the better kind of woman quite forget that the wound is there all the same?

Of course, in giving, as in all else under Heaven, it is not the custom, but the abuse of the custom, that is pernicious. Few things are more delightful than to give to a friend what he has long wanted, but been too busy or too poor to get for himself, especially if the gift be something which our own hands have made, for this, as Emerson says, is to give a part of ourselves. And herein lies not the least blessing of poverty. The rich man gives by putting his hand in his pocket; in a glow of after-lunch benevolence he strolls down Bond Street and looks in a shop window for something pretty; the gift will cost him nothing but the trouble of selecting it, for he has all he wants and a balance to be got rid of somehow—and so he gives. But the poor man can only give by depriving himself of something; every sovereign spent in one way means retrenchment in another—a fact so obvious that most decent people feel uncomfortable when they get presents from those poorer than themselves—and so, often enough, the only gift the poor man can offer is his service or the work of his hands; and blessed is he if he have skill enough to make anything which will please.

For presents, alas! whether bought or made, do not always give pleasure. People are very variously gifted in the matter of taste, as a comparison of the interiors of any six consecutive houses will prove, and the gift which the donor in his secret soul deems charming may appear to the recipient an atrocity to be thrust into the farthest corner

of the back drawing-room till the happy day when the clumsily plied broom or duster shall shatter it out of existence. So fully conscious are the benevolent of their own deficiencies of taste that they have foisted upon the world a proverb of their own manufacture, forbidding one to look a gift horse in the mouth; under cover of which venerable absurdity they feel secure from the resentment which their presents are too often calculated to inspire. What house in the land has not its sad list of such votive offerings? Costly for the most part—for money and taste are often in inverse ratio—but too often blatant, glaring, hideous, an offence to the eye, an oppression to the spirit. For, alack! people will not give things of which they know the merits. When a tinker gives kettles or a tailor clothes we are at least justified in assuming that the kettles and the clothes are good of their kind, but when the ordinary man tries, without special knowledge, to add to your collection of prints or blue china, how thankful you feel afterwards that he was not present when his gift arrived.

If the making of presents really were what its devotees assert it to be—viz. a tangible proof of goodwill, no one ought to be anything but pleased at receiving one; and yet were I, in an outburst of benevolence, to send presents to all the people who live in my street, they would probably think I had nefarious designs on their persons or property, or, taking a more charitable view of the case, would entertain grave doubts of my sanity. For they would recognise that giving, like kissing, is perhaps a mark of goodwill, but is undoubtedly and always a liberty, and that liberties may not be taken with strangers, nor even always with one's intimates. Each man can generally divide his world into two classes: those who are so near and dear to him that there is no need for him to give them presents, since all that he has is theirs for the asking, and those whom he knows so little that a gift from him would arouse surprise or possibly resentment. There are few people who do not fall naturally into one of these two classes, unless, of course, one has allowed oneself to drift into a profligate habit of indiscriminate benevolence.

With regard to the things themselves, too, it is well to bear in mind the maxim, 'Let the buyer beware'; for only a very limited number of articles are looked on as appropriate offerings. In the matter of food, for instance, any birds, beasts, or fishes which I have slain with my own hand will be accepted by my neighbour as a proof of goodwill; but a leg of mutton or a sweetbread left at his house with my card will almost certainly be taken as an insult. Chocolates and sweetmeats are, of course, permissible, and even cakes and biscuits of the more frivolous kind; but it would be regarded as a gross breach of decorum to offer a friend anything which could appease his hunger or sustain his life. At Christmas time, if one may judge from the shop windows, there is an extra licence in this respect, the national conscience having probably gone so completely off its balance from



continual reading of the *Christmas Carol*, that to assail one's friends with cheeses and turkeys is looked on as part of the orthodox Saturnalia. But, with a few trifling exceptions, the rule holds good that a gift to be wholly complimentary must be wholly useless, and that only a person entirely devoid of decency will so far insult his friends as to offer them any of the necessaries of life.

As a nation of shopkeepers we no doubt console ourselves for this rather remarkable state of things by the reflection that, though the system may tell hardly on giver and receiver, though legions of haggard women may return home faint from an afternoon of Christmas shopping, while husbands and fathers growl as they dive into their depleted pockets, still, it is all 'good for trade'; for what would become of all those shops which exist solely for the sale of the superfluous if the present pestilential practice came to an end? Yet, despite fiscal controversies, there are still some old-fashioned people left who look on trade as made for man and not man for trade; who believe that to enslave the human race to one of its own creations—be it tight-lacing, trial by jury, matrimony, democratic government, or what not—is hardly the way to promote its welfare. These people would suggest that this same argument, 'good for trade,' would equally justify the manufacture of loaded dice, fraudulent weights and measures, burglars' outfits, and many another undesirable product of civilisation.

But of all foolish conventions, the silliest is that which forbids the giving of money. Granted that I know you well enough, I may give you anything up to a grand piano or a motor-car, and as a result most people find themselves in possession of a small herd of white elephants. But if, to save adding to this undesirable menagerie, I give you the money direct, all the Englishman mantles in your cheek, and, in a voice tremulous with passion, you ask whether I wish to insult you. 'Would you pauperise me?' you indignantly exclaim, honest soul; not seeing that there is no practical difference between sending you, say, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and writing you a cheque for— But it is not my business to advertise that truly great work.

It was a good rule that, laid down by the Master of old, 'Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away.' The latter precept might perhaps be amended by the suggestion that without good security one should never lend more than one is prepared to give, but the former is wholly admirable. To know that one's friend wants a thing constitutes a claim in itself, and if his need is so urgent that he stoops to ask, the claim becomes imperative. But to mark seasons of the year and anniversaries of birthdays or weddings by going into a fancy shop and selecting from the thousand and one useless articles there displayed something to thrust into the expectant maw of one's kinsfolk or acquaintance, who do not want anything in particular, but merely look for a present—surely this is a poor way of showing one's goodwill! But it is thus that the rubbish

piles up and the housemaid groans as she dusts it, while the owner finds himself wondering at times why there should be so heavy a penalty for arson.

Are my friends so bankrupt of ideas that they have no other means of showing their goodwill than buying me something at a shop! Is not a kind word or even a cheery smile worth all the burdensome knickknacks with which they can load me? Periodically, too! as if love came in rhythmic spurts like a steam-pump. Nothing for eleven months and then some horrid costly trinket at Christmas! Why? Do you love me more on the 25th of December than the 25th of June or any other month? 'What nonsense! Of course I don't; but it is Christmas!' Then, my dear lady, if your gift be due to Christmas rather than to me, prithee give it to Santa Claus, or, better still, to Dr. Barnardo, and don't make me the safety-valve for your chronic outbursts of benevolence.

The rising generation has a bad lookout in this connection. Every nursery is glutted with a perfect shopful of toys—dolls waxen, wooden, china, rag; monkeys, pigs, camels, drums, bricks, trains, soldiers, musical boxes—there is no end of the rubbish. And in the middle of it all sits the jaded two-year-old, like Koheleth in the midst of his splendour, and, with eye roaming discontentedly over the piled-up floor, murmurs out the infantile equivalent for *Vanitas vanitatum*. I once knew a small boy who had ten tin soldiers, which made him entirely happy, till an unwise old lady multiplied his stock twentyfold. After two days of riotous enjoyment he began to see that his happiness had been increased by the multiplication of his possessions, and from that moment peace was at an end; like the daughter of the horse-leech, his cry was always 'Give, give,' and but for the fact that in a hasty removal the whole of his cherished army was left behind, he would have grown up a very discontented infant. As it was he began all over again with bits of stick and reels of cotton, and that wonderful faculty of 'make-believe,' which is at the bottom of all childish enjoyment, and for which the modern toy, complete in every detail, affords no scope. The natural child would rather have a shawl with two strings tied round it for a neck and a waist than the most artistic, best-dressed doll in the world—as all who have anything to do with children know quite well; yet, so fettered are they by the senseless custom of giving, that they continue to deluge each other's offspring with more toys than an infant school could grapple with.

With such an example at home it is little wonder that the school-boy has adopted the evil custom of disturbing the normal relations with his master by means of a testimonial at the end of term. It is usually the worst boy in the form who originates the idea, probably more with the design of mollifying the tyrant for the future than with a lively sense of gratitude for his past attentions; no one likes to refuse—moral courage is not a strong point with the average school-

boy—and so their little pocket moneys go to swell Orbilius' stock of superfluous inkstands, and divers small minds are profoundly impressed with a sense of injustice when later on in the day there comes the usual penalty for not knowing the eccentricities of the Irregular Verbs.

There is no need to refer to public subscriptions and testimonials, for such things can hardly be said to come under the head of gifts at all—any more than the benevolences of the Tudor sovereigns—being rather the purchase-money paid by each man for the entrance of his name on the subscription roll, since nine men out of ten will honestly admit that their main anxiety is not to be outdone by their neighbours and see their own names followed by a smaller figure—as though the donation represented the sum at which a man valued himself—wherefore they invariably want to know what their friends have given before putting down their own sum. What a fine thing it would be for the Empire if a like spirit of emulation could be roused over payment of the King's taxes!

If, then, as appears to be the case, giving is either an act of self-indulgence or a tax imposed by convention on those who are not strongminded enough to resist, is it not time for the formation of an Anti-gift League, the members of which shall bind themselves to neither give nor take unnecessary presents? Doubtless it would require some moral courage to join at first, for the world has so long confounded gifts with goodwill that one who tries to dissociate the two will almost certainly be termed niggardly by those who do not understand his point of view; but when it becomes apparent that the members of the League have at least their full share of that Will to Help the World, which is the prime factor in progress, that they are not less but more ready to give all that they have—their time, their money, their services,—to those who really need help, probably it will begin to dawn on even the most mercantile that there are better things in life than the giving of gifts.

C. B. WHEELER,

## *LAST MONTH*

THE high temperature in the physical world, which made last month so great a contrast to most recent Julys, has been accompanied by a corresponding increase of heat in politics. No great events occurred during the month, and yet there has been a steady exacerbation of political conditions which is in itself a serious and noteworthy symptom. Patience has evidently reached its limits on both sides, and even courtesy—the courtesy which wise men invariably show to their political opponents—seems to be worn threadbare. I am not sufficiently impartial to be able to decide whether the greater sinners in this matter of common courtesy can be found among Unionists or Liberals. Both are probably at fault, though I must confess that the tone of certain eminent controversialists among my opponents suggests neither the fine flower of good manners nor the tolerance of those who fight for what they believe to be a winning cause. That there is an equal degree of bitterness on both sides can hardly be disputed. The House of Commons during last month provided us with more than the average number of ‘scenes,’ and these scenes raged round the most distinguished heads in the assembly. Even the Speaker did not wholly escape from these explosions of wrath and bitterness, whilst on one occasion the Prime Minister suffered from something like a tornado of furious rage on the part of the Opposition.

It was not an edifying scene that men witnessed when the House absolutely refused to allow the head of the Government to speak a single audible word. But, edifying or not, it cannot be said that it was unprovoked. Mr. Balfour himself is, in the opinion of his friends, admirable and delightful in all the walks of life that he adorns. Most of his opponents give him credit for being all this in every walk of life but one. This, however, happens to be the particular walk in which it is their lot to meet him. The brilliant astuteness in Parliamentary strategy with which he is credited by his effusive admirers in his own Party seems, as I have had occasion to remark before, to his opponents to be nothing more than the adroitness of the dancer on the tight-rope; and their indignation is increased by the undoubted

success with which his tricks are executed. I am well aware that to the orthodox Ministerialist who takes his views day by day from the *Times*, or one of the halfpenny organs of his Party, the attitude of the majority of Liberals towards Mr. Balfour seems to be the outcome of mere political spite and envy. It is inconceivable to these gentlemen that the Prime Minister should ever have done anything to deserve the criticisms and censures of his opponents, and even whilst they are pouring their vitriolic sarcasms upon Lord Rosebery or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, they are bursting with indignation at the audacity of those who venture to disparage Mr. Balfour. Fair play is a jewel, and, after all, even a Liberal politician is entitled to claim it for himself. Writing from the Liberal point of view, I venture to explain the reasons for the bitterness with which most Liberals regard the recent performances—successful performances, I freely admit—of the Prime Minister. They are not angry merely because he clings to office with an almost desperate tenacity, though they feel both anger and contempt when they consider the means which he employs to keep himself in place. Their chief cause of complaint against him is that he has employed, and is continuing to employ, an authority that came to him in 1900 by something like an accident, in order to do violence to the wishes of the country. This charge is laughed to scorn by the Ministerial advocates in the Press. They pour contempt upon the idea that the bye-elections, unexampled as they are, furnish any real index to the opinions of the nation, and they snort their ridicule at the notion that Mr. Balfour has outrun the mandate of the present Government in his recent efforts at legislation. Yet when a politician so deservedly and generally respected as Sir Edward Grey accuses the present Government of having ‘grossly deceived’ the country, one would think that Mr. Balfour’s friends would be better advised if they were to try to defend him instead of sweeping past his accusers with an air of lofty scorn.

What is it that lies at the root of the intense bitterness of the Opposition towards the Government at the present moment? It is the fact that the majority which Ministers obtained in 1900, and upon the strength of which they are now living, was obtained by false pretences. The fact is, of course, denied by the Ministerialist apologists, but in denying it they raise a clear issue which demands a thorough investigation. No one can dispute the assertion that the 1900 Parliament was elected upon one issue alone. It was elected upon the declaration, which unhappily proved to be unfounded, that the war was at an end. Ministers appealed directly to the electors to give them a majority in order to enable them to settle satisfactory terms of peace. If this had been all, sensible and fair-minded Liberals, though they must still have resented the gross injustice of the falsehood which represented every Liberal as an enemy of his own country,

and a friend of his country's enemies, would hardly have been in a position to complain of the recent acts of the Administration. But this was not all, and no amount of special pleading on the part of the Ministerial advocates in the Press can alter the aspect of the crucial fact of the 1900 election. This was the declaration, repeated more than once by the two most important members of the Government in the House of Commons—Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain—and echoed eagerly by their whole herd of followers, that the issue before the electors was confined to that raised by the war, and that all other questions were specifically excluded. The words of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, in which this position was set forth, have been quoted so often that I need not quote them again here. They are so clear and precise that if they had referred to any other question than one of politics, the men who used them would not for a moment have dreamed of attempting to repudiate their pledges. But they have been repudiated, apparently on the ground that the standard of honour in politics is not that which is acknowledged either in private life or in ordinary business. Having obtained their majority by means of a specific pledge, Ministers have, ever since, deliberately disregarded that pledge, and have been content to plead the undoubted fact that they have a majority in the present House of Commons as a justification for all their actions. When the terms of peace in South Africa were at last settled, and not settled without the active assistance of certain members of the Opposition, Mr. Balfour and his colleagues went on to carry out a programme of their own without the smallest regard for the declarations they had made when they appealed to the country in 1900. The Education Act was certainly not before the electors in that year; but this did not hinder them from carrying it, in spite of the protests of some of their own party, and notoriously in defiance of the wishes of a great body of the electorate, many of whom had voted for them on the question of the war. We are told, of course, by the Ministerial apologists, that it is ridiculous to suppose that a Ministry is to be debarred from introducing measures, in the value and virtue of which they believe, merely because those measures were not put before the country at a General Election. Up to a certain point this contention is unassailable; but it can hardly be maintained in face of the fact that the electors were expressly told by the chief members of the Administration that in voting, as they were urged to do, for Ministerial candidates in the midst of a grave national crisis, they were voting for them upon one issue, and upon one issue only. It is still more difficult to maintain it when we remember that Liberal electors were appealed to for their support on the clear understanding that by voting for Ministerialists on the question of the war they would not be regarded as abjuring any of their opinions on matters of domestic policy. Yet Ministers have acted ever since they obtained a renewal of their

tenure of office as though the vote of 1900 was given to them as a vote in favour of Tory principles in general.

This, I imagine, is what so cool and moderate a disputant as Sir Edward Grey meant when he deliberately charged Ministers with having deceived the country. It is this which has done more than anything else to create the almost unexampled bitterness that now prevails in the political world, and that led to the painful scene in the House last month when the Prime Minister was absolutely refused a hearing by the Opposition, and was reduced to the painful humiliation of having to sit down unheard. The Licensing Bill is, in many respects, a more gross violation of the pledges given by Ministers in 1900 than the Education Act. There is no question as to its not having been before the electors in 1900. There is equally no question as to its not having been in the mind of its author, the Prime Minister, until the result of the Rye election warned him that his party was in danger of losing one of its most valuable assets, the support of the licensed victuallers and the brewers. It was brought in, as a matter of fact, in order to redeem the promise which he made in a panic-stricken moment, in replying to a deputation of those interested in the drink traffic. If the Bill had merely fulfilled the promise then given it would not have been so obnoxious as it was, not only to the Opposition, but to all who recognise the fact that our greatest social evil is intemperance, and our worst national enemy the liquor monopoly. Unfortunately, Mr. Balfour, having undertaken to touch the question raised by the action of magistrates who put the interests of the community before those of the licensed victuallers and their over-lords the brewers, seized the opportunity of bringing in a Bill which not merely dealt with a few cases of undoubted hardship, but sought to put the whole licensing system upon a new footing. Here again he forgot altogether the conditions of the 1900 election, and the pledges upon the strength of which he and his party had gained their majority. He brought in a measure which in its original form would have been an effectual bar to any real reform of the licensing system, probably for a generation to come. He refused to listen to the appeals made to him by the bishops and by many on his own side of the House to modify his scheme so far as to enable the community, at some future date, to reassert its full power of control over a traffic which everybody recognises as furnishing one of the gravest social problems of our time. It is not necessary to discuss here the details of the Bill, or the almost criminal recklessness with which it destroyed the greater part of the power that the nation, through the magistracy, has hitherto possessed in dealing with licenses. The broad fact remains that it gave the license-holders, or, rather, the brewers who hold them in bond, something perilously like a practical freehold in their licenses. It was hardly a party question which was thus raised. Though the licensed victualler is proverbially conservative in opinion, there are

many sincere friends of licensing reform on the Conservative benches. The Church, though it has not taken the place which might have been hoped for in the struggle against the evils of the present system, has again and again attested its devotion to the cause of temperance. There were many, therefore, in his own party, who objected to Mr. Balfour's proposals, whilst the avowed temperance party in the country was roused by them to a fury of indignation. When the debates in Committee on the Bill began, a month ago, strenuous efforts were made by the reformers on both sides of the House to amend the obnoxious measure. There was nothing in the nature of what is known as 'obstruction.' Even Mr. Balfour has felt constrained to acknowledge this. Yet before the Bill had been more than a day or two in Committee the Prime Minister announced to the House that he proposed to force it through by the most drastic of all the weapons in the hands of the Government, that which is known as 'closure by compartment.'

There is no more difficult question, and none which an opponent of the Ministry of the day finds it harder to deal with, than that of the abuse of the closure. Both sides have used it in turn, and I am afraid it can hardly be denied that both have abused it. But the ordinary closure is one thing, and closure by compartment another. The classic instance pleaded by Mr. Balfour and his friends in defence of his action regarding the Licensing Bill is that of the Home Rule Bill of 1893, to which closure by compartment was, in the end, applied by Mr. Gladstone. Yet no one who recalls the facts as to the Home Rule Bill can fail to perceive that there is no analogy between it and the case of the Licensing Bill. The House of Commons pressed forward and carried the Home Rule Bill in obedience to a direct mandate from the electors of the United Kingdom. Home Rule was the question, the only question, that was placed before them in 1892, and Ministers and their supporters had behind them the voice and the opinion of the nation. Who can pretend that this was the case with the Licensing Bill? Not only was it never spoken of or thought of at the General Election of 1900, but, as I have shown, it was one of those measures expressly excluded from consideration by Mr. Balfour himself when he made his appeal to the electors in 1900. The Home Rule Bill was opposed by methods of obstruction gross and palpable, and carried to lengths never known before, nor was it until more days had been spent in Committee upon it than hours had been devoted to the Licensing Bill that Mr. Gladstone was constrained to adopt the drastic remedy of closure by compartment. To profess that his action afforded a fair precedent for that of Mr. Balfour last month would be ridiculous. Yet it was on this precedent that Mr. Balfour relied when he put a mechanical gag on the debates in Committee on the Licensing Bill, and succeeded in forcing it through that stage without anything in the nature of adequate discussion. Men



have blamed the Opposition because, when he rose to move the application of the gag, they refused to allow him to speak, and treated him to such open contumely as has hardly fallen to the lot of a Prime Minister before. For once his charm of manner and his dexterous tactics availed him nothing; and he succeeded in carrying his resolution only by the brute force of his majority—the khaki majority of 1900. I confess that I cannot bring myself to apologise for the bitterness displayed by the Opposition on this occasion. Yet, so strong is truth, even when crippled and gagged, that Mr. Balfour found himself compelled to make one important and far-reaching concession to the opponents of the measure whilst it was in Committee. This was the provision that at the end of seven years all new licenses shall come to an end, and shall only be renewed on such terms as the authorities may determine. For some regulation of this kind temperance reformers, not of the fanatical class, have been striving for years, and it is just possible that, in spite of the liquor trade and of Mr. Balfour, a germ of good may be found to exist even in the Licensing Bill of 1904. At any rate, it is clear that the licensed victuallers, who received it in the first instance with acclamation, are beginning to realise the fact that the chief benefits to be derived from it will be reaped not by themselves but by the brewers who hold them in bond.

Whilst war, open and unrelenting, has been the state of things in the political world as a whole, it can hardly be said that peace has prevailed within the borders of the Ministerial camp. The deposition of the Duke of Devonshire from his old place at the head of the Liberal Unionist wing of the Ministerial party has been followed by the formation of a Unionist Free Trade Club, to which most of the ‘men of light and leading’ in the Party have somehow or other gravitated. In succession to this has come in turn the conversion of the old Liberal-Unionist Council into a branch of the Tariff Reform League, under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain. That gentleman, with unconscious humour, has described his capture of the Party ‘machine’ as having transformed it from an oligarchy into a republic. Presumably his use of the word oligarchy is meant as a sly hit at the Duke of Devonshire, whose past services to the Unionist cause do not seem to have left any lasting impression upon the men who profited by them, and who is now treated with contumely by the writers and politicians who were at his feet two years ago. Why the Liberal-Unionist Council should have ceased to be an oligarchy, and should have become a republic by the installation of Mr. Chamberlain as its president in place of the Duke, it is not easy for an outsider to understand. The ‘republic,’ however, is clearly even more at the mercy of the Party wire-pullers than the ‘oligarchy,’ and the proceedings on the 14th of July, when the Liberal Unionists met to transfer their allegiance from mere Unionism to Unionism *plus* the taxes upon food, furnished a brilliant triumph for the dexterous manipulation of the machine.

That same 14th of July had been looked forward to by many persons as a day big with the fate of the Ministerial party. The new republic had announced, through its organs in the Press, the fact that several members of the Cabinet, including the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Selborne, had given their adhesion to its principles, and Free Traders not unnaturally asked if those who had remained faithful to their cause within the Ministerial ranks were going to stand this. Mr. Balfour has kept his party together and has succeeded in remaining in office by the adoption of two ingenious devices—first, the promulgation by himself of a policy so nebulous that nobody could really say what it meant; and, secondly, the declaration by his official spokesmen in the House of Commons that, whatever else they might think, Ministers were opposed to the taxing of food or raw materials. The Liberal-Unionist Council had, however, adopted a policy which included this desperate Protectionist device, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne had not only accepted official positions in its ranks with enthusiasm, but had conveyed to its members a warm message of sympathy from the Prime Minister himself. In other days, when British Governments were supposed not only to know, but to say what they meant, and when sitting on the fence was the last accomplishment which men would have thought of attributing to a Premier, the situation thus created would have been plain enough to everybody. It would have been accepted universally as proof that the Cabinet had been converted *en masse* to the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, and that henceforth Protection, unadulterated and unashamed, was the avowed policy of the Ministerial party. But in these days, when we are invited by the tribune of Birmingham to ‘think Imperially,’ we seem at the same time to have been deprived of the power of thinking clearly, and the Ministerialists are apparently prepared to treat even the events of the 14th of July as though they were of no particular consequence, committing nobody to any definite policy. Even Mr. Chamberlain’s speech on the evening of the fateful day does not seem to have advanced matters greatly. In the opinion of Liberals it was a speech full of acrimonious clap-trap, in which all the stale fallacies and exploded hypotheses of last year were repeated with magnificent audacity, and the attention of the speaker’s audience was diverted from his weakness in argument by the bitterness of the invective launched against his Liberal and Free Trade opponents. Even the Conservative Press did not seem to be pleased with a rhetorical effort which did not carry the cause of the bread tax an inch further forward, whilst it is reported that the distinctly bellicose attitude of the new President of the Liberal-Unionist Council did not impress his followers as it might have been expected to do. Yet with one great achievement Mr. Chamberlain is to be credited. He has undoubtedly captured the party machine in both its branches—Unionist and purely Conservative—and there is nobody on this side

of the Atlantic who knows so well as he does how to work such a machine for the purpose of securing his own ends. Fortunately, however powerful machines may be, they have not in this country as yet taken the place of the electorate at large, and if one may judge by the bye-elections of last month, the member for West Birmingham is as far as ever from having made any impression upon the great mass of the electors. Still it would be a mistake for Free Traders to under-rate the significance of what he has accomplished, thanks even more to the weakness of Mr. Balfour and his colleagues in the Cabinet than to his own energy and consummate ability. To all intents and purposes he has secured command of the official Party platform, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and the other convinced Free Traders who have 'let "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"' have only themselves to thank if their position in their old party has now been made still more difficult than it was at midsummer last year. The leader of the Opposition has demanded a day for the discussion of a vote of censure on the Government, because of its share in the proceedings of the Liberal-Unionist Council, and Mr. Balfour, with a curious disregard for established custom, has suggested that a day, or rather half a day, for the debate may be found in the first week in August. Possibly Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman might have been better advised if he had left Mr. Chamberlain and his new republic to the judgment of sensible Ministerialists. The time is evidently past when votes of censure are likely to bring about any serious change in the political situation, whilst the mortification of the 'free fooders' on the Conservative benches, who find themselves being swept against their own will towards the Niagara of fiscal reform, ought not to need to be stimulated by a Party debate and division. But in any case the internal condition of the Ministerial party has certainly not been improved by the proceedings of the reconstructed Liberal-Unionist Council.

So far as the Opposition is concerned there is comparatively little to record in connection with the story of last month. Once again, indeed, it has had to revise its opinion as to the probable date of the General Election, and, as it firmly believes, of its return to power. Last month Cabinet-making was the favourite amusement on both sides of the House of Commons as well as in the Press, and amusing to the verge of the grotesque were some of the attempts of our anonymous Warwicks. To-day the toys seem by common consent to have been put aside for a more convenient season, for Mr. Balfour sits tighter than ever on his precarious perch, and even the young lions of Radicalism begin to realise the absurdity of their attempts to puff their special favourites of the lobbies and the back benches into places in a Cabinet that is certainly not yet in process of formation. The only serious domestic event in the history of the Liberal party during the month is the attempt that is being made in some quarters to identify its policy and fortunes with those of Mr. Redmond and his

party. It is even alleged by some ardent advocates of the Irish cause that Unionist Free Traders who are prepared to break away from the Ministerial party must not expect to be received into the Liberal ranks unless they are prepared to declare themselves Home Rulers. The notion is absurd from every point of view, and those who promulgate it are clearly incapable of seeing things as they are. Apart from the trifling fact that Mr. John Redmond has proclaimed a *jehad* against Lord Rosebery and the whole body of Liberal Imperialists, apart also from the circumstance that but for the consistent help which this gentleman has given the Government upon the very questions on which Liberals feel most strongly Mr. Balfour would have been defeated some time ago, we have to reckon with the undeniable fact that the next Parliament, with its assumed majority of Liberals, will have work cut out for it which it must undertake as soon as it gains power, and which will be enough and more than enough to occupy its whole life-time. The writers who announce that Home Rule must be the burning issue at the next General Election, and who condemn as opportunists those who think otherwise, are themselves the worst of all opportunists. For the sake of gaining the support of Mr. Redmond at the General Election they are prepared not only to repel the Unionist Free Traders who desire to join hands with them in the battle over the food tax, but to impose upon the neck of the next Liberal Government the intolerable and degrading yoke of an alliance with that Irish party which strenuously upholds the Education Act, approves of the Licensing Bill, and cares nothing about Free Trade. Opportunism of this narrow and mischievous character is happily repudiated by the common sense of mankind.

Mr. Arnold-Forster's statement on the subject of Army reform, which had been expected with great eagerness by the public at large, has not made the impression upon the country which was anticipated. This, however, is probably not the fault of the Secretary for War. The scheme which he propounded, when he was at last allowed to make his belated explanation to the House of Commons, was manifestly the result of a struggle in high quarters and a consequent compromise. Like all compromises, it is disappointing. It is not the far-reaching, comprehensive, and statesman-like scheme which Mr. Arnold-Forster's friends in both parties had hoped for. Broadly stated, the plan he now propounds is one for dividing the Army into two portions: one for service abroad, and the other for home defence. The Imperial service army is to consist of men enlisted for nine years, the home army of men enlisted for two. The home army is apparently to provide a reserve, akin to that which served us so well during the South African war. We are, however, left in the dark as to the attractions which are to be employed in order to induce men to enlist in either branch of the service. Nothing could have been more deplorable than the description given of the present state of the Army

by the Secretary for War; but he has not shown us how, under a system of voluntary enlistment, that state is likely to improve, and the Government have resolutely set their face against anything in the nature of conscription or compulsory service. The scheme, therefore, seems to resolve itself into one for dividing the existing army into these two portions, and for reducing the numbers of the regular soldiers, the Militia, and the Volunteers. Mr. Arnold-Forster did not hide the fact that there are differences of opinion in high quarters—presumably the Cabinet and the War Office—as to the merits of his proposals. For the present we know too little of the details of his plan to be able to discuss it intelligently; but it is distinctly disappointing to those of us who had hoped that under the new Secretary for War we might have seen the accomplishment of a really great reform of our Army system. The fault is probably not Mr. Arnold-Forster's, who has had to face difficulties hardly to be exaggerated, but the result is none the less to be deplored.

One may pass over in silence such episodes of the month as the withdrawal of the Aliens Bill after it had failed to meet the severe and prolonged criticism to which it was subjected in the Grand Committee; the grave difference of opinion between Sir Charles Eliot, our late Resident in Uganda, and the Foreign Office, regarding which we are not yet in possession of Sir Charles Eliot's side of the case; and the unfortunate action taken by Lord Dundonald after his dismissal from the command of the local forces in Canada. Far more important than any of the questions raised by these incidents have been those connected with the progress of the war in the Far East. So far as military operations are concerned we are still permitted to get nothing more than occasional glimpses of what is going on in Manchuria. The Japanese still exhibit an unrivalled skill in keeping the outside world in the dark whilst they are working out their own destiny on the field of battle. But we know enough to be aware that the course of events continues to be uniformly unfavourable to Russia. Great strategical advantages have been gained by the Japanese, both in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Arthur and further north in the peninsula, where the army of General Kuropatkin has clearly been placed in a position of grave peril. Great battles have been fought in which the advantage seems invariably to have rested with the Japanese, and in which the losses of the Russians, at least, have been terrible. But the 'fog of war' still broods over the scene of the great campaign, and until it has lifted the criticisms of outsiders are futile. Of closer interest to ourselves has been the action of the Russians in the Red Sea, where a cruiser of theirs, which passed through the Dardanelles as a member of the volunteer fleet, and consequently a non-combatant, has not only stopped several mail steamers, English and German, but has actually seized one of the vessels of the P. and O. fleet, the *Malacca*, on the pretext that it was carrying contraband of war. There is no

question as to the right of a belligerent to search a neutral vessel, and to capture it, if there is fair reason to suppose that it is carrying contraband for the use of its enemy ; but the question of the Dardanelles is one of extreme gravity, and if ships which are to all intents and purposes men-of-war, and which ostentatiously assume that character as soon as they reach open waters, are to be allowed by the Sultan free passage through the Straits, the Treaty of Paris is defied, and this country is placed in a serious predicament. Fortunately the firm attitude taken up by our own Government and the wise prudence shown by the authorities at St. Petersburg have sensibly abated the acuteness of a crisis which might readily have assumed a very serious character. But remembering our obligations under our treaty with Japan, it is impossible to doubt that a question of the greatest gravity has arisen, and that the British Government will be compelled to take decisive action in one direction or the other.

One non-political subject of great interest was raised during the month by the influential deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the purpose of enlisting their sympathy on behalf of the movement for obtaining a substantial grant from public funds for the old and new universities of the country. Sympathy with that movement everybody professes, for there is no one who pretends to deny the fact that the future of our country depends more largely upon the training of our children in the higher branches of scientific learning than even upon the maintenance of our Fleet and our Army. The Prime Minister himself declared, when receiving the deputation, that if he had been out of office he would have been one of its members. No promises were made by Ministers, but it may fairly be hoped that something was done to arouse public attention and enlist the practical sympathy of the Government in a movement which affects so closely the welfare of the community.

WEMYSS REID.

*LAST MONTH*

## II

FOR many weeks past I have been trying to discover the meaning of the word 'mandate.' On referring to my usual authority on all questions connected with the English language, Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, I find mandate defined as 'precept; charge; commission, sent or transmitted.' So far so good. My difficulty is that not one of these terms seems applicable to the particular mandate with which I am concerned. Every morning when I indulge in the interesting but not exhilarating occupation of perusing the speeches delivered over-night by Free Traders, Free Fooders, and all sorts and conditions of Liberals, from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman down to Mr. Swift McNeill, I read with shame and sorrow that the Government has betrayed its mandate, has brought discredit not only on its own character, but on the good faith of British statesmanship, and has thereby inflicted irreparable injury on the reputation of the Mother of Parliaments. My compunction, however, at the alleged outrage perpetrated upon this hypothetical mandate leaves me as ignorant as before of what a mandate is. I ask myself who gave the mandate, who received the mandate, and who has committed the unpardonable sin of disobeying the mandate, and I still wait for a reply. All I can learn is that somebody, name unknown, at some unspecified locality, has pledged some person or persons, whose address is not forthcoming, to do or not to do something whose purport is not capable of explanation.

In as far as I can offer any intelligible explanation of the outcry raised against the Government of having violated a trust—described by my old friend Mr. Lucy in his Cross Benches as 'a strictly defined mandate,' whose definition he unfortunately omits to give—it would be as follows. The constituencies were told in 1900 that 'every vote given against the Government was a vote given for the Boers.' This statement at the time it was made was manifestly true. The Liberal electors were further informed that, if they returned an Unionist majority, they were not thereby pledged in any way to support the policy of the Government upon any other issue than that of the prosecution of the war. This statement also was literally true. The

Liberals are in no way debarred from opposing any measure which the Unionists may introduce by the fact that, in a few instances, the Conservative majority may have been swollen by the reluctance of some English Liberals to take any action hostile to the success of Great Britain in our conflict with the Boer Republics.

From these two uncontrovertible statements, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman have extracted the untenable conclusion that the Ministry entered into a solemn compact with the British public; that the Parliament elected in 1900 should either be dissolved as soon as the war was concluded, or that, if its existence were further prolonged, it should not occupy itself with any legislation to which the Liberals who voted for Unionists during what is now denounced by the Opposition as the 'khaki craze' might hypothetically take exception. Either contention is equally absurd. When the war came to an end by the surrender of the Boers, the duty of re-establishing order in the Transvaal and the Free State, and of restoring, as far as there was a possibility of so doing, the normal conditions of the Boer States before the outbreak of the war, devolved as a matter of course upon the Government responsible for the war. This duty has been fulfilled to a far greater extent than anybody could have conceived possible. The task, however, is still far from being accomplished; and all friends of South Africa would have grave cause of complaint if the Ministry, while still commanding a powerful majority in both Houses, were to resign or to dissolve Parliament in order to expedite the return to office of a new Administration, whose policy, in as far as I can judge from the utterances of its anticipated leaders, would be to recall Lord Milner, to re-establish forthwith popular self-government throughout the Transvaal and the Free State, to conciliate the Boers, to alienate the sympathies of the loyal colonists who fought side by side with our British forces, to dislocate the whole mining industry, the staple industry not only of the Transvaal but of British South Africa, by repealing the Chinese Immigration Act, and in accordance with the views propounded by Mr. John Morley, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Bryn Roberts, to restore the Boer supremacy which we have just overthrown by force of arms.

So much for the contention that the retention of office by the Ministry constitutes a breach of duty. The second contention, that while they remain in office they are not justified in introducing any legislation of which Liberals do not approve, is even more fatuous. Nobody supposes that a Parliament can go on sitting month after month and year after year doing nothing to justify the fact of its existence. It is impossible under our Party system to draw any distinction between contentious and non-contentious business. I cannot conceive a subject more exempt from political considerations than the metric system. Yet if the Ministry had introduced a Bill for



modifying our weights and measures, it would, as we all know, have infallibly been attacked by the Liberals. My own complaint against the Government would be not that they have given us too much, but too little, of contentious legislation. I cannot but think that the question of the redistribution of seats might have been settled by this time if the Ministry had had the courage to make use of their overwhelming majority. The longer the removal of a flagrant electoral abuse is adjourned the more difficult its execution must inevitably become. I own, therefore, that the postponement of redistribution till next Session seems to me to closely resemble its postponement to the Greek calends.

Personally I take very little interest in Church *versus* Chapel controversies. I am not an enthusiast about education. I have lived too much in countries where temperance is universal, and know their morals too well, to believe that drink is the sole, or even the main, cause of crime. I have no special partiality for aliens of any nationality, but I doubt whether their legal exclusion from British territory would not do more harm than good. Indeed, my creed is fairly well expressed by Goldsmith's statement as to how small a part of the ills which mortal men endure are such as laws can either cause or cure. This confession of faith may damage me in the opinion of fanatics or ardent reformers. But I think it qualifies me to express an opinion, which will be that of most sensible men, with reference to the legislative measures introduced by the Government during the Session now drawing to a close. The Education Bill seems to me a reasonable compromise between the views of denominational and undenominational education. The measure for enforcing payment of school rates on recalcitrant passive resisters is, in my judgment, demanded by the paramount necessity of upholding the authority of the law. The permission granted to the Transvaal to employ Chinese labour in the mines commends itself to my mind on the general principle that the Colonies must be better judges of local affairs than the Mother Country. The Licensing Bill is, in my judgment, an equitable attempt to combine a large reduction in the number of public-houses with the recognition of the right of all publicans to compensation in the event of the trade which they have carried on in conformity with the regulations of the law being arbitrarily destroyed by the action of the State. Thus from my point of view I hold that the measures for whose introduction the Government are accused by the Opposition of having broken their plighted faith will in the end commend themselves to the approval of the British public.

I am confirmed in this view by the attitude taken up by the Opposition in regard to the measures which have occupied, or been supposed to occupy, the attention of Parliament during the Session. No serious attempt has been made to meet the arguments by which the Bills in question have been defended; no better scheme has been

even suggested. The opponents of the Government have so far contented themselves with raising side issues which have little or nothing to do with the merits or demerits of the measures by which the Ministry have endeavoured to settle various disputed issues which call urgently for settlement. On the contrary, the whole efforts of the Opposition have been devoted to rendering Ministerial legislation impossible by introducing various contentions which had no bearing on the intrinsic merits or defects of the measures submitted. Chinese immigration has been held up to obloquy on the incompatible grounds that it was prejudicial to the interests of British workmen. When this cry collapsed the British elector was asked to believe that the measure was unjust to the Chinese labourer as subjecting him to a form of slavery. The little loaf cry having been worked till it was worn out, the 'Chin, Chin, Chiraman' argument has been adopted by the Liberals as their battle-cry. It is unnecessary to multiply illustrations of how the Liberals have sought to raise popular prejudices against the Government measures by the employment of invective in lieu of argument. This system of dishonest and irrational vituperation was carried to such a pitch during the late Chertsey election that *after* the result was known the more serious organs of the Liberal party felt it their duty to repudiate all responsibility for the scurrilous lampoons issued by the local agents of the party, with the view of inducing the electors to vote for the Liberal candidate. When the crusade of defamation proved to have been carried too far, the Liberal party fell back upon the more effective process of obstruction. Instructions were issued from the Liberal head-quarters to protract and, if possible, to frustrate the passage of the measures to which the Government stood committed. It was only when it became obvious that the Opposition were obstructing for the sake of obstruction pure and simple that the Government determined to resort to the closure system. Yet, though the imposition of the closure was merely the logical retort to the process of 'talking down' legislation, it was immediately held up to opprobrium by the very men to whom its imposition was due, as a flagrant violation of Parliamentary liberty, and as an unconstitutional attempt to prevent free discussion. To show the animosity with which the closure has been resented, it may be well to quote a passage from a speech made by so sensible and fair-minded a politician as Mr. Morley, who was put forward by the Party to protest against what Liberals delight to call the 'introduction of the guillotine':

I do not think (to quote Mr. Morley's words) that he (Mr. Balfour) will differ from me, when I say that no object ought to be more dear to the legislature than that the people of the country should take an interest in the laws of the country. But if you proceed to change the spirit and the method in which the laws are made, depend upon it you will change the spirit in which the people obey the laws, and revere the Parliament which makes them.

Now this, if I may be permitted to say so, is arrant nonsense. Popular reverence for the authority of the law is in danger, not from the curtailment of Parliamentary debate, but from the teaching of our latter-day Liberals that a citizen is justified in refusing to discharge his duty as a ratepayer because he has a so-called 'conscientious objection' to the purposes for which the rate is to be applied. Again, respect for Parliament is not diminished by showing that the minority cannot override the will of the majority. It is impaired, in as far as it can be impaired, by the disregard of common decency and Parliamentary usage displayed when a number of English gentlemen refused to grant a hearing to the Prime Minister of England, the Leader of the House of Commons, and, I may add, the most courteous, the most kindly, and the most conscientious of British Premiers.

It is, indeed, only since the reintroduction of the closure that the House of Commons has recovered its claim to be considered either a legislative or a deliberative assembly. So long as a considerable body of members avail themselves of the latitude allowed by precedent in debate, as they have done during the last few weeks, with the avowed object of rendering legislation an impossibility, the power of closing a debate by the vote of the majority has become an absolute necessity. There is no reason to suppose that the Opposition will be more reticent or less prone to frivolous obstruction in next Session than they have shown themselves in the present one. It would, therefore, conduce to the credit of Parliament if the power of summary closure was made the rule and not the exception. Public interest in the debates of the House of Commons has, as I have before observed, fallen off greatly of late years, and even a 'Scene in the House' has ceased to be a drawing headline on newspaper posters. I learn from the perusal of the *Daily News* that the British public are burning with indignation at the suppression of free debate. It may be so, but if it is so, the British public possesses a faculty of concealing its indignation for which it has never hitherto been given credit. As a matter of fact, what the British public likes and admires is the display of strength. When the necessity arose for putting down obstruction the Prime Minister had the opportunity of showing that he had not lost the suave firmness of will and the sublime indifference to personal attack which he had displayed as Secretary of State for Ireland in the troubled days of Parnellism. The instinctive respect for strength of character, so universal with our countrymen, has rendered Mr. Balfour's position far stronger than it was in the earlier days of the Session.

The most remarkable incident, however, of last month has been the reappearance of Mr. Chamberlain as the leader of the Tariff Reform movement. Since his return from Egypt I have constantly been informed by my friends in the Liberal Press, and notably by the *Spectator* and the *Westminster Gazette*, that the Fiscal

controversy was at an end, that the result of the recent bye-elections had knocked the last nail into the coffin of Protection, that Mr. Chamberlain was fully alive to the collapse of his agitation, and that he was looking out for a decent pretext to abandon his scheme for the consolidation of the Empire by the introduction of Preferential tariffs between Great Britain and her Colonies. Mr. Chamberlain had but to show himself to disprove all this foolish twaddle. Very shortly after his reappearance in Parliament he informed me that his first step, as he had intended from the outset, would be to secure the co-operation of the Unionists, as a party, in his policy of Imperial consolidation by Preferential tariffs in favour of our Colonial possessions. If he failed in securing this co-operation he should feel that he had done his utmost and should abandon all further efforts in the direction of tariff reform. If on the other hand, as he hoped and believed, he succeeded in inducing the great majority of the Unionists to adopt his policy as that of the Unionist party, he should be content to leave the matter in the hands of the electorate. If once, he added, one of the great political parties in the State has committed itself to the policy of giving trade preferences to the Colonies, the adoption of this policy is a mere question of time.

I do not vouch for the absolute verbal accuracy of the above statement, but I can vouch for its general purport having been such as I have given it. The substantial accuracy of the statement has been confirmed within a few weeks of its being made. Mr. Chamberlain has already succeeded in winning to his side the open support of the Unionists, with the exception of the few malcontent Liberal Unionists who have followed the Duke of Devonshire in his virtual secession from the Unionist party.

The formal campaign opened on the 5th of July, when a dinner was given to the late Colonial Secretary by the Unionist members of the House of Commons who 'sympathise with his policy of Preferential trade within the Empire.' The speech in which the guest of the evening narrated with characteristic frankness the process of his gradual conversion from Free Trade to Protection, and defended his contention that the maintenance of the British Empire demanded the adoption of Preferential duties in favour of the Colonies, was one of which not only the speaker but his countrymen, whether they agree or disagree with his arguments, may be justly proud. Whatever else it may have been, it was the speech of a patriot and a statesman. Indeed, one who like myself can remember the somewhat parochial tone of Mr. Chamberlain's earlier public utterances cannot but note with surprise how advancing years, and the riper experience which contact with public life brings with it, have enlarged his views of politics and taught him, to use his own expression, 'to think Imperially.' But after all, under Party government votes are more important than speeches, and the real significance of this demonstration lies in

the fact that 200 Unionist members committed themselves to the adoption of Preferential trade as being henceforward the policy of their party. For obvious reasons members of the Ministry were not present on this occasion ; but since then several of them have joined the reconstituted Liberal Unionist Association, with the tacit approval of their colleagues. It may be said that some 148 Unionist members did not attend the meeting, and that therefore they may be assumed to hesitate about committing themselves to Preferential duties. On the other hand, it is still more obvious that these absentees have not yet committed themselves as a body to open antagonism. Now that Preferential tariffs have been adopted by the majority of the Unionists as the policy of the party, the minority have no choice except to abide by the decision of the majority or to join the Liberals. In this connection it may be well to recall the concluding words of Mr. Chamberlain's speech :

Believe me, gentlemen, with such a policy as this boldly adopted, boldly defended in an appeal to the patriotism of our countrymen, be they rich or poor, be they high or be they low, we shall find an inspiring confidence which will arouse an enthusiasm which will always be denied to those who fear to give effect even to their own convictions, who play for safety by sitting on the fence.

I cannot but believe that this appeal to the weak-kneed Unionists will cause them with few exceptions to enrol themselves as supporters of Preferential duties. I am the more confident about this as I know that the local agents of the party do not hesitate to inform their representatives that they have little or no chance of winning a doubtful or even a disputed seat unless they profess themselves openly to be in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

The Liberal Union Club's *fiasco* enforces the weight of Mr. Chamberlain's advice to his fellow Unionists. This club, in as far as I can learn, was established as a sort of refuge for Liberal Unionists, who attached more value to their claim to be called Liberals than to their pretension to be Unionists. Lord James of Hereford appears to have been the presiding genius of the club. One hundred and seventy-two members of the club were present at a meeting called to consider the propriety of electing representatives to the new Liberal Unionist Council. There were a number of Liberal Unionist peers present to support Lord James—seven in all—of whom the only one whose name says much to the outside world is Lord Avebury. There were eight members of the House of Commons, of whom Mr. Parker Smith was perhaps the best known. This gentleman had the good sense to propose that the club should elect delegates to represent the club in the reorganised association, which had actually survived the withdrawal of the Duke of Devonshire and the disapproval of Lord James. Thereupon the Hon. Arthur Elliot, who is, or was, the

editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, the last surviving exponent of the well-nigh extinct Whigs, moved as an amendment :

That the Liberal Union Club, having no confidence that the resources and energies of the Club will not be used by the New Liberal Unionist Council to promote the policy of the Tariff Reform League—a policy in no way connected with the purpose for which the Liberal Union Club was founded—declines to recognise the new Council as a fit exponent of the political principles of the Liberal Unionist party.

Notwithstanding the supreme authority attaching to the utterances of the recognised exponent of the orthodox Whig creed, and the hereditary representative of the great Whig class which for a long series of years monopolised the loaves and fishes of office whenever the Liberals were in power, the Liberal Union Club decided by a majority of 108 to 64 to send delegates to the Council. Thereupon the minority, headed by Lord James of Hereford, resigned their membership, and declined to associate any longer with Liberal Unionists who had committed the unpardonable sin of preferring Chamberlain to Cobden.

The occasion of this secession lay in the fact that at a previous meeting of the Liberal Unionist Association Mr. Chamberlain had proposed to widen the membership of the club, to make it representative of the local Liberal associations throughout the country, instead of being, as it has practically been hitherto, a sort of close borough whose members were practically nominees of the Duke of Devonshire. By a very large majority the delegates agreed to adopt Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, and pledged themselves implicitly, if not explicitly, to do their utmost to return representatives in favour of Tariff reform. It would be absurd to blame Lord James and his fellow seceders for having had the courage of their opinions. I am concerned only with their future action. I am told they intend to start a sort of cave of their own under the name of Free Trade Unionists, or something of the kind. The old saying that you cannot serve two masters will hold true of these secessionists from the Unionist camp. The logic of facts must draw them to the Liberals. Already the Duke of Devonshire has given his grave approval in the House of Lords to the vote of censure on the Unionist Ministry which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is to move in the House of Commons. Necessity makes odd bedfellows.

Thus, practically, Mr. Chamberlain has won the first move in his Tariff Reform campaign. During the coming autumn he will resume his more arduous task of enlisting public opinion in the constituencies on his side. Only a few years ago any man would have been laughed at who had foretold that in the present year of grace two hundred members of Parliament would be found ready to adopt a fiscal policy not based upon the principles of Free Trade as propounded by Cobden.

Yet within twelve months the member for West Birmingham has accomplished what was deemed beforehand an impossible achievement. It is encouraging to his friends and followers to discover that all the spiteful chatter about his having lost faith in his Imperial policy, about his health having given way, and about the decline of his extraordinary faculty of addressing public audiences has proved to be based on an utter delusion, if not on a wilful perversion of the truth. Never have his powers as an organiser been more signal than in the way in which he has won over the Liberal Unionists to his side; never has his power as an orator been more manifest than in his public addresses. Few finer speeches, indeed, have ever been delivered by a British statesman than that in which Mr. Chamberlain pleaded the cause of the British Empire at the Hotel Cecil gathering.

Throughout last month the Opposition have been on the look out for the offchance, to use a wrestling phrase, of giving the Government a fall. On every occasion they have failed. There is nothing discreditable in failure except when success is sought by discreditable tactics. It is, to quote a saying of the late Lord Beaconsfield, the duty of an Opposition to oppose. But it is not their duty to obstruct for obstruction's sake. To waste the time of Parliament by irrelevant discussion, to call for needless divisions, to move on any possible or impossible pretext the adjournment of the debate, to talk against time, and to raise points of order on grounds which were utterly incapable of being even argued, were the tactics which the Liberals have borrowed from their Nationalist allies. It is only fair, however, to admit that Mr. Parnell and his followers had one justification for their obstruction which the Liberals do not possess. It was the object of the uncrowned king to prove that by obstruction he could discredit the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and prove the necessity for the repeal of the Union. The Liberals, however, have no such excuse. They profess their respect for the supremacy of Parliament, and yet they lose no opportunity of disparaging its authority. Their last device for protracting the Session is almost comic in its deviation from common sense. On the plea that two members of the Ministry have joined the Executive of the Liberal Unionist Association, they have moved a vote of censure upon the Government, and insist that in accordance with Parliamentary usage a night should be set apart for the discussion of this vote of censure. In as far as it is possible to follow their contention, it is not that Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton and his colleagues have no right as Ministers of the Crown to join an association devoted to the reform of our fiscal system, but that the Prime Minister is morally bound to explain forthwith what the views of himself and the Ministry are with respect to the campaign in favour of Tariff Reform now being conducted by the late Minister for the Colonies. It is difficult to understand how any clearer answer could be given to this inquiry than is supplied by the facts that two

distinguished members of the Ministry have joined the reconstructed Liberal Unionist Association, of which Mr. Chamberlain has been appointed President; and that they have done so without any of their colleagues expressing disapproval. Mr. Balfour has never made any secret of the sympathy he entertains for Mr. Chamberlain's Imperial ideas, but he has pledged himself to submit no issue to the electorate at the next General Election other than that of the propriety of imposing retaliatory duties upon countries which close their own markets against British trade. Even Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is intelligent enough to be aware that Mr. Balfour can add nothing to the statement he has repeated time after time; and the only possible result of the impending debate must be to show that Mr. Chamberlain's policy is more than ever the policy of His Majesty's Government. Again, the all-night debate on the Finance Bill, when the House of Commons was kept sitting, without rhyme or reason, from 2 P.M. on Tuesday to 3.40 P.M. on Wednesday, had no practical result beyond depriving the Premier of the pleasure of attending the Guildhall Banquet in honour of Lord Curzon; and with this doughty achievement the Liberals must rest content.

After the turmoil of tall talk there is a certain sense of relief in being brought face to face with the possibility of action. Before these lines appear in print we shall know whether the seizure of the *Malacca* is a mere *brutum fulmen*, or whether it is intended as a deliberate outrage against England. It seems hardly credible that Russia, after having sustained a series of disastrous defeats at the hands of Japan, should be anxious to pick a quarrel with England. If not, Russia will not hesitate to release the Peninsular and Oriental mail boat without further delay. The despatch of Lord Lansdowne, if correctly reported, can leave no doubt in the minds of the Czar and his Ministers that England is not going 'to take it lying down.' This despatch, too, has already been emphasised by the sending in haste of British men-of-war to the waters of Port Said. It is, however, on the cards that the Russian Government may be anxious to find some colourable pretext for withdrawing from a position in the Far East which she finds untenable with the forces at her disposal. Such a pretext might be found in a war with England, the ally of Japan. If so, we may be standing within a measurable distance of a maritime war. For the present I can only express a hope that all Englishmen irrespective of their political bias will join in declaring that the flag of England cannot be insulted with impunity. My hope, however, is, I admit, stronger than my belief. The death of ex-President Kruger recalls too vividly the days when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declined to support Mr. Chamberlain's proposal in respect of sending reinforcements to Natal before war had been declared by the Transvaal, and by his refusal encouraged President Kruger to declare war. *Absit omen.*



As I write these lines the memory comes back to my mind of the many times during which I have seen 'Oom Paul' sitting smoking on the stoop of his dwelling at Pretoria. I can recall his heavy jowls, his flabby cheeks, his small pig-like eyes, his shabby ash-stained black suit, his general look of a Methodist minister who had somehow come to grief. His habits—as the lady remarked about the schoolboy—'were dirty, and manners he had none.' Yet with it all he bore himself with a certain rude dignity. He may have been coarse and brutal, but there must have been something lovable about the man from the affection he earned, not only in his own family, but amongst his intimate friends. I confess, however, that the sort of eulogies which have been passed upon him since his death jar somewhat on my taste, coming as they do from English lips and English hands. That the Boers should admire Kruger I can understand. He was a Boer after their own heart. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* may be a sound saying; but I think it is followed too far if the name of hero is applied to a man whose first thought was his own safety, who never went near a field of battle, who ran away as soon as our troops approached Pretoria, who left his wife to shift for herself, and who during his public career amassed a huge fortune by dubious means, and hoarded this fortune with the sordid tenacity of a born miser.

EDWARD DICEY.

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXXI—SEPTEMBER 1904

*HOW RUSSIA BROUGHT ON WAR*

*A COMPLETE HISTORY*

In this and a following article an attempt will be made to furnish a complete history of the course of events which led to the gigantic war now being waged in the Far East. As I shall endeavour to show, it was brought about solely by the action of Russia. I have sought to make my narrative concise, but if it should strike the reader as being here and there a trifle tedious, I must earnestly crave indulgence for the sake of the important bearing which the events recorded have had, and must continue to have, on the common interests of the civilised world. As regards the thorough accuracy of the statements herein made, I need only explain that they are based throughout upon the numerous State papers of the Powers concerned, and that my facts have one and all been gathered from these incontestable sources of information.

It is scarcely necessary to reiterate how Russia deprived Japan of her legitimate prize of war, the Liao-Tung Peninsula, in 1895, and how, after the lapse of only a few years, she appropriated to herself

the most important and strategically valuable portion of that peninsula ; nor is it essential that I should relate how, in doing this, Russia outwitted England, and how the British Government was driven to exact from China a lease of Wei-Hai-Wei in consequence as a set-off to Russia's acquisition of Port Arthur and adjacent territory. It will suffice to remember that the lease of Port Arthur to Russia as a naval station was viewed by the British Government, and so declared in its diplomatic correspondence, as a 'serious disturbance of and menace to the balance of power in the Gulf of Pe-Chih-li,' and that as regards Wei-Hai-Wei the step taken by England was considered by her as having been forced upon her by the actions of Russia.

It is also perhaps needless to state that this acquisition of territory at Port Arthur was a direct self-contradiction of the theory that Russia had advanced, less than three years before, when she had urged Japan to give up that region, on the plea that 'the possession of the peninsula of Liao-Tung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East.'

The agreement for the cession of the 'Kwantung Peninsula' and Port Arthur was first signed in Peking on the 27th of March, 1898, and was afterwards supplemented by another agreement signed in St. Petersburg on the 7th of May of the same year. On the day that the first agreement was signed the Russian Government suddenly made the following communication to the Powers :

In virtue of the Agreement signed on the 15th (27th) March in Peking by the Representatives of Russia and the members of the Tsung-li Yamén, as respective Plenipotentiaries, Port Arthur and Talien-Wan, as well as the adjoining territory, have been ceded by the Chinese Government for the use of Russia.

You are instructed to communicate the above to the Government to which you are accredited, and to add that the above-mentioned ports and territory will be occupied without delay by the forces of his Imperial Majesty, our august Monarch, and that the Russian flag, together with the Chinese, will be hoisted in them.

You can at the same time inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs that Port Talien-Wan will be opened to foreign commerce, and that the ships of all friendly nations will there meet with the most wide hospitality.

From the *Official Messenger* and the text of the supplementary agreement, which subsequently came to the light, it was to be seen that the agreements provided for the cession of Port Arthur and Talien-Wan, as well as of the adjacent territory, for the use of Russia during a term of twenty-five years, which might be prolonged indefinitely by mutual arrangement, and for the construction of branches of railways to connect the ports with the main Trans-Siberian Railway. No vessels, whether warships or merchantmen, of any nations but Russia and China were to be allowed access to Port Arthur ; no

subjects of other Powers were to be granted concessions for their use in the 'neutral ground,' which included the territory forming part of the Liao-Tung Peninsula to the north of the portion actually leased to Russia, as far as Kai-chau on the north coast, and the mouth of the Ta-Yang River—i.e. Takushan—on the south coast. No ports on the seacoasts east or west of the neutral ground were to be opened to the trade of other Powers, nor might any road or mining concessions, industrial or mercantile privileges, be granted in the neutral territory without Russia's consent first being obtained.

It is now an open secret that M. Hanotaux, at that time Foreign Minister of France, advised the Russian Government not to make Port Arthur a naval station, and that M. Witte, then the Finance Minister of Russia, was somewhat of the same opinion; but even the trifling element of moderation thus counselled went unheeded, and the Russian official organ, at the time that the Peking Agreement was signed, was encouraged, on the other hand, to indulge in the most extravagant utterances. Thus the *Noroe Vremya* wrote on the 6th of April, 1898, substantially as follows :

Russia has the right to carry a line of railway from Talien-Wan along the western shore of the Liao-Tung peninsula to any point she may choose. The construction of a line to the west is as necessary for us as the construction of one to the east, along the northern shore of the Korean Gulf to the town of Yi-ju on the river Yalu, whence a French company has obtained the right to construct a line to the south on to Seoul. If the Russian Government do not find it necessary to acquire the railway from Chemulpho to Seoul, constructed by the American Morse and passing now into Japanese hands, it only shows our conviction that we shall possess our own rail from Manchuria to the capital of Korea. Such a line would be most advantageous to Japanese commerce and interests, and the Japanese Government, who are doing all they can to promote their trade, must choose between a risky game of political influence in Korea or the sale of their product in Korea and Manchuria *under the Russian flag and protected by Russian bayonets*. The construction of a Russian railway in Manchuria must at last open the eyes of Japan to the advantage of an understanding with Russia, which might save her from a financial crash and be advantageous to her southern population, which is compelled from poverty to emigrate. Let Japan play the commercial, while Russia plays the political rôle. . . . Common action between Russia and Japan might further hold England back from her risky enterprises in the Gulf of Po-Chih-li, which is the natural sphere of Russian influence. England always wants some contribution to her own advantage on every political step forward which Russia makes. If England takes Wei-Hai-Wei, she will see Russia demanding extensions of territory in Central Asia; the rôles will be changed, and Russia will demand a heavy percentage for every English acquisition. Such a step would undoubtedly check the appetites of English politicians.

Again, the same paper went so far as to declare in the next issue that the treaty of 1895 (Anglo-Russian) ought to be regarded as being no longer in force.

There was, however, one thing worth noting—that was that, according to the best authority accessible, this agreement contained

some provisions by which Chinese sovereignty in the localities indicated was guaranteed, and also that the railway concession therein referred to was 'never to be used as a pretext for encroachment on Chinese territory, nor to be allowed to interfere with Chinese authority or interests.'

On the 1st of June, 1898, the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* intimated, in the form of a circular to all his foreign colleagues at the Chinese capital, that by Count Mouravieff's order 'passports were obligatory for Port Arthur and Talien-Wan,' which occasioned great controversy, inasmuch as it was wholly inconsistent with the treaty rights of other Powers for Russia to make such a stipulation; but she contrived, on one pretext and another, to evade the issue, and the question was allowed to drag on without a complete settlement being reached.

The anti-Christian movement in North China, otherwise the Boxer troubles, of 1900 was a great turning-point in Far Eastern affairs. In the presence of this tremendous upheaval the concerns of Port Arthur and Talien-Wan waned almost into insignificance; and while these grave matters fell into comparative oblivion an excellent opportunity was given to Russia of playing off her tricky diplomacy and selfish efforts at aggrandisement to the detriment of other Powers. True it may be that what she said and did may not always have been intended to deceive, *ab initio*, but the results were the same. The Boxer troubles began in the early part of the year named, and by the beginning of June had assumed an alarming aspect. All the Powers did their best to cope with the emergency, and sent ships and landed marines to the fullest extent available. But from the very nature of the locality, the distance away, and the limited numbers of the forces at command, the measures taken were far from being effective. Japan was the only Power that could efficiently cope with the difficulty, and she was almost universally appealed to by public opinion at large to cast in her lot with the Christian nations against the Boxers by taking the foremost part in the measures designed for their suppression.

On the 13th of June, therefore, Viscount Aoki, who was then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, intimated through the British *Chargé d'Affaires* to the British Government that 'if the foreign naval detachments which had actually been landed should be surrounded or otherwise in danger, the Japanese Government would be ready to send at once a considerable force to their relief if her Majesty's Government concurred in such a course, but that otherwise his Government did not intend to send soldiers,' similar intimations being given to the representatives at Tokio of other great Powers interested.

This resolution of the Japanese Government was ascribable purely to their consideration of the claims of a common humanity, and beneath it were hidden no political or selfish motives or designs. The

prevailing sentiment in Japan was still more plainly set forth in the statement of Mr. Matsui, Japanese *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, to Lord Salisbury on the 25th of June, when it was declared that, for the despatch of a considerable force from Japan, 'some assurance would be required that there was no objection on the part of other Governments which have interests in the East.' Japan's unselfishness was demonstrated, too, in Viscount Aoki's words to the British *Chargé d'Affaires*, when he modestly said that 'although Japan had made great progress, she was not yet in a position to take an independent line of action in so grave a crisis. It was imperative for her to work in line with other Powers.'

Japan entered upon the difficult task assigned to her in this spirit, and she acquitted herself, it is believed, thoroughly to the satisfaction of the Western Powers. By Great Britain, at all events, a generous acknowledgment of her services was conveyed in the following telegram, despatched by Lord Salisbury to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Tokio on the completion of the operations undertaken for the rescue of the Peking legations :

As her Majesty's Government specially pressed for the action of Japan in sending forces to effect the relief of the Legations, I think you may, without presumption, express to the Minister for Foreign Affairs their earnest admiration of the gallantry and efficiency displayed by the Japanese forces in the present operations, which contributed to the success of the expedition so very largely. [August 25, 1900.]

But to take up again the thread of our argument. After Japan's indication of her readiness to comply with the desire expressed that she should send troops, diplomatic correspondence took place between the Powers with much expedition, and there was found not one that did not appreciate the expediency of the step to be taken by Japan, though there was already a somewhat sinister tone perceptible in the Russian despatch, sent to Japan about the 28th of June, wherein this passage appeared :

We can only highly appreciate the sentiments expressed by Japan in present circumstances, as also her view of Chinese affairs. We have no desire to hinder her liberty of action, particularly after her expression of a firm intention to conform her action to that of the other Powers.

On the 4th of July the Marquis of Salisbury telegraphed to Mr. Whitehead, British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Tokio, after repeating Admiral Seymour's alarming telegram, as follows :

This telegram indicates a position of extreme gravity. You should communicate at once to Japanese Ministers. Japan is the only Power which can send rapid reinforcements to Tien-tsin. No objection has been raised by any European Power to this course.

Barely two days later, on the 6th of July, the British Government reiterated its pressing request to Japan, and at the same time offered

financial aid, the Marquis of Salisbury telegraphing to Mr. Whitehead thus :

Japan is the only Power which can act with any hope of success for the urgent purpose of saving the Legations ; and, if they delay, heavy responsibility must rest with them. We are prepared to furnish any financial assistance which is necessary, in addition to our forces already on the spot.

With regard to this financial assistance Lord Salisbury explained to Mr. Whitehead that the British Government was prepared to undertake the responsibility because international negotiations would only result in a fatal expenditure of time. On the same day Japan signified her intention of despatching as rapidly as possible a considerable force, sufficient, with those troops which she had already sent, to bring her total up to twenty thousand men. But with regard to financial aid, Japan did not, after all, desire it, as she considered that the task that she was then undertaking was a purely voluntary one for the common benefit of humanity, and, moreover, she stood in no immediate need of such assistance.

About the middle of the month (July 1900) Russia submitted to the great Powers, including Japan, notes verbal embodying what she was pleased to term 'fundamental principles.' The date on which these notes reached the Powers was generally the 13th of July, or thereabouts, and the purport was one and the same. In the case of Japan, however, it bore the date of the 8th of July, and was handed by the Russian Minister to Viscount Aoki only on the 20th of that month. The English translation of the text given to Lord Salisbury is appended in full, as the subject is of the highest importance :

On the 11th June our Minister at Tokio informed us that the Japanese Government had declared their readiness, in consideration of the perilous situation at Peking, to send their troops to China, with a view to saving, conjointly with the other States, the representatives of the Powers who were besieged in Peking, and to rescuing the foreigners resident in the Empire, among whom are many Japanese subjects. Any co-operation, anything tending to the attainment of the object indicated, could only meet with the most sympathetic reception from all the Powers. Moreover, Japan being able, thanks to geographical conditions, by the despatch of a considerable contingent to facilitate essentially the task of the international detachments already at Tien-tsin, we hastened to inform the Cabinet at Tokio that we saw no reason to interfere with their liberty of action in this respect, especially as they have expressed their firm resolution of acting in complete harmony with the other Powers. The decision taken by the Japanese Government, under the above-mentioned conditions, was a very natural one, in consideration of the danger which menaced their representatives at Peking, as well as their numerous subjects resident in China ; but from our point of view the accomplishment of this task could not confer the right to an independent solution of matters at Peking, or other privileges, with the exception, perhaps, of a larger pecuniary indemnity, should the Powers consider it necessary, later on, to demand one.

We received almost simultaneously a communication on this subject from the Cabinet of London, which had reference, not to a spontaneous decision on the part of the Cabinet at Tokio to participate in the collective action of the

Powers, but to a mission given by Europe to Japan to send considerable forces to China, not only to save the Legations and the foreign subjects, but with a view to the suppression of the insurrectionary movement provoked by the Boxers and the re-establishment of order at Peking and Tien-tsin.

This way of putting the question might, in our opinion, to a certain extent encroach on the fundamental principles which had already been accepted by the majority of the Powers as the bases of their policy relative to events in China—that is to say, the maintenance of the union between the Powers; the maintenance of the existing system of government in China; the exclusion of anything which might lead to the partition of the Empire; finally, the re-establishment by common effort of a legitimate central Power, itself capable of assuring order and security to the country. The firm establishment and strict observance of these fundamental principles are, in our opinion, absolutely indispensable to the attainment of the chief object: the maintenance of a lasting peace in the Far East.

The Imperial Government considers that, in view of the threatening events in China, which concern the vital interests of the Powers, it is urgently necessary to avoid any misunderstanding or omission which might have still more dangerous consequences.

Broadly speaking, it appears to be true that the 'fundamental principles' enunciated by Russia were the nearest approach to the ideas entertained at that time by the Powers in general, though none of those Powers seems to have been able to shape any clear insight as to the eventualities of the whole affair, save that not one of them entertained any thought of partitioning out the Chinese Empire. America had made public her views on this point early that month, and Russia, on being consulted by China, had expressed her willingness, so the Chinese Minister in London assured Lord Salisbury, to guarantee the integrity of the Chinese Empire, though her underlying intentions may, as we now can perceive, have been very different from those on the surface. As to Great Britain, she was from the first, as also were others of the Powers, firmly resolved upon the maintenance of Chinese territorial integrity.

There were, however, two points in the above-quoted Russian communication that specially invite comment. The first is that the claim which she put forward that her 'fundamental principles' had already been accepted by a majority of the Powers was altogether presumptuous and unwarrantable, for there had not then been any formal exchange of views between the Powers on the subject. The second point is that the British suggestion of an invitation to Japan to send troops to China was interpreted by Russia as tending to confer upon Japan some shadowy 'special rights' or privileges. On this latter point the statement made by Count Lamsdorff to the German Ambassador, and also to the British, a few days previously, had been much stronger, for he had spoken to the effect that there were grave objections to the giving of a 'mandate' for independent action to any one Power in the face of so grave a crisis. As a matter of fact, there was not the slightest foundation for the insinuation that such a mandate was either sought by Japan or proposed by



England ; and the British Government, at all events, was indisposed to permit this wrongful suggestion to pass unchallenged. A brisk interchange of diplomatic correspondence between the Powers ensued on these two points, and in the end the incident was allowed to drop on Count Lamsdorff giving the following explanation, as reported by the British Ambassador, viz. :

His Excellency (Count Lamsdorff) said that it was his wish to clear the Russian Government at once from the odious and entirely undeserved charge that they had hesitated to accept Japan's assistance, and had thereby assumed the grave responsibility of hindering the prompt relief of the Legations. This charge had been insinuated in the Press and other quarters. His Excellency admitted that in the message which I communicated to him no mention had been made of any European mandate to Japan for independent action, and that co-operation was indicated in the arguments used by me, but he said that at Berlin your Lordship's question had been understood to imply an European mandate, and that it was possible to so interpret the words used : 'an expedition to restore order at Peking and Tien-tsin, if Japan is willing to undertake the task.' Although the misunderstanding had been promptly cleared up, unjust deductions had been drawn by the public Press, and it ought to have been made quite clear by the instructions sent to the Russian Minister at Tokio that all available prompt assistance from Japan, equally with the Powers concerned in meeting the common danger, would be gladly welcomed by Russia.

As a result of this incident, however, Russia remained even more solemnly pledged than ever to what she had declared to the world and to what she herself termed the 'fundamental principles,' and Japan proceeded promptly and whole-heartedly with the work asked of her, in concert with the Occidental Powers. It should be a matter of no slight interest to the reader to discover, as he will presently do, that the propagator and disseminator of these sublime 'fundamental principles' was the first to try to frustrate their useful application, and that it was the Power against which an effort had been made to arouse and foment distrust that proved to be honest and patient in the execution of the task which it undertook to perform.

The siege of the Legations in Peking; and the narrative of the expedition of the combined forces for their rescue, form a history with which every one is now familiar, and there is scarcely any need here to relate how Sir Claude MacDonald was placed in supreme charge of the defences by his colleagues, how he gave to Lieutenant-Colonel Shiba, a young Japanese officer, command of a most important point, or how Sir Claude subsequently commended this officer for his skilful dispositions, and as having contested every inch of the ground at the most critical moment, thereby gaining time for the defences to be placed in thorough order, which was one direct cause of the success ultimately achieved, and of the preservation of many lives in a period of unexampled danger ; nor is it needful further to allude to the splendid organisation of the international expeditionary forces, and the conspicuous part that the Japanese played therein

during the advance to the Chinese capital. Suffice it to say that, as a whole, the march to the succour of the beleaguered foreign residents, and the final success and triumph over the forces of disorder and fanaticism, were episodes in the world's history and efforts in the cause of humanity which nought can ever efface, whilst at the same time the complete concord and sincerity of all the nations engaged in this glorious undertaking—save for the barbarity which was displayed by the Russian troops, as was much commented upon at the time, and also save for the one black shadow that at times intruded itself, as will be shown hereafter—were at once unprecedented and beneficent. The malign influence that began to make itself felt was due to Russia's having, even at this early stage, begun to betray something of her innate disposition to play an unworthy part; for early in July Russian troops had occupied the south bank of the Amur, opposite Blagovestchensk, under the trifling pretence that the Chinese had been guilty of some offence of which, in reality, the Russians had been the cause by their own provocative behaviour. They had perpetrated that appalling massacre of the Chinese before which the whole civilised world stood aghast. It was on that occasion that—as Count Tolstoi incidentally describes in his recent remarkable letter—thousands of helpless men, women, and children were drowned or slaughtered by the Russians in compliance with the Russian Commander Gribsky's orders, he acting, as he declared, in consonance with Imperial decree.

Though the contingent which Russia sent to take part in the Peking Expedition was comparatively small, she despatched large numbers—though less than one-third of the number she pretended when she claimed compensation—of her troops into the three provinces of the Chinese Empire comprised under the head of Manchuria. Early in August she occupied the treaty port of Newchwang, hoisted the Russian flag, possessed herself of the Customs department, and began to collect revenue for her own purposes—an intrusion for which there was absolutely no justification—and she at the same time seized the railway between Newchwang and the Great Wall, of which more anon.

Russia's proceedings in Manchuria continued to be of this high-handed and unscrupulous character, until at last, in September, they had reached the pitch of celebrating a grand feast on the site of the Chinese town of Sakalin, previously burned in July, and which they had renamed Ilinsky, on the south bank of the Amur, in honour of the 'relief,' as they chose to designate it, of Blagovestchensk. The *Novoe Vremya*, in a telegram from that place, thus described this indecent and blasphemous function:

To-day, on the Chinese bank of the Amur, on the ashes of Sakalin, a solemn thanksgiving service in memory of the relief of this place by the Russian forces, together with the ceremony of renaming the post Ilinsky, was held, in the

presence of the authorities, the army, the English officer, Bigham, and a large crowd of people. The High Priest Konoploff said: 'Now is the Cross raised on that bank of the Amur which yesterday was Chinese. Mouravieff foretold that sooner or later this bank would be ours.' In a beautiful speech General Gribsky congratulated the victorious troops. [September 7.]

Let us now see what Russia was doing all this time in the devious paths of her diplomacy.

When, in July, the idea of concentrating the general command of the international forces was mooted on the Continent, an idea which crystallised into the determination to despatch the German general, Count von Waldersee, to China, Russia, referring to the importance of the 'ulterior military measures,' and expressing herself as averse to the selection of a commander either on account of his seniority of rank among the generals in command, or the greater size of the contingent that he might control, invited the opinion of the interested Powers. The trend of her lurking motive was sufficiently obvious, and any effort on my part to expose it would now be superfluous. When, moreover, further explanations were sought from Count Lamsdorff by Great Britain concerning the 'ulterior military measures' that Russia appeared to have in mind, and as to the suggested scope of the authority to be delegated to this *generalissimo*, the British Ambassador was informed that the field of action of the international forces might in practice be roughly defined as the province of Pe-Chih-li, and that as regards other parts of China where dangers might equally be present, it was clear that the direction of any necessary military measures would have to be undertaken independently. 'For instance, Russia would have to undertake independent military action in the North of China bordering on her own territory and on her railway, and it was to be assumed that other Powers would act similarly in the south and centre of China where their own territorial and special interests were more immediately concerned.'

At a casual glance this proposal seemed to be very fair, but it was not difficult to perceive the specious nature of the arrangement that was veiled by these suggestions. Nevertheless, one thing was certain—namely, that if independent action should be taken, no matter in what part of China, it could not but be subject to the restrictions involved in the application of the broad line of policy which Russia had herself enunciated under the head of 'fundamental principles,' and to which she stood committed in the eyes of all the world.

On the 14th of August, 1900, the international forces entered Peking, and the Legations were relieved. Eight days later, on the 22nd of the month, Sir Charles Scott, by the direction of Lord Salisbury, inquired of Count Lamsdorff about the affair at Newchwang, concerning which certain information, implying Russian aggression, had reached the British Government on the 20th. Count Lamsdorff

at once replied that 'any steps taken could only be of a provisional and temporary nature,' but at the same time he promised to 'inquire what were the real facts of the case.' But with what result?

On the 28th of August, and during the next few days, identical communications were addressed by Russia to all the interested Powers, and the text of these despatches reads very like an attempt 'to kill two birds with one stone.' It began with a repetition of the time-honoured declaration that she remained faithful to the 'fundamental principles' which she had proposed to the Powers as a basis of common action, and announced her intention strictly to adhere, in the future, to the programme laid down therein. The despatch went on to state that the occupation of Newchwang and the sending of troops into Manchuria had been forced upon Russia by the progress of events, such as the attack by the rebels on Russian troops at Newchwang and the hostilities begun by the Chinese along the Russian frontier, and had been dictated solely by the absolute necessity of repelling the aggression of the Chinese rebels, and not in any way with interested motives, 'which were absolutely foreign to the policy of the Imperial Government.'

Directly the pacification of Manchuria was attained [the communication continued], and the necessary measures had been taken to ensure the security of the railroad, Russia would not fail to withdraw her troops from Chinese territory, provided that such action did not meet with obstacles caused by the proceedings of other Powers.

The communication then proceeded to state that in occupying Peking the first and most important object—namely, the rescue of the Legations and of the foreigners besieged in Peking—had been attained. The second object—namely, that of rendering assistance to China in the restoration of order and the re-establishment of regular relations with the Powers—had been hindered by the absence of the Chinese Court from Peking. In these circumstances the Russian Government saw no reason for the Legation to remain in Peking, and proposed to withdraw it to Tien-tsin, together with the Russian troops, whose presence in Peking now became useless in view of the decision taken not to exceed the limits of the task which, it was alleged, Russia had undertaken at the beginning of the disorders.

This communication served mainly to augment on all sides the growing suspicion regarding Russia's sincerity of purpose. It was all very well for her to repeat, as she did so often, the avowal of her 'fundamental principles,' but the vital question was whether or not she honestly intended herself to be bound by them. The phrase 'unless she is prevented by the action of other Powers,' which was more than once employed, was one to engender a certain amount of distrust. It could not receive any interpretation other than, as the

sequel proved, the truly justifiable one of being an artful provision of a way of escape from the obligations of her pledges, for what other Power could there be disposed to hinder Russia so long as her own object should remain purely that of faithfully carrying out her own promises ?

As to the proposal to withdraw her Legation as well as her troops—which, by the way, she promptly did, without waiting for the other Powers' concurrence—Peking had only a fortnight or so previously been rescued from a terrible fate, and the views entertained by other Governments were that there was still a great risk to be run in a too speedy evacuation of the Chinese capital ; but Russia held to her own course with great tenacity. Her attitude towards the restoration of the Chinese Government, moreover, was almost inconsistent with the principles to which she ostentatiously professed, in the earlier part of the communication, to adhere, and in sober truth her behaviour cannot be considered otherwise than as having purposely protracted the unsettled state of things in Central China in order that she might gain time for the establishment of a firm hold upon Manchuria.

Diplomatic correspondence was, of course, entered upon with alacrity, and I may here give the essence of the American reply to Russia's communication, for it seems to have embodied precisely the sentiments that were generally entertained among the Powers. It expressed satisfaction with the reiterated declaration of Russia that she entertained no design of territorial aggrandisement at China's expense, and also that assurances were forthcoming about the occupancy of Newchwang, which Russia had explained was merely incidental to military steps, so that the Russian troops would be withdrawn from the treaty port as soon as order should be re-established. It referred to the important tasks yet remaining, such as the restoration of order, the safety and general peace of China, and the preservation of the Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protection of all rights guaranteed by treaty and international law to friendly Powers, and the safeguard for the world underlying the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire, and it proceeded to state that these purposes could best be attained by continuing the joint occupation of Peking. Next it laid stress upon the importance of the Powers maintaining their concord, thus indirectly expressing disapproval of Russia's attitude.

On the 29th of August, just after Russia had sent round the above-mentioned communication to the Powers, Count Lamsdorff, in a long conversation with the British Ambassador, spoke most forcibly of the Russian determination to adhere to the so-called 'fundamental principles,' and went on to remark that 'it had been assumed that Russia was taking advantage of the present crisis to extend her territory and influence at the cost of China by permanently occupying

territory on the right bank of the Amur in Manchuria, and at Newchwang, and by seizing control of the Customs and lines of railway in which foreign capital was interested. This was entirely incorrect. Russia had no such intention, and any places which she had been obliged by the attack of Chinese rebels on her frontier to occupy temporarily, she intended, when the *status quo ante* and order were re-established, to restore to their former position.'

One may well be reminded of Ben Jonson's lines :

The dignity of truth is lost  
With much protesting.

On the 11th of September Sir Charles Scott announced, by Lord Salisbury's direction, to Count Lamsdorff, that in the opinion of her Majesty's Government the time when it would be expedient to withdraw the British forces from Peking had not arrived. It would appear that about this period public comment grew in intensity with the deepening of the obscurity in which the Russian motives and designs were enshrouded, and it was, we may fairly assume, with a wish to allay this increasing uneasiness that Count Lamsdorff begged Sir Charles Scott to make it clear to the British Government that the different course Russia had decided upon was not in any way to be taken as indicating the slightest intention of separating herself from the general action of the Powers, and that she had chosen that course on her part as she considered it desirable to have her troops as well as her Minister as soon as possible in a position where communication with their Government would be easy and rapid. He also asserted that the Emperor (of Russia) was more firmly determined than ever to continue in loyal co-operation with all the other Powers, and to abide by his agreement with them as to common aim and direction, and the Russian action and aims would be faithfully kept within the limits of the statement made in Count Lamsdorff's own circular, and, further, that there was nothing more foreign to the Emperor's mind than to entertain the selfish aims or motives for his action with which certain foreign newspapers had credited him.

When, on the 13th of September, the British Ambassador called the attention of Count Lamsdorff to the report of the celebration of the so-called 'relief of Blagovestchensk,' described in a preceding page, criticising it as contrary to the expressed views of Russia, Count Lamsdorff begged the British representative to take no further notice of that action on the part of a military commander, and went on to confirm the assurances of the Russian Government's intention not to make territorial acquisitions in China. He urged in explanation of the proceedings at Blagovestchensk that distances were so great and means of communication so few that it was not easy to keep the authorities in distant parts of the Empire in touch with the views of the Central Government.

Truly this was explanation *à la Russe* !

While discussions of this kind were taking place in St. Petersburg, more audacious acts were continually being perpetrated in Manchuria itself. On the 17th of August a code of rules and regulations was published in the *Amur Gazette*, in the name of Lieut.-General Gribsky, the Military Governor, by which the Manchu territory of the Trans-Zeya, and the territory that had been occupied by the Russian troops on the right bank of the Amur, were proclaimed as having passed into the jurisdiction of the Russian authorities. The Chinese who had quitted the river bank for the Trans-Zeya region were forbidden to return, and their lands were appropriated to the exclusive use of Russian colonists. All private individuals were absolutely forbidden to settle in the former towns of Ai-gun and Sakalin—both on the Manchurian side of the frontier—as also in their vicinity. The re-establishment of these towns was interdicted, and the Chinese buildings which had remained in them undemolished were to be devoted to the warehousing of military stores and the quartering within their walls of Russian troops.

Such being the case, it was surely not to be wondered at that in some of the Continental organs it was declared that Russia had annexed the conterminous Manchurian territories. An official denial was published on the 1st of October, in the *Messenger Officiel*, to the effect that the report of the annexation was entirely devoid of foundation. It is possible that some of the acts of the military authorities had not obtained the full concurrence of the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, but the general trend of Russian policy was sufficiently clear, and in the first week of October the whole of Manchuria was in the possession of Russia, including the palace of Mukden and the Ying-Kow terminus of the Shanhaikwan Railway, over which the Russian flag was hoisted, not to speak of most public offices and all telegraph wires and establishments.

It may be worth remembering that when the Russian troops occupied Newchwang and hoisted the Russian flag at the Customs flagstaff, the consuls of Great Britain, America, and Japan sent a formal notice to the Russian authorities that it was presumed this step had been taken as a temporary measure only, and was due to military exigencies, and that they claimed the reservation of all rights and privileges which their countries enjoyed. Admiral Alexeieff officially replied that the temporary administration which Russia was about to establish there was in the interests of the foreign residents in general, as well as the Russians, and that the rights and privileges they had enjoyed in the settlement (Ying-Kow) would not be infringed. The administration was established, but it was neither of a temporary character nor dictated by considerations of military expediency. It did not cease until long after even a pretence of its necessity could with decency be put forward—in fact, it was never

relinquished until the end of July of this year, when military considerations of another kind prompted its hurried evacuation.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to recall briefly some incidents illustrative of Russia's high-handed proceedings concerning the Chinese railway joining Peking with Shanhaikwan and Newchwang.

On the 8th of July, 1900, the Russians seized this railway at Tien-tsin, and turned out Mr. Claude W. Kinder and his staff. Eight days afterwards, on the 16th of July, at a Council of Admirals convened on board H.B.M.S. *Centurion* at Taku at the instance of Admiral Alexeieff, it was decided by the majority that the railway between Tongku and Tien-tsin should be managed and guarded by the Russians, who were then in occupation, on condition that it should be given over to the former administration as soon as military circumstances would permit. It should not be forgotten that the construction of the Peking and Newchwang line of railway was chiefly provided for by British capital, and British interests were therefore largely involved—the line is, indeed, with some exceptions, mortgaged to British bondholders—and it is, moreover, a fact that Russia recognised this at the very outset. The British Government, however, expressed to the Russian Government its acquiescence in the above-mentioned decision of the Council of Admirals on the ground that it was an arrangement resorted to solely in compliance with the demands of military exigency.

Previously to this the Russians had, on the 18th of June, occupied that part of the foreign settlement in which are situated the railway offices. Thence they removed and shipped to Port Arthur a quantity of tools and appliances that were the property of the railway administration, and, not content with having done this, they broke open the safes, causing the loss of a considerable sum of money, and destroyed the archives. Finally, on the 28th of the month, they set fire to the offices, and the premises were entirely consumed in the flames.

Russia's next step was to claim the right herself to reconstruct the railroad from Tien-tsin to Peking, declaring that the whole of the line had been turned over to her by the above-mentioned Council of Admirals. This was totally at variance with fact, as the minutes of that meeting distinctly proved, for the action of Russia was expressly limited to the section between Tien-tsin and Tongku. To prefer an unjust claim and immediately to act upon it was the normal course of procedure to be expected of the Russians, and accordingly we find that they began forthwith to occupy various points on the route and even to occupy the terminus at Peking the moment that the Chinese capital was entered by the allied relieving forces on the 14th of August. In short, as the British and Chinese Corporation justly complained, the Russian occupation of the northern railway was progressing so rapidly at that time and in such a manner as to give rise to the most



serious apprehensions that there was a design to make the line a permanent Russian possession.

When, on the 30th of August, the British troops occupied Feng-tai railway station, and proceeded, in conjunction with the Japanese, to repair the line between Feng-tai and Yang-tsun, the Russians objected to this being done, and posted a detachment in front of Feng-tai depot. Three weeks afterwards, on the 23rd of September, they went so far as to tender a formal protest and request for the withdrawal of the British forces on the ground that the entire line had been handed over to the Russians, the Russian commander assuring the British General, Sir A. Gaselee, that an Imperial (Russian) decree had been received to 'construct' the railway to Peking, and that he, the Russian commander, had given orders accordingly.

The Russians' pretensions to a right to the whole line were simply a sham, as already shown. Of course the English officer did not yield to so transparent an artifice. On the contrary, he told the Russian commander that Russia was in the wrong. The dispute waxed warm, and the situation became acute, but in the beginning of October Count von Waldersee, who had arrived on the scene shortly before, took the matter up and decided that the construction and control of the railway from Tongku should as far as Yang-tsun be Russian, and from Yang-tsun onwards to Peking the line should be worked by Germany with the assistance of other Powers, and thus curtailed the Russian pretence; but at the same time he suggested that the section of railway between Tongku and Shanhaikwan should also be handed over to the Russians. The British had good reason to consider this suggestion as unjust.

As regards the practical repair and working of the line it had by this time become quite clear that the object sought would be more effectively attained by entrusting it to the former administration under Mr. Kinder and his staff, and on the 6th of October the commanders of the British, American, and Japanese troops suggested this to Count von Waldersee, but without effect. Previously to this, on the 30th of September, a British officer with eighteen men had occupied Shanhaikwan Station and there hoisted the British flag. Two days later, on the 2nd of October, a numerous body of Russian troops went there, by land and sea, and refused to acknowledge any rights *but those of conquest*, which they assumed, and laid claim to all the railway from Tongku throughout to Newchwang, solely on these grounds, as being Russian. On the 6th of October they occupied the Ying-Kow terminus of the Chinese railway and hoisted over it the Russian flag, fifty miles of railway material being simultaneously seized and sent off to Port Arthur.

At home in England telegraphic reports had reached the Government in quick succession from its diplomatic representative, general, and admiral, and from many other sources, and as the acts thus com-

mitted by the Russians in the Far East were entirely at variance with the assurances which had been given by the Russian Government, and there could be no rights of conquest, the Marquis of Salisbury took up the matter strongly and repeated protests were lodged at the St. Petersburg Foreign Office by the British Embassy at his direction. At the same time the attention of the German Government was also called to the unfairness of Count von Waldersee's decision, he having been led astray, as it seemed, by the exceeding astuteness of the Russians.

The Russian replies were, as is usual, invidious and inconsistent all through. But at last the false position which Russia had taken up had to be relinquished, and she sought to discover a way of escape, which she found in withdrawing her troops from Peking, and subsequently from Tien-tsin, as described in a previous page, and thus, on the 13th of November, Count Lamsdorff was able to assure Sir Charles (then Mr.) Hardinge, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg, that

the section from Tongku to Shanhaikwan, on the one hand, and from Tongku to Tien-tsin, on the other, were of special military importance to Russia only so long as Russian troops remained to occupy the province of Pe-Chih-li. On the 30th of October, however, the Russian Emperor ordered a reduction of the troops in Pe-Chih-li, and on their withdrawal from Peking to Tien-tsin the Yangtsun-Peking section was placed at the disposal of Count von Waldersee. On the retirement of the Russian troops from the Pe-Chih-li province the whole line from Yangtsun to Shanhaikwan would also be given over to the Field-Marshal.

As to the line joining Shanhaikwan with Newchwang, Count Lamsdorff indulged in further procrastination on the pretext of the economical and geographical gravity of the problems involved, and declared that its complete restoration to its former owners could not take place before all the outlays incurred in the re-establishment and exploitation of the whole line between Peking and Newchwang had been fully repaid to the Russian Government.

This claim to reimbursement was on the part of Russia wholly unwarranted, because, as was demonstrated on the 23rd of November by Lord Lansdowne, who had succeeded Lord Salisbury in the conduct of Great Britain's Foreign Affairs, Russia had no right to be placed in a preferential position in regard to the repayment of such outlays, inasmuch as all expeditionary expenses, including outlays of this description, were ultimately to be indemnified by China, and, for another thing, Russia was not the only country that had incurred expenditure of this nature, for the Japanese had in reality themselves repaired a considerable length of the line, and when their 'railway battalion' began work the Boxers were still in force in the vicinity, and it was necessary to disperse them as they worked, which resulted in the loss of an engineer officer and several non-commissioned officers and men, and it put Japan to much expense

in many ways, for railway materials, being unobtainable on the spot, had to be sent over from home. The British, and to some extent the Germans, were also engaged in similar repair works. Hence diplomatic negotiations were carried on with unabated vigour, but, as Russia is not a country that is at all scrupulous in regard to the introduction of side issues and fresh pretexts for delay when it suits her, it is easy to understand that a long time elapsed before the matter was settled.

Before the excitement relating to the 'Railway Incident' above described had hardly subsided there arose what was termed the 'Tientsin Incident,' which was equally, if not more, serious in its character.

At the beginning of November 1900 the Russians seized land on the left bank of the Pei-ho, extending from the railway station as far as Messrs. Meyer's petroleum depot, and planted a number of Russian flags and notice boards at different points, and on the 6th of that month the Russian Acting Consul, M. Poppé, issued a circular to the Consuls of the Powers notifying them that the land in question had become the property of Russia by act of war. Comically enough, the Belgian Consul, in imitation of his Russian colleague, next day issued a notice to the Consular body which began by saying, 'In accordance with instructions from his Belgian Majesty's Legation at Peking I have this day occupied the territory situated, &c. &c.,' and going on to describe its exact situation, which was contiguous to the extensive area appropriated by Russia. The Russian circular was one so truly audacious that I give its text in full :

His Excellency Lieutenant-General Linévitch, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian expeditionary corps in Pe-Chih-li, instructs me to inform you that, as on the 4th (17th) of June of this year the Imperial Chinese troops joined the rebels in attacking the foreign concessions and the railway station occupied by Russian troops, and as on the 10th (23rd) Russian reinforcements relieved these troops, swept the left bank of the Pei-ho from above the railway station to beyond the petroleum depot of Messrs. H. Meyer & Co., and occupied it by right of conquest, having seized it by force of arms and at the cost of Russian blood spilt in order to prevent the Chinese returning there and reopening fire on the Concessions, his Excellency therefore considers the whole of this space, from above the railway station to beyond the petroleum depot, as property of the Russian troops from this day (10th (23rd) of June of this year) by act of war. Russian flags have been planted and notices posted on boards placed at many points in this territory, which has been occupied and patrolled under orders of the Russian military authorities,

Consequently, his Excellency cannot and will not be able to recognise any cession, unless with his special authorisation, of land included in this territory, of which he has taken full and complete possession.

It is, of course, understood that all proprietary rights, duly registered in the name of foreigners (other than Chinese) before the 4th (17th) of June of this year, will be safeguarded.

The land claimed by Russia embraced practically the whole of the left bank of the river opposite the foreign settlement, and was a mile

and a half in length, by 500 yards wide. In it was comprised a portion belonging to the railway administration's property and others belonging to the private property of some British firms, but the Russian flags waved over all. Apart from that, the Russians' contention that they had cleared the area by their own troops was one of which the accuracy was most doubtful, for it was a well-known fact that when the Russians were attacked by the Chinese near the railway station, the assistance gallantly rendered by the Japanese troops went very far towards the repulse of the assailants, and, indeed, saved the Russians from being routed. In truth, it is believed that the fighting ability of Russian troops was really measured by the Japanese on this occasion. In the battle of the 23rd of June the international forces were collectively engaged on a common footing, the British on that occasion playing a very conspicuous part in effecting a clearance from the quarter in question of the Chinese forces. Commander Cradock, in a memorandum specially drawn up for the British authorities, in refutation of the Russian pretensions, went so far, indeed, as to assert that 'on the whole of the advance our (the British) left flank touched the river, and the right was well extended towards the railway. No Russian or German troops had anything whatever to do with clearing the left bank of the river.' Besides, the Russians enjoyed no special right of conquest, if there ever was such a right conferred upon the participators at large by that campaign, inasmuch as in their occupation of that or any other place the Russians could not but have been executing the tasks assigned to them as part and parcel of that war which was in process of being waged by the international relief forces in common. Again, the Russians, a little later on, systematically removed vast quantities of machinery and stores from the railway works at Tong-Shan to Port Arthur and elsewhere for their own use, and they deprived the Bridge Works Stores at Shanhaikwan of fifty thousand pounds' worth of material, the premises being completely denuded of all portable property. The Russians even took away the steam cranes and machinery of every description, having, as an expert's report states, seized 'everything they could lay hands on.'

All these outrageous proceedings were, of course, stoutly challenged not only by the British authorities and the interested individuals in the East, who at every successive stage protested to the Russian authorities, but by the British Government, who time after time briskly remonstrated with the Russian Government. America also contended that forcible appropriation under claim of conquest was in conflict with the declared purposes of the Powers and disturbed their harmonious action. On the 16th of November the Russian Minister at Peking wrote to the American Minister that if the communication of Mr. Poppé contained any expressions suggesting any question of acquiring territory by conquest they had been certainly erroneously used by him, and that the object of the Russian

military authorities had been to prevent the seizure of, and speculation in, land by certain parties within the radius occupied by the Russian troops for military purposes since the preceding June. What a groundless insinuation ! At last, when the Russians were no longer able to sustain their unjust designs, they endeavoured, as usual, by their craft and subtleties to provide a loophole for escape. They procured from Li Hung-Chang the cession—made public on the 6th of January, 1901, in a circular from the Acting Russian Consul at Tien-tsin—of a piece of land for a new Russian settlement which was practically identical with the area that they had so audaciously invaded. True, the part in which were the private premises of British firms was this time excluded, but in respect of that belonging to the railway administration there was ambiguity ; as a matter of fact, in the Concession Agreement, when it came to light, it was discovered that the exact delineation of the boundary had been left over for future arrangement.

Although England disdained to challenge the validity of the concession, though she entertained some doubt as to the mode in which it had been obtained, it was palpable that the ground already owned by the railway administration could not suddenly be wrenched from them in such a fashion, and that in fact the Agreement could not be held to comprise those lands, so there immediately arose upon this point a most serious controversy. '

As to the machinery of all sorts and the stores and materials which Russia took away from the railway, they were eventually restored to the rightful owners, the Russians putting forward the extraordinary plea that, as there were no workshops, no stores, and no materials to the north of Shanhaikwan, it would be impossible to work this northern section of the line after the southern section should have been handed over to Count von Waldersee, and that therefore Russia had 'borrowed' the plant and stocks in question ; but now that an arrangement was made that the Russians might use the Shanhaikwan workshops for the working of the northern section, they restored the borrowed materials to the parties to whom they belonged. The memorandum of the Russian Government on the subject expressly declared that they had restored *everything*, but the report of the expert went to show that only a part of the whole was ever disgorged, and that in a very badly damaged and scattered condition.

Early in 1901 the railway near Tien-tsin was handed over by Count von Waldersee to the British contingent, which thereupon proceeded to construct a siding in the common interest of the international forces, beginning it on the 7th of March, on land which belonged to the railway administration. The Russians made objection to this on the basis that by the concession derived from Li Hung-Chang the ground belonged to Russia. They also greatly impeded the transfer of certain railway property at Tien-tsin, Tongku, and Shanhaikwan, contrary to the terms of the railway convention entered into the pre-

ceding month at Count Waldersee's instance. On the 15th of March the Russians placed sentries on the piece of land where the British were making the siding, in order to prevent the work being continued, and at the same time General Wogack, the Russian general, practically demanded the withdrawal of the British sentries from the ground. Naturally this sort of behaviour quickly brought matters to a crisis, and Russia and Great Britain were on the verge of hostilities, so much so that next day, on the 16th of March, the India Office telegraphed to General Gaselee, giving him instructions, and added, 'In the meantime do not use force except to repel aggression, and do not eject the Russian sentries.' At the same time vigorous, but still conciliatory, protests were lodged by the British Government at St. Petersburg, and in the end an understanding was reached whereby the dispute about proprietary rights was left for future settlement,<sup>1</sup> and in the interval the British as well as the Russian troops were required to evacuate the plot of land in question. This arrangement was embodied in an Agreement that on the 21st of March was signed in the presence of Count von Waldersee by General Barrow, representing England, and General Wogack, representing Russia—Count von Waldersee adding his own signature to the document—whereby it was stipulated that both the Russian and British guards should be simultaneously withdrawn at 5 A.M. the next day.

The guards were duly withdrawn on both sides, but before the day was out, to the genuine surprise of everybody, save perhaps the Russians themselves, the Russian flags were replanted on the siding itself, and work was recommenced by the Russian soldiers with such energy that three days later, on the 25th of March, the British military authorities had to telegraph home that 'the Russians are working on the disputed ground at Tien-tsin in such a way as to render untenable the British position.' Surely there could never be a more flagrant instance of Russian insincerity and duplicity! Protests were made, of course, by the British Government to that of St. Petersburg, and as a result the Russian flags gradually and grudgingly disappeared from the property, the last of them being displaced on the 4th of April following. Even while these high-handed proceedings were taking place at Tien-tsin Count Lamsdorff actually 'expressed his surprise'—as he termed it—'at the temporary measures taken by the Russian authorities being regarded as in any way inconsistent with the assurances given that Russia would not make any territorial acquisitions in China.'

Whilst the 'Railway Incident' above described was attracting the attention of the Powers concerned, an Agreement was signed by Great Britain and Germany, on the 16th of October, 1900, in which it was

<sup>1</sup> The dispute was referred to a joint commission, who called upon Mr. Detring to arbitrate on two points whereon the two commissioners were not agreed, and the whole matter was recently settled mainly in favour of the British contention.

mutually recognised that (a) it was a matter of joint and permanent international interest that all Chinese ports on the rivers and littoral should remain free and open for all nations, and the two Governments undertook to uphold the dictum for all Chinese territory, as far as they could exercise influence; (b) the two Governments, on their part, would not make use of existing complications to obtain any territorial advantages, and would direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial conditions of the Chinese Empire; (c) should another Power make use of that complication to obtain, under any form whatever, such territorial advantages, the two Governments reserved to themselves to come to a preliminary understanding as to the steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China; and (d) other Powers would be invited to accept the principle thus recorded.

Accordingly the Powers were invited, and Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and America all expressed in due course their acceptance. In the case of Japan she specially asked the contracting Powers what was to be the effect of expressing acceptance, and having been told that an acceptor would stand in precisely the same position as an original signatory, she forthwith announced her acceptance in due form. It was plain, therefore, that other Powers also which accepted, though they may not have put the question, stood *pari passu* in the same position as the signatory Powers.

The best part of the joke, if I may be allowed to use this expression, lay in the situation in which Russia thus unexpectedly found herself. When the Agreement was communicated to her for her acceptance, the British representative in Russia was instructed by the Marquis of Salisbury to state—should any complaint be made of Russia not having previously been consulted—that the Russian Government had given many assurances, but little attention had been paid to the avowed policy of the Russian Government by its officers on the spot, and that this was how England was deterred from making a fuller communication.

The Russian Government, however, accepted the Agreement without wincing, in a communication which, briefly, was as follows:

(a) The first part of the Agreement can be favourably entertained by Russia, as this stipulation does not in any way infringe the *status quo* established in China by existing treaties.

(b) The second point corresponds all the more with the intentions of Russia, seeing that from the commencement of the present complications she was the first to lay down the maintenance of the integrity of the Chinese Empire as a fundamental principle of her policy.

(c) As regards the third point, relating to the eventuality of an infringement of this fundamental principle, the Russian Government can only renew the declaration that such an infringement would oblige Russia to modify her attitude according to circumstances.

When one reflects that, to judge from the then existent situation,

there was absolutely no Power but Russia herself that was in any way likely to infringe the fundamental principle which she had enunciated, her lofty acquiescence in and expressed readiness to adhere strictly to the Anglo-German Agreement cannot but give rise to a smile and a chuckle over the manifest intention she thus betrayed of throwing dust in the eyes of Europe and America.

Russia's reckless and high-handed infractions of solemn pledges and treaties have been in the preceding pages but partially laid bare to the light of day, and unhappily there are still more serious counts in the indictment that must be reserved for a future article. As I shall have to show, the tenets upheld by Russian politicians, and particularly as exemplified in their treatment of Far Eastern Questions, are nothing short of a peril to the world at large, for they are of a character which must tend in time to sap the foundations of diplomatic intercourse and constitute a permanent menace to the peace of nations.

SUYEMATSU.

[*To be concluded.*]



*THE COMING REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA*

## I

IN stating a confident opinion that an upheaval of the present condition of affairs in the Empire of the Tsar is nearer than is generally anticipated, I recognise the fact that it is incumbent on me to show some solid reasons for the pessimistic (or should I rather say optimistic?) views which I hold on this subject. In order to do this it is necessary to glance briefly at the social conditions of the country, and to trace in outline the events which have given rise to the present state of affairs.

That a nation consisting of more than a hundred million souls can for ever be kept in a condition entirely at variance with the destiny of the human race is obviously an impossibility. The question which arises is, to what point can a system be carried which imposes disabilities on those who live beneath it, which are not consistent with the dignity and natural aspirations of the human race?

The answer is to be found in the ability of the people to appreciate their condition, and therefore in education and enlightenment. So long as a man does not realise that his lot is less desirable than that of his neighbour, he does not greatly trouble himself about it. He is downtrodden and wretched, and he supposes that it is the normal condition of mankind, and he does not actively resent it. But show him others more advantageously placed than himself, and he will begin to long for a better condition, and to strive to attain to it. That is the case with the Russian nation. For centuries the people have been kept in ignorance of their plight. A rigid censorship of news from the outside world has hidden from them the more favourable circumstances under which other nations work out their destinies. This blinding of the eyes of the people has been deliberately carried on for the purpose of upholding an autocracy which assumes to itself a divine right, raising it above the level of ordinary, failing human nature. This fantastic conception of divine personality has become a part of the creed of a Tsar of Russia. He no longer regards himself as a mere man, and his subjects are instructed to look upon him as a demigod. It is a

position which requires an immense amount of upholding, and no pains are spared to make it as impressive as possible.

It was Nicholas the First who instituted the rigid censorship which still prevails in Russia. He foresaw the effects which the spread of common knowledge would have upon the minds of his subjects. He had his own ideas of civilisation, and the autocracy of the Tsar of Russia was the keynote of his scheme. Therefore liberty of the subject and freedom of conviction had to be suppressed.

Alexander the Second, more enlightened than his forbears, granted a measure of emancipation to the lowest and most miserable of his subjects. He liberated the serfs, but he still retained all the forms of autocratic government; nor did he seek to educate his people to receive the just right of humanity—liberty. Since the reign of Alexander the Second neither of his successors has made any attempt worth mentioning to prepare the nation to receive the blessings of freedom. The perpetual cry is that Russia is not ready for a constitution. But what steps have the Tsars of Russia ever taken to prepare her for it? And so long as the present ideals actuate the Tsar and the bureaucratic class in Russia, no steps to educate the nation are likely to be taken; and the old cry that 'the country is not ready for a constitution' will be repeated without end.

With the gradual spread of knowledge, which has taken place in spite of the efforts of the censor's office, dissatisfaction with this state of affairs was bound to come, and the first serious threatenings of discontent were raised in the reign of Alexander the Second, about 1860, when the Nihilist movement may be said to have taken root. In those days strange men and women in bizarre clothing, and with a total disregard for the conventional usages of society, were seen perambulating the streets or talking together in earnest groups. They preached the overthrow of all social institutions, the establishment of a freedom absolutely opposed to the social instincts of mankind, and the removal of all undesirables who stood in the path of the fulfilment of their ideals. Throughout the reign of Alexander the Second they gained in numbers and strength; and in 1881 they succeeded in assassinating the Tsar, who had always endeavoured by conciliatory means to deal with the new movement within his borders. Under Alexander the Third the Nihilists met with a very different reception. They were ruthlessly suppressed, until, in spite of an occasional outbreak, they appeared to be finally subdued. The movement flickered out, but the flame had already kindled fires in the hearts of many, and under various appellations societies were formed to carry on the work which the Nihilists had begun. Year by year these societies increased and multiplied, until they have attained to a strength and importance which will be found capable of carrying all before them.

## II

To-day the forces of revolution in Russia are organised—not all into one body, it is true, for there are societies of moderates and societies of extremists. There are those who would proceed by ‘constitutional’ methods, and there are those who desire to resort to anarchy. Some demand merely a curtailment of the autocratic power of the Tsar, others still cry out for the overthrow of all existing institutions and the whole fabric of society. Then, again, there is a very large body of the population belonging to the merchant guilds, which for its safety dare not belong to any revolutionary society, but which, nevertheless, ardently desires révolution, and only awaits a lead. But all these varying shades of opinion, as represented by their numerous leagues and societies, are controlled by one executive committee and brought into the great revolutionary party in Russia.

This revolutionary organisation has branches all over the world, and is international in its character. Included in its membership are men of all ranks and of every degree. The professional element and the universities are very largely represented. The majority of the Russian students at foreign universities are to be counted amongst the numbers of the Revolutionary party. In Russia itself the members are legion. They are to be found in every walk of life—officers and men of the army and navy, officials of the customs, police, or censor’s office, who draw a meagre pittance from the Tsar’s coffers. They are to be found in the palaces of the Tsar himself and amongst his advisers too. Men with great names in Russia will be found amongst the leaders of the Revolution—men of science, doctors and chemists, and students without number. As for the peasants, they are waiting to do what they are told, as they have always done. At present they are taking their orders from the Tsar and the popes of the Orthodox Church; but they will take them from anybody else when their minds are inflamed.

The revolutionary party has its hand upon the army, and therein lies the essence of success. There are soldiers in Manchuria at this moment who are pledged to make no Japanese widows. It is astonishing how badly the Russian naval gunner lays his gun. I have lately seen two letters, written by soldiers at the front, which go far to account for the total lack of success of the Russian arms. One speaks of men voluntarily surrendering to the Japanese, so that they may not be called upon to fight for the Tsar. The other tells a tale of a sudden retreat on the part of a company of Russian soldiers at the moment when victory was in their grasp, and of the officer in command, unable to stop the stampede of his men, blowing out his brains.

The revolutionary party in Russia is ruled by an Executive Committee of twelve men. The head of the Committee is a doctor, who, to this day, holds a prominent post at one of the universities. He is a very taciturn man of great abilities and brain power, but he seldom speaks. Other members of the Committee are professors of universities in Germany, near the Russian border. There are no appointed times or places for the meetings of the Committee, circumstances alone ruling the frequency and locality of their deliberations. In the hand of the Executive Committee rest the lives of the ministers and governors of the Empire. The removal of M. de Plehve was due to their deliberations.

Each government in Russia has its revolutionary organisation complete in detail, under the Executive Committee. Thus all the elements of revolution are to hand and organised.

Some idea of the influence of the revolutionary party may be obtained from the fact that on the day of the assassination of M. de Plehve the Tsar found on the table of his private room a sealed letter addressed to him by the Executive Committee, which he handed to the Minister of Justice for investigation. How was the letter delivered? Whose hand placed it on the Tsar's table? The secret police can avail nothing against the dreaded Committee.

Thus throughout all Russia the Revolutionists are awaiting the signal from the Executive Committee to strike. The opportunity is not far to seek. The pressure on an already overstrained nation caused by a devastating war; the misery entailed; the shame of defeat; the restlessness of despair; the exhaustion of the treasury; the discredit of the bureaucracy—surely all these things are working for the forces of discontent. And that discontent is showing itself in Russia is abundantly proved by recent events.

Restlessness is manifesting itself in many centres; premature riots, organised by irresponsible, hot-headed students, break out and are suppressed by the Cossacks. But the great revolutionary party in Russia is waiting the word from the Executive Committee.

### III

The existence of the revolutionary movement in Russia is, of course, known to the Tsar. To him must also be known the causes that have set on foot this vast movement of protest against the existing state of things in his empire. He must know something of the characters of the men whom he appoints as his ministers and governors. So long as men of the stamp of Bobrikoff, De Plehve, Obolenski are given posts as ministers or governors in the Empire, so long will the forces of revolution continue to be increased in numbers and in strength and in the justice of their cause. Be it remembered that

these men are appointed by the Tsar himself, without the necessity of consultation with any advisers.

There was no one for the Tsar to consult when he appointed Prince Obolenski Governor of Finland. Prince Obolenski, as Governor of Kherson, in the year of the great famine, 1891, ordered the suppression of publications dealing with the distress in the district and soliciting subscriptions for the starving peasants, and stopped the work of the relief committees. It was Prince Obolenski who, as Governor-General of Kharkoff, ordered the flogging of peasants, which was carried out in his presence, and the execution of others, and exasperated the people to such an extent that an attempt was made on his life. I myself met him in Kharkoff a few years ago. I was with him in his office when an officer entered and hurriedly communicated with him in an undertone. But it was in no undertone that Obolenski answered him that the women should receive fifty lashes apiece on the bare back.

There was no one for the Tsar to consult when entrusting the office of Minister of the Interior to M. de Plehve, whose character was too well known to need comment here.

There was no one for the Tsar to consult when he confirmed M. Pobiedonostseff in his appointment as Procurator of the Holy Synod. Yet he must have known the record of persecution and bloodshed which the Procurator had compiled during the reigns of his father and grandfather.

By the choice of his ministers the Tsar is strengthening the hands of the revolutionary party.

Much has been written lately concerning Nicholas Alexandrovitch. He is represented as amiable and well-intentioned in one quarter; as weak and fickle in another; as obstinate and hysterical in a third. There is a certain amount of truth in each and all of these descriptions. A good deal depends on his humour and the time of day. In the morning he will arise, full of good intentions and amiability. An interview with his chief adviser, the Procurator, will entirely alter his outlook, and his good intentions will be consigned to the usual destination. An audience given to another minister will bring out a fresh trait in his versatile nature. And so on throughout the day.

I have been blamed for denouncing the Tsar in 'Russia as it really is' without regard for historical circumstances. It has been pointed out to me that the evils which exist in Russia are the creation of centuries. In that case, I reply, surely the time has arrived for steps to be taken to eradicate some of the more glaring evils. The state of a nation may be the inheritance of centuries; but the same cannot be said of the state of mind of any one individual in the nation, especially if that individual has had all the advantages that education, travel, and a world-wide field of vision can give. For

Russia we can only feel *extrême* pity. But for the man who is in the possession of absolute power, and who, by a stroke of the pen, could, but does not, make a beginning, at least, of a new and happier era for his country, we must feel still more.

Confident in the divine right of his high calling, Nicholas Alexandrovitch goes on his way, unheeding prudent counsels and the voice of common sense, and grasping at shadows while the party of revolution works steadily on. Would he but bring to an end the war in which he has plunged his unhappy nation he might yet postpone the day of retribution. And Heaven seems at the present moment to open for him a golden gateway to return to his best self, in company with its latest messenger, his long-prayed-for son.

#### IV

But if not? When the revolution is all over, and the nation has emerged from the horrors of civil strife, strengthened, and purged of the curse of absolute monarchy and bureaucratic tyranny—what then? I do not pretend to say what form of government will recommend itself to the Executive Committee; but there can be no doubt that it will be constitutional, that the power of the Church will be broken, that the bureaucracy will be abolished, that education will be extended to the whole nation.

And what a future lies before Russia! There is no country in the world with greater resources than she possesses, hidden in the earth or behind the strong, broad brows of her people, for nowhere are there men of greater brain capacity and physical powers than in the huge, inert masses of humanity which constitute the population of the Empire of the Tsar. In no country has there been such profligate waste of splendid material, allowed to run to seed uncultivated. In no land are more treasures concealed which can be had for the working. A vast future lies before her in the development of her resources, mental and material. Who can say to what heights Russia may attain when liberty has entered into the life of the nation?

CARL JOUBERT.

*THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE AS  
A EUROPEAN COLONY*

It is only in the last few years that the East Africa Protectorate has been shown to contain large tracts suitable for European colonisation, and though the fact may be said to be now established it is not generally realised. Our preconceived notions of an equatorial country render it hard to believe that it can consist of grassy uplands with a temperate, agreeable climate, and the eastern side of Africa has not hitherto had great attractions for either our trade or our armies. The northern portion of that side, or Italian Somaliland, is indescribably dreary and repellent, and though south of the equator the coast offers a strip of considerable fertility there lies immediately behind it a belt of jungle a hundred miles or more in width, which has long impeded all commerce and communication with the interior (except the slave trade), and has been effectively pierced only by the Uganda Railway, which has placed the high, cool plateaux of the interior within easy reach of the ports.

But the coast and its immediate hinterland do not give a correct general impression of the East African Protectorate, which may, for practical purposes, be very roughly defined as lying between Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean, with some extension to the north.<sup>1</sup> I know of no territory in the world which, within a comparatively small compass, presents such surprising varieties of climate, character, products, and population. It seems to be not one but many different countries. The north-eastern district is inhabited by Somalis, and presents the inhospitable appearance which seems to attract that singular people, scrub and sand spreading in thorny, dusty desolation on every side. The only known redeeming feature in this region is the river Juba, whose banks are fertile and cultivated. South of this come the provinces of Tanaland and Seyidie, where are found indiarubber of good quality, and ornamental timber which is now being put on the English market, besides such tropical products as

<sup>1</sup> I would call attention to this definition, rough as it is, because a large portion of this territory formerly belonged to Uganda, and was transferred to East Africa in 1902. The present Uganda Protectorate lies entirely to the west and north of the Lake.

copra, simsim, &c. The soil has also been reported by experts to be most favourable for cotton, and it is hoped that experiments now in progress will end in the establishment of this industry on an extensive scale. Towards the south of this fertile coast strip lies Mombasa, the principal port of the Protectorate and starting point of the Uganda Railway. It is situated on an island which is separated from the mainland by a narrow arm of the sea, and provided with two harbours, one of which (Kilindini) is of great size and capacity. The European quarter is built on high, open ground, which enjoys a perpetual sea breeze, and considering that the town is in the tropics, and only a few degrees south of the equator, it must be pronounced remarkably healthy. The climate is, on the whole, far better than that of Calcutta or Bombay; in the cool season (June–October) it recalls Italy, and in the hottest months (January–April) the temperature in the house rarely reaches 90 degrees F.

The Uganda Railway, which starts from Mombasa and runs in a north-westerly direction to Lake Victoria, passes first through a cultivated belt of cocoanuts, bananas, and maize, and then enters the jungle. For nearly two hundred miles the chief feature of the country is a thick scrub, mainly composed of flat-topped acacias, but containing here and there gorgeous flowering trees and shrubs. The soil appears to be of extraordinary fertility, for the whole of this vegetation is supported by the somewhat irregular rainfall, and experiments have shown that maize and other crops can be grown in extreme luxuriance if there is an adequate water supply. Unfortunately the rivers are few, but all indications point to the probability that a large body of subterranean water must flow under this district to the sea, and it is hoped that it may be tapped by boring wells, which is now in contemplation. About a hundred miles from the coast are the Teita Hills, masses of rock rising abruptly from the jungle, and thickly populated. The climate on the summits is healthy and agreeable, and the native cultivation very considerable. It should be explained that, in this part of the world, the ordinary distribution of cultivation is reversed; the valleys are dry and barren (unless they are flooded by torrential rains), whereas the mountain-tops are well watered and fertile. This is partly due to the fact that African streams have a tendency to dry up and disappear when they reach the plains, so that the water supply is best and surest near the springs, and also to the raids of the Masai, a race of warlike nomads who formerly terrorised the whole of the level country and drove the inhabitants into the fastnesses of the hills. All these hills are too thickly populated to offer much opening for European colonisation, but no doubt might become a good centre for producing cotton, fibre, and indiarubber. An industrial mission, connected with the Church Missionary Society, has been recently started, and promises to succeed.

After the Teita Hills the railway passes other ranges of a similar



character, but less well known. Near Makindu, about two hundred miles from the coast, the jungle gives place to plains, at first dotted with trees and then open, which extend for about a hundred miles as far as Nairobi. For those who make the direct journey from the coast during the night the change in climate and scenery is most surprising. Towards the south the landscape is dominated by the snowy mass of Kilimanjaro, and if the weather is propitious the somewhat lower but still snow-covered peaks of Kenia may be seen to the north. The most remarkable feature of these plains are the enormous herds of game, which may be seen quite close to the line. The district being a game reserve, where shooting is entirely forbidden, the animals have lost all fear of the train and hardly trouble to move as it passes. The largest herds are composed of zebra, hartebeest, and gazelle, and ostriches may generally be seen. Lions, rhinoceros, and giraffes, though not common, show themselves from time to time.

At the end of these plains lies Nairobi, a straggling settlement of corrugated iron somewhat resembling a West American mining town. Then the appearance of the country suddenly changes again, and the railway passes over the Kikuyu Hills, a series of fertile ridges, now covered with forests and now breaking into the most charming of glades. There is a good deal of both native and European cultivation, for this is one of the few parts of East Africa where population and labour are abundant. The district extends to Mount Kenia in the north, and contains the best agricultural (as opposed to pastoral) land in the Protectorate. It is bounded on the western side by a steep descent, generally called the Escarpment, which goes abruptly down to the great depression known as the Rift Valley. This is one of the most remarkable features of East Africa; it is a huge chasm, thirty or forty miles in width, and two or three thousand feet lower than the surrounding hills, though its floor is about six thousand feet above the sea level. It contains several lakes and hardly extinct volcanoes, which still give evidence of their activity by emitting jets of steam, and strange clefts and fantastically shaped rocks rising out of the green lawns testify to former convulsions. But now the aspect of the valley is peaceful; it affords most excellent grazing, and on a fine day, or even in the grandeur of a storm, the views over Lakes Naivasha, Nakuru, and Elmenteita are magnificent. East Africa is, indeed, pre-eminently a country of striking views. The scenery of its uplands has qualities peculiar to itself which I have not noticed anywhere else. It is anything but tropical in character, and the most noticeable effects, as seen from some high point of vantage, depend on subtle harmonies of grey and green spread over vast spaces of wind-swept plain and mountain, where the grassy slopes rise terrace upon terrace, and the clear outlines of the jagged volcanoes guard the lakes sunk deep in their rocky cups. And yet, clear though the outlines are, the vast breadth and airiness of the vision bring a

certain feeling of transitoriness and unsubstantiality. Veils of cloud and mist obliterate or reveal in an instant whole panoramas, and one feels very near those elemental forces which can destroy their handiwork as easily as they created it.

On the other side of the Rift Valley is another plateau, called the Mau, as much as 9,000 feet high, and strangely European in scenery. Some parts recall a Scotch moor, and others the downs of Southern England. Everywhere there is abundance of meadow land, diversified with timber, and of water. Much the same features are found in the districts of Nandi and Lumbwa, where, however, the climate is somewhat warmer, and in the great Gwas Ngisha plateau, which lies to the north of the former district.

After reaching a height of about 8,000 feet the railway descends to the comparatively low country (4,000 to 3,500 feet) round Lake Victoria, and here again we are in a totally different region, which seems thousands of miles distant from the plateau of the Mau, instead of barely fifty. It is a low-lying, damp, tropical country, with a dense population of peaceful and industrious natives, and also of mosquitoes. It is, therefore, unsuitable for European colonisation, but a number of Hindus have settled there and successfully cultivate cotton and other tropical products.

Often as East Africa has been described I have given the above account because experience has taught me that even those who are best acquainted with foreign countries and foreign affairs have very little knowledge of these districts for practical purposes. Of the regions I have enumerated I would now ask the reader to concentrate his attention on what may be conveniently termed the Highlands, roughly defined as lying between the stations of Makindu and Fort Ternan on the Uganda Railway, and extending to varying distances on either side. The almost unanimous verdict of the numerous Europeans from the south of the continent who have visited these Highlands is that they are like South Africa, but much better. The average temperature is about 65° F. in the cool season and 75° F. in the hot weather. Local experience extending over about fifteen years shows that Europeans can live there in health and bring up healthy families. It is certain that European vegetables, fruits, cereals, and coffee all thrive. Fibre plants, indiarubber (*Landolphia*), and castor oil are indigenous; timber is plentiful and excellent for all local purposes. Like the coast timber it is now being introduced to the European market. The grazing is pronounced by experts to be very good. It would seem, therefore, that the whole district is peculiarly suited for British colonisation, and is one of those assets which the Empire cannot afford to neglect, but should cherish and develop with the greatest attention.

We have done much of which we may be proud for the welfare and development of these regions. The slave trade has been entirely

suppressed and intertribal wars are almost at an end. The Uganda railway has opened up not only the countries through which it passes, but also the mysterious sources of the Nile further west, and we are able to form stupendous projects for regulating the water supply of Egypt. But we have not hitherto utilised the advantages which East Africa offers for agriculture, pasturage, and European residence. The Foreign Office, by whom it has hitherto been ruled, fully recognised that it has the qualities necessary for a British colony, and also that it is most desirable to reduce the heavy, unremunerative expenditure to which the African Protectorates at present give rise. All that could be done by circulating information in pamphlets and notices, and by sending an officer to South Africa specially charged to encourage immigration, was done. But there was a lamentable discrepancy between promise and performance. When, in response to these invitations, colonists began to arrive in the last months of 1903 no attempt was made to facilitate their settlement. They were not allowed—and rightly—to squat where they chose, but they found it no easy matter to discover where they might go and where they might not. The influx was sudden, and many of the difficulties created were inevitable. The greatest, perhaps, was that the country had not been surveyed, and that it proved harder than might have been expected to engage a sufficient body of surveyors in anything like reasonable time. But the necessary inconveniences of the situation might have been largely diminished by an increase in the staff of the Land Office and some provision for police, guides, road-making, and other necessities. I was, however, instructed that no additional expenditure could be incurred, and in consequence the European immigrants were very dissatisfied with their reception. What was needed was to obtain a clear idea of the extent, character, and value of the land available, and then to decide the terms on which it could be let or sold. But unfortunately, owing to the inadequacy of the staff and the absence of information, this was not done. My object in writing now is to urge that it should be done speedily and methodically. I myself have felt it my duty to resign, though most reluctantly, my post as his Majesty's Commissioner, not because I shrank from the difficulties of the position, but because I consider that the instructions which I received obliged me to commit injustice. Those instructions were, no doubt, due to imperfect information, but if one insists on acting upon imperfect information good intentions are of little value. I do not propose here to enter into personal explanations, but, since my resignation was intimately connected with land questions, I may briefly allude to the facts. The immediate cause of it was that amidst difficult circumstances, when justice and policy seemed alike to demand that every possible assistance and encouragement should be shown to settlers, I received a telegram from Lord Lansdowne ordering me to cancel two leases of about twenty square

miles for private sheep farms which were being arranged with Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Flemmer, two gentlemen from South Africa. These are the names which figure principally in the discussion, but the decision of the Secretary of State affected at least five or six other farms for which leases were being drawn up, and perhaps many more, the boundaries within which European settlement was forbidden being somewhat vague. Lord Lansdowne made no pretence of consulting me or inviting my opinions and arguments. He suddenly intervened in a matter which, according to custom, would be left in the hands of the local authorities, and telegraphed, first to inquire what leases were being given to Messrs. Chamberlain and Flemmer, and then to say that he could not sanction the grant of the farms because he was advised by persons in London that they were in the centre of the grazing lands essential to the Masai, a most inaccurate expression, for if the farms are in those grazing grounds at all it is quite certain that they are at their extreme western edge and on the limits of the country frequented by the tribe.

When I demurred to this order he telegraphed again that it was absolutely necessary that I should inform Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Flemmer that they could not have their land and that I must make this intimation at once. At first I thought that there was some grave objection to these particular grants of which I was unaware, but it was afterwards plainly stated that the only objection was that already given—namely, that they interfere with native rights. Now, it might be logical and just, though I do not think it would be correct or politic, to maintain that no Europeans should be allowed to settle in a certain area along the railway because it was reserved for natives, but Lord Lansdowne had just directed me to give the East Africa Syndicate a grant of 500 square miles in the same district, and really in the centre of the grazing grounds used by the Masai.

It may be possible for some one sitting in an office in London out of touch with East Africa, and dealing only with papers, to make these arbitrary rulings and leave it to others to fight the matter out, but it was not possible for an official in Africa, in touch with the parties concerned and with the plain facts before everybody's eyes, to defend or enforce those rulings with any appearance of consistency. The leases were in process of negotiation; the lessees had made arrangements for winding up their affairs elsewhere and settling in East Africa: they had probably a legal claim—certainly an overwhelmingly strong moral claim—to the execution of the contract, and the only reason for not executing it immediately was that it was unexpectedly alleged to conflict with native rights. If I used that argument I could be met with two rejoinders, both absolutely conclusive. Firstly, I had myself given the transaction my general approval, and the local officers within whose competence the matter was had stated that the leases, subject to certain conditions duly

embodied in them, did not interfere with the rights of any natives. By reversing this decision we should have broken our word and have inspired distrust not only in Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Flemmer, but in all applicants for land. The second rejoinder is that the whole argument about native rights collapses if the concession to the East Africa Syndicate is granted; for how can it be maintained that the syndicate may acquire a freehold of 500 square miles without interfering with native rights, but that if any one else holds even less than a tenth of that amount it is an injustice to natives which will lead to trouble?

Such a contention, say Europeans in East Africa, can only be made by those who are prejudiced in favour of the syndicate and against other applicants: the invocation of native rights is a mere disguise for other motives. To this rejoinder I had no reply. Therefore, as I could not defend the position I was ordered to take up, and was given no opportunity of entering into argument or explanation with Lord Lansdowne, I tendered my resignation, and I do not see what other course was possible for any one who wished to avoid accusations of breaking faith and showing favouritism. If Lord Lansdowne's decision is maintained I think it can only give rise to a lawsuit in which the Government will get the worst, but there are signs that it probably will not be maintained.

But though my resignation was largely caused by the particular cases of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Flemmer there is nothing personal or particular in the real issue at stake—namely, that the East Africa Protectorate is suited to be a European colony, and that we should endeavour to make it one. I can imagine no more important question for a young country, and none on which it is more essential that there should be complete agreement between the Commissioner in Africa and his superiors in England. Theoretically Lord Lansdowne and myself appear to be at one on this subject, the only difference in our views being that he is in favour of giving a certain syndicate extensive concessions which seem to me unprofitable as they stand, because they entail no obligation to develop the country, but are rather of the nature of options which can be taken up if the Protectorate is made to progress by the efforts of other parties or be neglected if prospects are bad. Practically, however, the result of his Lordship's action was to retard and discourage European settlement. An impression is undoubtedly prevalent in East Africa that except large syndicates no Europeans are wanted, and that it is proposed to administer it as a series of native States rather than as an English colony. On this last point it is desirable to give clear explanations, for the idea of affording natives justice and protection is one which is rightly dear to a large section of the British public, but the notion that there is not room for both Europeans and natives in East Africa is quite wrong. On the contrary, it may be safely asserted that there are few

countries in the world where European settlement will interfere with native rights so little. It has been conjectured that the area of the Protectorate is 350,000 square miles, and the population about 1,500,000, which gives about four persons to a square mile; but in a territory of which not even the boundaries are fixed all such statistics must be very uncertain, and I would rather state the facts as follows. Large districts, suitable for European colonisation, such as the plateaux of Mau, Gwas Ngisha, and Laikipia, have no native inhabitants whatever. In other large districts, such as most of the Rift Valley, the Settima Range, and the whole of the country between Nairobi and the coast (except the Teita district), one may meet natives now and again as one marches day by day, but one is pretty sure not to meet them every day, and one may go several days without seeing any. The coast is a country for planters rather than settlers, but even there the chief complaint is that the population is not sufficient to supply labour.

There remain only two districts in which the population is fairly dense—namely, the Kavirondo country, on the east of Lake Victoria, and the Kikuyu Range, running up from Nairobi to Mount Kenia. Of these the first, though fertile, is, like the coast, not a white man's country. Kikuyu certainly presents the problem of offering the best agricultural land, but also the largest native population. It is here that care and judgment are required in regulating European settlement, but there is far more land than the natives require, as the most casual inspection will show. They are willing enough to labour, and the best solution is to retain them in villages on European estates, the said villages remaining native property and being excluded from the European's holding. When this is impracticable, reserves should be created, and the natives either left where they happen to be or moved to some place they may select. It may be mentioned that all the Kikuyu people are only half settled, and constantly change the site of their villages.

The question of native property, however, as far as it affects European colonisation, has not arisen out of the problem presented by the Kikuyu, which really does offer difficulties, but out of the case of the Masai, which appears to me a perfectly simple matter, complicated only by perverse ingenuity. The Masai are a tribe of nomadic raiders, and in many ways the most interesting race in East Africa. They appear to be connected with the Dinka, Latuka, Bari, and other Nilotic peoples, and to have come from the north. They were formerly the terror of the whole country, and took tribute from all travellers. The advent of Europeans, however, destroyed their power, and a severe epidemic of small-pox greatly decreased their numbers. Recourse to active operations was not necessary, for they soon adopted a peaceful attitude. This was mainly due to the fact that on account of their habitual raiding all the other natives are their enemies, and

were they to engage in a conflict with the Government every soul in the country would be against them. The chiefs endeavour to keep the young men quiet; but raiding is not extinct, and never will be as long as their present social system is maintained, according to which the warriors reside in separate villages, not marrying, but cohabiting with the immature unmarried girls, and recognising no profession as worthy of a gentleman except war. To me, and I think to most people who have the welfare of the natives at heart, this seems a most abominable system, which we should discourage as far as we safely can. Similar institutions among the people of Taveta are gradually disappearing, thanks to the efforts of the missionaries, and I have little doubt myself that if the Masai are exposed to humanising influences they will settle down in villages like ordinary natives. The Nandi, Lumbwa, and Njamusi, who were all nomads formerly, have done so, and about Nairobi the Masai themselves have shown a remarkable tendency to adopt fixed habitations and decent clothing. The idea of the Foreign Office, however, appears to be to make all the best land along the railway in the Rift Valley a native reserve into which no Europeans are to be admitted with the exception of the inevitable East Africa Syndicate. This policy seems to me from every point of view disastrous. Financially it must occasion great loss, for to build a railway at immense expense through a country which is largely jungle, and then to exclude Europeans from holding land or doing business along the most promising part of the line, is a proceeding which can hardly be said to be commercially advantageous, and could only be justified if there were some very strong reason, such as the hostility of the natives, to support it. But the Masai are not hostile to Europeans; they are ready to move if it is required, but I believe that they would be perfectly friendly if Europeans settled among them. Politically the creation of a reserve in the locality proposed is dangerous, for it creates a cause of hostility between Europeans and the Masai which does not, and need not, exist. It cannot be denied that many Europeans, especially South Africans, have strong feelings of animosity against native races, and if those who can utilise the advantages of the railway, and the enhanced value it gives to the surrounding land, are excluded from that land, and it is reserved for natives who do not appreciate those advantages, and would rather see the railway removed, it is clear that a permanent cause of racial jealousy, which is likely to find effective expression, will be established. Further, this native reserve will be surrounded by European estates belonging to the syndicate and others who will construct roads across it in order to secure access to the railway. Does anybody really suppose that a territory placed between a railway, which is continually bringing up European elements, and a series of European estates which require access to that railway will remain a native reserve? On the contrary it will most certainly pass into

the hands of Europeans ; but the transfer, which might be amicable and bloodless, will probably be accompanied by violence, and certainly by a feeling in the minds of the natives that we have failed to keep our promises.

The proper course seems to me extremely simple. It is to ascertain, as I was in the course of doing when I left the Protectorate, what land is really necessary for the tribe and their flocks, neither of which are numerically very large compared to the extent of ground over which they straggle. Europeans should be allowed to take up land which is not required. This settlement should be cautious at first, but much land about Lakes Nakuru and Elmenteita, in the Endabibi Plain and the Kedong Valley, might be colonised at once. The rest should be settled gradually, and with a due regard for possible troubles. Personally I believe that the Masai will raise no objection to the presence of Europeans, but will gladly act as herdsmen and farm servants, for a labour bureau recently opened at Naivasha received numerous applications for employment. But if difficulties occur, if the two races cannot live in harmony, then the Masai should be removed to a reserve, not on the railway or in any place where they will come into collision with Europeans, but at some distance. They have expressed their willingness to do this if it is desired by the Government, and probably the Laikipia plateau would be the best locality.

I myself, however, deprecate the idea of a reserve if it can be avoided, because I think our aim should be not to isolate natives, but to civilise them by contact. To the best of my belief no one with the interests of religion and philanthropy at heart has asked for a reserve, and the only missionary who has paid special attention to the Masai spoke to me strongly against the whole system of reserves and isolation. The idea emanates rather from gentlemen with a taste for sport and wild nature. Lord Hindlip was perfectly correct when, in an article published in this Review some months ago, he said that in certain circles in East Africa there is a strong prejudice against European immigrants. The feeling is not unnatural : the beginnings and even the ripe fruits of introduced civilisation are less picturesque than the barbarism which they replace ; but if one wishes to preserve the romance of savage life one should not build a railway and announce that one wishes to make it pay its way.

For the above reasons I maintain that, as far as native rights are concerned, the colonisation of East Africa by Europeans should occasion no difficulties, and that we may promote the movement with a good conscience.

The moment seems opportune to inquire what should be done to assist and encourage this colonisation, since, after April next, the territory will be administered by the Colonial Office, and changes will probably occur.



Since one of the principal objects of Government must be to reduce the very considerable expenditure incurred on behalf of the African Protectorates it may seem unreasonable to begin by recommending a more liberal budget, but no one who is acquainted with the details of East African finance can fail to be struck by the want of proportion between the expenditure on the Uganda Railway and on the rest of the administration. The former has been lavish in the extreme, the latter equally parsimonious; up to 1901 about 5,000,000*l.* had been spent on the railway, and about 750,000*l.* in all on the rest of the Protectorate since its foundation in 1895. If one considers that a railway can only pay if the country through which it passes is productive and prosperous, the difference seems extreme. All the high officials, to whom I have used this argument for years, have admitted its force, but none of them has ever wrung from the Treasury the extra funds desired; so I suppose it must be admitted that they are unobtainable. Nevertheless the need for some extra expenditure sufficient to provide the country with adequate police, land officers, surveyors, roads, and other such necessities is great, and the return certain. If more money cannot be provided I would suggest economy in military expenditure. Instead of any decrease under this head it is at present proposed to establish an extra reserve battalion in the Protectorate, which is, in my opinion, entirely unnecessary. In saying this I am not afraid of going against the advice of the military authorities at home, for I believe they claim no local knowledge, and judge the situation entirely by general military principles. That is to say, they calculate that there are so many Europeans who may be attacked by so many natives, and that, therefore, so many troops are necessary to protect them. But local experience shows that there is not the smallest reason to apprehend any combination of natives against the white population, tribal enmity being strong and no idea of unity existing. And if such a combination of natives against Europeans were possible would it be safe to rely on a force which is itself composed of African natives? Clearly not. Further expenditure on African troops appears to me, therefore, quite unnecessary. I would form a volunteer corps of Europeans, decrease the troops, and increase the police force, who are cheaper and quite capable of doing most of the military work which has to be done. I have little doubt that in this way an economy of 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* might be made, which would go a long way towards covering the expenditure indicated above.

Perhaps, however, the really greatest need of the Protectorate is not more money but more local government. At present the government is administered nominally by the Commissioner in his own name, but really under very strict instructions from London. Legislation is by ordinance, but except in cases of emergency no ordinances may be published without reference home, which generally takes many

months. Nor does it follow that if a regulation is of exclusively local importance and recommended by all the local authorities concerned it will be passed. Some time ago regulations were drafted for licensing boatmen at Mombasa, in order to put an end to the disorder and violence which resulted from all sorts of natives being allowed to take passengers to and from the steamers. It was proposed that the licensed boatmen should wear blue jerseys, which would render them recognisable, and which they would gladly have used. But in spite of all arguments the Secretary of State said that he could not sanction this proposal. Why, I have never been able to understand, for no reason was given except that the measure was 'inexpedient.' I, living on the spot as Commissioner, should never have ventured to dispute the suggestions of the port officer and maritime authorities on such a detail of discipline, but neither arguments nor entreaty had any effect on the inflexible omniscience of the Foreign Office. Naturally the same sort of thing happens in matters of greater importance : the opinions of the local authorities are frequently overruled ; very frequently also elaborate ordinances, often much too elaborate for the state of the country, are prepared at home without consulting those on the spot, and are merely sent out for publication.

A further evil is that there is absolutely nothing in the nature of a council, and even the local officials are somewhat out of touch with the public. They are apt to think that they know best what the unofficial world really wants, and the unofficial world is apt to ignore the really serious difficulties which often prevent the execution of what seem simple requests. Hence arises much discontent ; the public are dissatisfied with the local officials, and the local officials are dissatisfied with the officials in London. The remedy for all this does not seem to me difficult. At present, of course, anything like representative government is premature, but there is no reason why there should not be a council to assist the Commissioner composed of unofficial as well as of official members. Such a council exists next door in German East Africa, where the European element is certainly not stronger than in British territory. It is most desirable that there should be officers on the council of general colonial experience. Local experience is naturally indispensable and invaluable, but it is not sufficient to enable East African officials to deal with the numerous problems created by European immigration, and the staff should be strengthened by men who have some practical knowledge of how such problems are dealt with in such Colonies as South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. As long as no general principle and no interest not represented on the council is involved it ought to be possible to settle local affairs locally, and a report home of the action taken should be sufficient. Whenever general questions or wider interests are concerned the point must, of course, be referred home, but except in some special case, such as a matter of Imperial

moment, I think the council should be consulted on all legislation and its opinions not be rejected by the home authorities without good reason. The main difficulty in the matter is no doubt the old one of finance : regulations have a way of requiring funds for their execution. East Africa has undergone a rather sudden transition in this respect. Formerly the impossibility of communication necessitated the grant of unusual powers of expenditure and an equally unusual leniency in audit. Now the strict system in force in settled countries, which requires not only accounts but forecasts of expenditure, has been introduced. The Commissioner is obliged to send home in November a detailed estimate of every item of the expenditure, which will take place in the twelve months beginning in the following April. When once this estimate is approved he can only reallocate sums under 100*l.* Such a system is really only feasible in a country which has settled down in fixed conditions. It is not workable in an expanding and changing country where a district unheard of twelve months before may suddenly become a busy centre. It is not very easy to propose any plan which will satisfy the needs of the Protectorate as well as the just requirements of the Lords of the Treasury, but there are precedents in East Africa for the appropriation of lump sums to specified purposes, such as 'military reorganisation,' without any allocation of details, and I think a sum of 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* should be assigned in this way for expenditure on assisting European colonisation in a wide sense. Such assistance would include in the first instance arrangements for survey and the creation of an adequate land office, with a staff sufficient to cope with the applications for estates. It need hardly be said that it is of the utmost importance to make sure that applicants are able and ready to develop their land, and are not obtaining it for merely speculative purposes with a view to selling it on the first favourable opportunity. With this object it is necessary to have proof that they have sufficient means, and to insert in the lease conditions which shall neither be onerous nor allow land to be locked up uselessly. All this requires the time and attention of a far more considerable staff than is at present in existence.

Then it is undoubtedly necessary to construct more roads and bridges. The whole of the Southern Mau, some twelve or fifteen hundred square miles of grazing land and timber, is at present practically inaccessible.\* Immigrants are ready to go there when the way is open, but one cannot expect to direct the stream to an uninhabited, unmapped country, unless the Government makes some attempt to establish communications and organisation. A certain number of white police are also necessary. At present the force is composed entirely of Africans and Indians, but it is evident that these cannot deal with disorderly Europeans. Further, in allotting land it is desirable to state clearly the principles on which it is allotted, and on this subject there has been much uncertainty. A distinction may

fairly be drawn between the earliest concessions given to attract and encourage experiments in an unknown country and the normal grants offered afterwards. In the former case I see no objection to holdings of twenty, fifty, or a hundred thousand acres or to using the assistance of syndicates to start ventures too arduous for private enterprise. But when once the value of the land is known it is most desirable to prevent it from being absorbed by a few capitalists. I believe it is recognised as an evil in South Africa that so much property is owned by a few syndicates, and I cannot agree with the policy which in East Africa gives large tracts to one of these bodies on far more favourable terms than private individuals can obtain. But in any case the most important point is that the holders of large properties should be obliged to develop and utilise them and not be able to lock them up, as is unfortunately possible under some leases drafted in London. As for the size of normal holdings to be granted now, it appears that in the more accessible parts of the Protectorate 5,000 acres for grazing and 640 for agriculture is a fair average for good land. In many places the distribution of water or the inferior quality of the soil may necessitate much larger holdings—say, of 12,000 acres—and those who are willing to go to the less accessible districts and act as real pioneers may still be justly allowed estates of 25,000 acres or more. But in dealing with all these questions the first necessity appears to me to be the advice of those who have had experience of land settlement elsewhere, and this has hitherto not been forthcoming.

One point of detail which requires special attention is the game regulations. The rules in force have attained their object of preventing the destruction of the large game which nature has so plentifully bestowed on these regions, but they are not compatible with the holding of private property by Europeans, and for preserving game in the future it is clear we must depend on game reserves, in which shooting is forbidden, rather than on elaborate regulations as to how many animals may be killed. Fortunately the establishment of these reserves is an easy matter, for the country where game is most abundant is also that which is least in request for other purposes, such as the Serengeti plains and the districts near the German frontier and Lake Baringo. The present fee for a settler's licence (10*l.*) is too high. It has been vainly pointed out to the Foreign Office that settlers will not pay it, and that the result of insisting on it is that nobody takes out a licence and everybody poaches. The Government are powerless to deal with the abuse, and both the game and the revenue suffer. If the licence were reduced to about 3*l.* it would probably be taken out by most persons.

But apart from this the whole question requires consideration by a committee who will weigh the interests of landowners as well as of sportsmen, for the most innocent of large wild animals, such as

zebras, may do considerable damage on an estate. Yet a proprietor, though provided with a licence, may kill only two.

I think that only immigrants of European race should be allowed to settle in the Highlands, or, in other words, that Indians should not be permitted to do so. It may be doubted whether any Indians genuinely desire to settle in these districts, for the conditions of climate and agriculture are not such as appeal to them. On the other hand, they are undoubtedly most anxious to acquire land for speculative purposes, and experience in Zanzibar, where much property has been sold by impecunious Arabs, shows that it is not to the advantage of a country that estates should pass into the hands of non-resident Indian landlords. Also, the mixture of Europeans and Africans is quite sufficient, and it is not advisable to introduce a third element which may quarrel with both. There seems, however, to be no objection to encouraging Indian settlement on the coast and near Lake Victoria. The climate of these districts is not good for Europeans, but it resembles many parts of India, particularly Madras, and there are facilities for cultivation with irrigation, such as Indians are accustomed to.

The mention of mixture of races reminds me of the project of establishing a Jewish colony on the Gwas Ngisha plateau. This proposal was made rather suddenly last year at a moment when the prospects of the East Africa Protectorate seemed far from brilliant. The completion of the Uganda Railway produced an exodus of workmen and contractors which seriously affected trade, and there was as yet no indication that Europeans were likely to immigrate to the Protectorate in any numbers on their own account, and neither the funds nor the organisation were forthcoming to arrange a scheme of colonisation. It was understood, however, that very large sums would be available for the establishment of a Jewish colony, and in these circumstances I gave a very qualified assent to the project. My hesitation did not arise from any anti-Semitic feeling, but from doubt as to whether any beneficial result would be obtained. I do not understand how the aspirations of the Zionists will be furthered by a settlement in East Africa, which is neither in Palestine nor on the road to it: the proposed colony would not be sufficiently large to appreciably relieve the congested and suffering Jewish population of some parts of Eastern Europe, and it is to my mind exceedingly doubtful if the climate and agricultural life would be in any way suitable to Israelites. However, as long as it was merely a question of making an experiment in an isolated and unused part of Africa the objections were not serious, but when the country began to attract British immigrants who showed an inclination to settle all round the proposed Jewish colony I considered that the scheme became dangerous and deprecated its execution. It was tantamount to reproducing in East Africa the very conditions which have caused so much distress

in Eastern Europe—that is to say, the existence of a compact mass of Israelites, differing in language and customs from the surrounding population, to whom they are likely to be superior in business capacity, but inferior in fighting power. To my mind it is best to frankly recognise that such conditions can never exist without danger to the public peace.

Finally, a matter of importance, which demands most careful consideration, is the coinage of the Protectorate. This at present consists of rupees, annas, and pice, as in India, and it is proposed to replace it by rupees with decimal subdivisions, as in Ceylon, which is certainly a change for the better as far as it goes. When the proposal was first made, about two years ago, it was reasonable enough, as the commercial relations of the Protectorate seemed to be largely with India; but, as the discussion has been allowed to drag on, and as meanwhile the European element has increased and relations with South Africa have grown closer, I think that if any change is made the possible introduction of British currency should again be considered.

C. ELIOT. †

## FREE THOUGHT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

### I

#### FREE THOUGHT, AS CONDEMNED BY THE LEADERS OF ANGLICAN ORTHODOXY

DISCUSSION is now frequent among our clergy of all schools as to why the habit of church-going is so generally on the decline in this country. According to some of them, it is due to the fact that our services are too dull; according to others, that they are too ornate and theatrical; according to others, to the fact that we happen to have no good preachers, or that the clergy are out of touch with social or political problems, or that Sunday excursion trains, Sunday concerts, and bicycles, are to a growing degree seducing an indifferent multitude, who once would have gone to church for want of something better to do. It hardly seems to have occurred to any of the numerous disputants that the fact which alarms them may be due to a deeper and far more obvious reason, and that laymen may perhaps be ceasing to go to church because our Church services are impregnated with assertions and implications, many of which they have come to doubt, many of which they have come to deny, and some of which even the most reverent of them have come to regard with ridicule.

Whether or how far this explanation is the true one is a question which in plain language I propose to discuss here; and in trying to answer it I shall, instead of dealing directly with the state of opinion which prevails amongst the laymen of the defaulting congregations, examine the opinions openly expressed and taught by the most thoughtful and highly educated of the Anglican clergy themselves.

Two incidents have lately occurred within the English Church which make such an inquiry appropriate to the present moment. Two distinguished clergymen have, on account of their published opinions, incurred the formal censure of two scandalised bishops. The clergymen I refer to are Canon Hensley Henson and Mr. Beeby: the scandalised bishops are those of London and Worcester.

Now what is it precisely that these two clergymen have done?

They have merely ventured to apply to parts of the New Testament those methods of scholarship, criticism, and ordinary common sense which the Bishop of Worcester has been foremost in declaring that we must apply to the Old ; and as the honest result of obeying both the bishop's precept and his example, they have reached respectively the two following conclusions. Mr. Beeby's conclusion is that the Virgin Birth of Christ cannot be reasonably held on the strength of the Gospel evidence for it. Canon Henson's conclusion is that the Gospel evidence is equally worthless in respect of Christ's physical resurrection.

Both express themselves in the most guarded way that is possible for them. Mr. Beeby declares that he believes as devoutly as anybody that Christ in some sense was veritably God incarnate ; nor does he even, so far as he himself is concerned, dismiss in so many words the Virgin Birth as legendary. He maintains, however, that the Gospel evidences for it can warrant nobody in demanding that anybody else should accept it as an historical fact ; and he farther maintains that such an acceptance of it is altogether unnecessary to a full belief in the essentials of Christian doctrine. He treats it in short as a kind of pious opinion, which may still be suitably entertained by those who like to retain it, but which has for the modern mind no importance whatever.

The doctrine of the resurrection is treated by Canon Henson in a way which is more conservative, and at the same time more frankly revolutionary. He declares that he himself believes, and that no one is a Christian who does not believe, in the personal resurrection of Christ as a central and unquestionable fact ; but to believe in the fact, he goes on to argue, is one thing, and to believe the account of it as given in the Gospels is another. It is no exaggeration of Canon Henson's views to say that, according to him, the Gospel account is not only a tissue of legends, the details of which are quite imaginary, but a tissue of legends which degrade a spiritual event by materialising it. That the Gospel accounts are as a fact mere legends is apparent, he says, if from nothing else, from their absolutely irreconcilable character. The stories about the empty sepulchre contradict each other in essential particulars. Still more contradictory are the stories of Christ's subsequent reappearances. One account assigns them to Galilee, another to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Dr. Sanday, he points out, has done his best to reconcile them ; but has failed to do so even to his own satisfaction. In short, if tried by the tests of common sense, the stories of a physical resurrection are individually and collectively incredible. These stories, however, says Canon Henson, are not the earliest accounts of the great event, but the latest. The earliest account of it is that given by St. Paul, who exhibits its nature in a very different light. St. Paul mentions the appearance of Christ to himself as only one of a number of cognate appearances vouchsafed to the apostles, and five hundred other



believers. St. Paul, however, contended with the utmost emphasis that the risen body is not flesh and blood. The material body, so he said, perishes; it is the spiritual body that is quickened: and this, which is true of the resurrection of ordinary men, is equally true of the resurrection of Christ, which is the type of it. St. Paul's testimony is earlier than that of the Gospels: that of the Gospels does but debase and overcloud it. Is it possible, Canon Henson continues, to suppose that St. Paul believed, or had even heard of, the story of the empty tomb, or looked on 'as worthy of credence' such farther 'materialising details' as Christ's begging His disciples to note that He had 'flesh and bones,' and that He, like them, was able to eat broiled fish? The answer must, says Canon Henson, 'certainly be that St. Paul believed nothing of the kind.' The resurrection of Christ, His subsequent reappearances, and His ascension, were all events that took place on a non-material plane, and had, in an objective sense, no material counterparts. He rose and ascended in the spirit; in the spirit He reappeared to His disciples, just as He still does to those who are worthy of seeing Him.

Here, then, we have within the limits of the English Church two examples—specially striking from the manner in which they have been obtruded on our notice—of the great fact that that modern method of criticism, to the results of which everyone has abandoned the beginning of Genesis with equanimity, does not, and cannot, limit itself to those discredited chapters, but is steadily extending itself, and is extending itself with allied results, to every part of the Scriptures that deals with miraculous events—not excepting those which all the Churches till yesterday accepted in their literal sense as absolutely beyond question, and looked on as the sign and essence of the truth of the Christian faith. Now, if the opinions of Mr. Beeby and Canon Henson, which have so horrified their respective bishops, stood by themselves, or if they merely represented opinions which a growing number of our clergy are, for personal reasons, now coming to share, they might not perhaps possess any very great significance. The case is, however, the exact reverse of this. Not only do these opinions not stand by themselves, but they do not represent any mental temper or process which, in any serious sense, is peculiar to those who profess them. On the contrary, they represent conclusions, or at least the kind of conclusions, to which every competent thinker finds himself—as will appear presently—forced to come in proportion as, without reserve, he applies to the matters in question a certain method of reasoning, or assimilates the accepted results which others have reached by means of it. We have to do with the results of a method, not of the temerities of individuals.

What, therefore, Canon Henson and Mr. Beeby have done is to raise in an acute form the two following questions: First, how far will this method, if used without reservations, necessarily carry any

competent thinker who adopts it? Secondly, if—as we have seen to be actually the case—it is forcing those who adopt it to question or repudiate doctrines which all traditional orthodoxy regards as essential and fundamental, on what grounds, and by what argumentative means, do the orthodox heads of the Church, such as the Bishops of London and Worcester, propose to keep the application of it within bounds? Let us first see how far, as a matter of fact, the application of it unrebuked has gone in our Church already, not only amongst its liberal thinkers, but amongst the most conservative also. We will deal merely with points of the first importance.

## II

### FREE THOUGHT AS PREVALENT THROUGHOUT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND GENERALLY WITH REGARD TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

Let us begin, then, with going back for a moment to the opening chapters of Genesis, which the Bishop of Worcester notoriously admits to be mythical. So far as these merely refer to cosmogony or ethnical history, the admission, now so unanimous, that there is no historical truth in them, need have no direct effect on any specially Christian doctrine. These chapters, however, contain one incident at all events—namely, the Fall of man, which lies at the root of all traditional orthodoxy; and though orthodoxy allows us to suppose that the snake and the apple were symbolical, it has always assumed that they symbolise a definite historical fact, of the general nature of which no doubt could be tolerated. This was the fact that the original condition of man was happy and free from evil; that from this condition our first human ancestor fell; and that all the evil that now exists in the world is due to his having transmitted the consequences of his fall to his descendants. As Cardinal Newman says, the whole orthodox Christian scheme stands or falls with a belief in some great ‘aboriginal catastrophe.’ But what is the Church of England coming to teach to-day? As Mr. Beeby has pointed out, its clergy of all schools have united to throw this old belief to the winds; and how general the movement has become he illustrates by reference to a work recently issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and specially intended to meet the attacks of rationalism. According to this manifesto, the Fall has nothing to do, in a literal sense, with the disobedience of any primæval ancestor. The child, says the author, is born ‘absolutely without consciousness of sin.’ The Fall comes when the faculty of conscience awakens. ‘The Fall means the struggle of the twofold nature of man.’

Let us next turn to the event which for all the Churches hitherto has come next to the Fall in point both of time and of doctrinal importance. For all the Churches hitherto, just as the fall of Adam formed

the historical beginning of all human evil, so did God's Covenant with Abraham, as an actual historical event, inaugurate the scheme of redemption by which human evil was to be remedied. The Bishop of Worcester finds much ambiguous comfort in the thought that, unlike Adam, Abraham was a real person; but even the conservative scholars who are the bishop's closest allies now openly confess that this somewhat barren admission is the utmost that criticism will allow us; that the story of the patriarch's life has no biographical value; and that God's tautological covenants with him are as fabulous as the snake and the apple.

Let us now glance briefly at the rest of the Old Testament, in so far as it contains specific statements or elements which have formed an essential part of orthodox Christianity hitherto. The most obvious of these are the miracles of Hebrew history generally, from the talking of Balaam's ass to the stoppage of the sun by Joshua. It doubtless cannot be contended that all or any of these are in themselves essential to the Christian faith; but a general belief that the God of the chosen people did perform a series of astonishing miracles for their benefit has, by its implications, certainly formed hitherto an absolutely essential part of the Christian view of history. How then are they generally regarded in the Church of England to-day? Our clergy, encouraged by the Bishop of Worcester himself, are thrusting them, one after another, into the background, and, if they do not deny them in detail, are burying them under the broad assertion that in matters relating to the order of nature and suspensions of it, 'the Bible reflects, and does not rise above, the knowledge and ideas of the times in which its various authors lived.' If this assertion does not imply an abandonment of belief in the literal truth of these miracles as a whole, it is difficult to impute to it any meaning at all.

—But far more important than any change that has taken place in the views of our clergy as to miracles of the kind just mentioned, is the parallel change which has taken place in their views with regard to the character of the Old Testament prophecies. The orthodox idea of a prophecy was a foretelling of future events with such supernatural accuracy that, though prior to its fulfilment its meaning may have been vague and cryptic, it is seen when its fulfilment is accomplished to have been true in its minutest particulars. This applies more especially to the supposed prophecies as to Christ—such as the bearing of a son by a virgin, the 'standing of a Redeemer on the earth,' the burial in the rich man's sepulchre, and others equally familiar.

But now Anglican scholarship, irrespective of parties, frankly admits, as to these great classical passages, that the meaning traditionally imputed to them, on which so much has been built, is due to a complete misunderstanding of what they meant in reality; whilst the Bishop of Worcester himself makes the yet more sweeping

assertion that 'prophetic inspiration is consistent with erroneous prediction.'

How completely such views as these revolutionise the conception universally prevalent hitherto of the meaning of what has been called pre-Christian Christianity, and the entire system of theology and apologetic based on it, is a fact too obvious to require emphasis here. And now let us turn from the Old Testament to the New, and, putting aside for the moment the views of Canon Henson and Mr. Beeby, which orthodoxy still rejects, let us see what novel conclusions it has reached and promulgated itself.

### III

#### FREE THOUGHT AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE LEADERS OF ANGLICAN ORTHODOXY WITH REGARD TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

In dealing with these conclusions of current Anglican orthodoxy, I shall appeal to two of its most distinguished and earnest representatives. One of them shall be the Bishop of Worcester, the other shall be Dr. Sanday, a scholar almost equally famous, with whom the bishop has publicly avowed himself to be in the closest sympathy. We will therefore take the views of these two authorities together, and see how far their treatment of the New Testament alters the traditional view of the principal events narrated in it.

They both, then, start with admitting that the Gospels are full of errors, and demand in various parts very unequal credence. The accounts, for instance, of the circumstances in which Christ's discourses were spoken were 'often nothing more than vague conjectures of the Evangelists.' Inaccuracies of this kind are not in themselves important; but the errors of the Evangelists as historians are far from ending here. 'Subjective visions' are described by them as objective occurrences: for example, says the Bishop of Worcester, the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, which 'was probably an inward intimation represented to his imagination in the outward form of an angel.' Similarly, Dr. Sanday declares that the 'incidents of Christ's temptation are on the face of them not historical facts.' Nor does he stop here. The 'casting out of devils'—of which the majority of Christ's miracles consisted—was not really a casting out of devils at all. Christ Himself certainly imagined that it was so; but He imagined this in accordance with 'the ideas of the time,' the assumption of these ideas 'being part of His incarnate manhood'; whilst as to the miracles of the loaves and His walking on the water, whatever actual incidents may lie at the bottom of these, 'a nineteenth century observer would have given, had he been present, a different account from that which has come down to us.' Again, says the bishop, there are incidents in St. Matthew of another class, such

as 'the ass beside the colt,' 'the mingling of gall with the wine,' and the 'thirty pieces of silver,' which were 'due to the influence of the language of Zacharias and the Psalmist respectively.' Canon Henson has mentioned most of the above points in his recent letter to the Bishop of London, remarking by the way that the present Bishop of Exeter has made equally short work with the gift of tongues at Pentecost, which cannot, he says, be accepted as meaning that the apostles 'received the more or less permanent power of preaching in foreign languages.'

But the most important part of the matter is yet to come. I called attention just now to Dr. Sanday's admission that the human knowledge of Christ, Who believed that He was casting out devils when He was really doing nothing of the kind, must have been limited like the knowledge of His contemporaries. The Bishop of Worcester elaborates this view of the case, with which he is in entire agreement, and maintains that Christ spoke with superhuman knowledge only about such spiritual matters as the moral character of God, and of man's proper relation to Him, and neither did nor could speak otherwise than in accordance with the ignorance of His time as to all questions connected with science and human history. Thus His acceptance of certain prophecies in the Old Testament in a sense different from that which it is possible for a scholar to attribute to them, and His evident but mistaken opinion that the establishment of His Kingdom would be immediate, neither bind us to accept what scholarship or experience have disproved, nor are, on the other hand, inconsistent with His truly divine character.

Now to most plain men it will seem that, when thus interpreted, the New Testament must bear to objective fact a position indistinguishable from that borne by the Old, which, as the bishop admits, begins with mere myths or legends, and then develops into very inaccurate history, associated with a series of doubtful and negligible prodigies and prophecies whose 'inspiration is consistent with erroneous prediction.' But the Bishop of Worcester and his allies repudiate this inference with indignation. It represents the precise error which it is their special mission to combat. There is, says the bishop, a perfectly obvious reason 'why what can be admitted in the Old Testament cannot, without results disastrous to the Christian creed, be admitted in the New.' This reason is that the Old Testament is merely 'a record of how God produced a need, or anticipation, or ideal, whilst the New Testament records how as a fact He satisfied it. The absolute coincidence of idea with fact is vital in the realisation, not in the preparation for it.' Such language may seem extraordinary and indeed almost unintelligible, when we consider the manner in which, as we have just seen, the New Testament is treated by the bishop and his friends themselves. But he and they mean something by it, and that something is this. All the New Testament

miracles may be explained away as 'ideas not coincident with fact,' four only being excepted, and placed on a different footing. These are Christ's Virgin Birth, His Divinity, His Resurrection, and His Ascension. Between these and all the others a sharp line is to be drawn. Let us now consider the question of how the bishop and his friends draw it.

#### IV

HOW DO THE LEADERS OF ANGLICAN ORTHODOXY JUSTIFY THEIR RETENTION OF CERTAIN MIRACLES, WHILST REJECTING THE MAJORITY, ON CRITICAL AND OTHER GROUNDS ?

In the Bishop of Worcester's essay on Inspiration in *Lux Mundi* he gives us the key to his own logical position, which is that of Dr. Sanday also, and of the modern champions of orthodoxy in the Church of England generally. The belief in the objective reality of these four great miracles, which are for them the irreducible and distinctive essence of Christianity, has, they say, no direct dependence on the evidence of the Gospels whatsoever. Belief in them rests primarily—to quote the Bishop of Worcester's words—on certain 'moral dispositions, which predispose to belief, and make acceptable and credible the thing to be believed.' Belief in the inspiration of Scripture is a 'superstructure' raised upon, 'but is not among, the bases' of this prior belief. If we examine the matter more closely we shall see that, according to the bishop, this prior belief starts with the moral conviction that Christ is God our Redeemer—which fact, as another writer has said, is known to us directly as a kind of 'spiritual experience'; and from this fact we are logically led on to the others—that His birth was miraculous, that He rose, and went back to Heaven. It also appears that, according to the Bishop of Worcester, our belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, in which these events are recorded, arises in the same way; but though this belief is essential to the Christian faith, and though the Bishop of Worcester will not allow it to be tampered with, it simply means, he says, after all—what? Nothing more than 'such an acceptance of the Gospels, and the trustworthiness of the other apostolic documents, as justifies the belief that our Lord was actually born of the Virgin Mary, manifested as the Son of God according to the spirit of holiness, crucified, raised again the third day from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of the Father.'

Now it would be very easy to dismiss this argument with ridicule—to urge, for example, that it is a mere argument in a circle. The Gospels are true because they record the miracles; the miracles are true because they are recorded in the Gospels. But the bishop's position generally is somewhat less absurd than it looks, and before we criticise it we must try to understand it fairly. That religious teachers, by their personal character and their doctrine, may produce

an instinctive belief that they are superhuman beings is a fact attested by religions that have nothing to do with Christ. It is also a fact that when such a belief has established itself, there has been among the believers a widespread and natural propensity to associate the superhuman being with various superhuman events—especially with a superhuman birth ; and when once a belief in these events has been established, to ascribe inspiration to the writings which record them as actual facts. Nor need we, even if we adopt the Bishop of Worcester's theory, regard the importance which he assigns to the inspiration of the Scriptures as illogical. Faith and spiritual insight—such is his obvious meaning—show us conclusively that such and such events must have happened. The Scriptures show us how, as a matter of fact, they did happen ; for they happened, if they happened at all, in some definite way.

The bishop's position, then, is not theoretically unreasonable. According to him, and all orthodox Christians, the unique characteristic of the Christian faith is this—that while other religions, such as Buddhism, have appealed to men's moral natures, and suggested ideas and doctrines not unlike those of Christianity, these ideas have been 'coincident with' no true miraculous facts ; but the Christian religion represents ideas which, however like these in some ways, differ from them specifically in one—that their historical coincidence with miraculous fact is 'absolute.' If, then, starting with the assumption that Christ's personal character conveys to the human heart a conviction of His divine nature, we could also maintain that the Gospels were true in every detail, the bishop's position would be obviously consistent with itself. It would be even consistent with itself if the Gospels were full of errors—as the bishop really admits them to be—with regard to minor matters, so long as their evidence was beyond the reach of criticism with regard to the four great miracles which alone he declares to be essential. But here is the point at which his whole case breaks down ; and no one in this country has done more than he himself to prepare the ordinary Christian for realising how completely it does so.

We have seen with what conscientious boldness, up to a certain point, he discards, or is prepared to discard, the whole of the Gospel miracles as due to the imagination, the superstition, or the defective information of the Evangelists. If we take his admissions together with those of Dr. Sanday, nearly every important marvel which was supposed to mark Christ's divinity—the angelic appearances which announced it, His typical acts of healing, the incidents of His temptation, His multiplication of the loaves, His walking on the water, His transfiguration, His own prevision of the coming of His divine Kingdom, the fulfilment of prophecy by the offering of gall mingled with wine—are all reduced to 'ideas which are not coincident with facts.' We should have, in short, a Christ as natural as the Christ of Renan if it

were not for the four miracles which our apologists refuse to abandon—His Virgin Birth, His Godhead, His Resurrection, and His Ascension. If, however, we apply to the Gospel accounts of these the same critical method which the bishop has applied to the others, we shall find that these four are incomparably the most unbelievable of all, and that the Bishop of Worcester actually admits them to be so. He and his friends are perfectly well aware that the Gospel accounts of the Resurrection and Ascension are hopelessly contradictory as they stand, and that the Gospels unite in imputing human limitations to Christ which force us to reconstruct our old ideas of His Godhead, and discriminate sharply His divine from His human utterances. As it is impossible here to take all the four miracles in detail, we will confine ourselves to the bishop's vindication of one—namely, the Virgin Birth, of the literal truth of which, and the Christian's obligation to believe in it, he has in so marked a way exhibited himself as the special champion. The reality of this miracle we may take as a test case. If the bishop and his friends cannot establish this, they will certainly be unable to establish that of the three others.

In this case, again, the bishop frankly admits that the Gospel stories, as they stand, cannot possibly be accurate. Two of the Evangelists omit the incident altogether, and the two who record it—that is to say, Luke and Matthew—not only give it with widely different details, but associate it with genealogies which nobody can take seriously. Here, indeed, says the bishop, are great apparent difficulties; but they are apparent only—the Christian gets over them easily. Let us see how the Christian, in the person of the bishop, does so. No doubt, he says, the Virgin Birth of Christ was utterly unknown to the apostles during the Lord's lifetime, nor did they even suspect it till many years after His death. It was revealed to them as a surprise by the Virgin in her old age. She told the story, naturally, from her own point of view; her hearers wrote it down, and it is the basis of the account in Luke. The Virgin, however, must certainly have had in her possession another account written down already. This was a species of affidavit which, says the Bishop of Worcester, it is only reasonable to suppose that Joseph had committed to paper, in justice to himself and her, and appended before his death to a copy of the family pedigree. This is the version of the story given in the Gospel of Matthew, though Matthew, says the bishop, evidently 'worked it over in his predominant interest in the fulfilment of prophecy.' As for the genealogies, we need not trouble our heads about them. They were merely trees sketched out by our Lord's relations, neither better nor worse than many that have issued from the Heralds' College. There is only one other awkward fact to be dealt with, and this is the silence of John with regard to so stupendous an incident. If the Virgin had really revealed it, John must have certainly been aware that she had done so; and, mainly



preoccupied as he was with the Lord's divine nature, we might pardonably think that, in this case, he would have at least made some allusion to it. But, says the bishop, the answer to this is simple. The Gospel of John was designed as a supplement to the others, not as a substitute for them. The main purpose of it is to give 'his personal testimony.' His Gospel 'must therefore have begun where his personal experience began,' and of this the Virgin Birth naturally formed no part. He could not, therefore, have included it 'consistently with his main purpose.'

Such, in outline, is the Bishop of Worcester's apology. Let us now ask what is the value of it. We will begin with the argument relative to St. John's Gospel. St. John, he says, 'could not have included the Virgin Birth in it because he had bound himself to begin with the beginning of his own experience. But what is the statement with which he begins really? The statement that Christ was the Logos which existed before all worlds, and that nothing in the universe was made except through His mystical agency. What have we to do with any personal experience here? How can it be maintained that the Virgin Birth was more remote from his personal experience than the primæval creation of the universe? And if he included the latter event, how could his purpose have bound him to exclude the former? Is it possible to regard such an argument as more than solemn trifling? And now let us turn to the elaborate and fantastic suppositions which the bishop has been obliged to invoke in defence of the actual narratives. Our shortest and best course will be to judge them out of his own mouth. 'The historical evidence of our Lord's birth of a virgin is,' he says, 'strong and cogent; but,' he goes on to admit, all his suppositions notwithstanding, 'it does not compel belief. There are ways to dissolve its force.'

— On what evidence, then, does the bishop really rely in order to prove that the Virgin Birth was a fact, when he dismisses other miracles, equally well attested, as fictitious? He relies, as we have seen, on a purely *a priori* argument. Accepting Christ's divinity as attested by a spiritual experience, he argues that the body with which the divinity was united must necessarily have been made of 'some new stuff of humanity,' and involved the 'miracle of a new physical creation,' and that this required the substitution of God for a human father, as the latter could not have avoided transmitting a taint of sin.

Can the bishop really believe that to the ordinary intelligence of to-day such arguments will seem anything better than the murmuring of a man in a dream? Can he believe that they will have the smallest weight even with those clergy of his own communion against whose doubts he directs it? Mr. Beeby has already pointed out that the bishop's doctrine as to 'the new stuff of humanity' is itself a heresy of a far more fatal kind than that which he has invented it to refute.

'For if Christ,' says Mr. Beeby—and most Christians will agree with him—'be a new physical creation, He can, from the nature of the case, be no example to ourselves'; whilst the bishop's argument invites criticism also from clergymen and laymen alike of a kind more destructive still. The bishop himself admits that our whole conception of existence has been largely and rightly modified by modern scientific knowledge. In especial, new lights have been thrown by it on the processes of birth and heredity. It is impossible to believe now, whatever may have been the case once, that the imperfections which the ordinary child inherits come to it from the father only, and that the mother has nothing to do with them. The Roman Church has seen the force of this argument clearly, and has consequently declared that, if birth from a virgin was essential to the sinlessness of the offspring, the Virgin herself must have been miraculously sinless also. If the bishop believed that, it would, of course, be open to us to ask him why, if two human parents could produce an immaculate woman, they might not also produce an immaculate man? But the doctrine of the immaculate conception is no part of the bishop's creed. For him the Virgin was a mother with Adam's taint in her veins; and since it is the essence of his contention that it addresses itself to the modern mind, and treats the birth of Christ as a physiological fact, it is idle in these days to ask people to believe that if human imperfection inheres in the nature of the mother, she would not have transmitted to her offspring the old 'stuff of humanity,' even though the agency of a human father were eliminated. The bishop's argument, in fact, if tried by the very tests to which he himself appeals, is for the modern mind not only not convincing but meaningless. How meaningless it is is evidenced by a recent observation of another Anglican cleric—the Rev. W. R. Inge. 'We should not,' says Mr. Inge curtly, 'now expect *a priori* that the Incarnate Logos would be born without a human father.' Mr. Inge, however, belongs to a school somewhat different from that of the bishop. We will, therefore, appeal once more to the opinions of Dr. Sanday. What has been the effect of the bishop's reasonings upon him—reasonings which are his own also? Let me call the reader's attention to the following astounding sentence. We ought, says Dr. Sanday, to regard the Virgin Birth 'as one of those hidden mysteries which, whether or not God wills that we should believe them now, He has, at all events, willed that men should believe in times past.' Is this the language of a man who feels that there is any solidity in those *a priori* arguments, coupled with 'predisposing moral dispositions' which, according to both him and the bishop, are so far the sole foundation of our faith that the evidence of the Gospels would have no weight without them, but would, on the contrary, discredit what they were once supposed to prove? Is it not rather the language of a man by nature passionately orthodox, who feels that the critical

method is the Effreet which he has let out of the bottle, and is pushing him step by step from the sanctuary which he has invoked it to defend ?

## V

FUTILITY OF THE DISTINCTION DRAWN BETWEEN THE MIRACLES RETAINED AND REJECTED SUFFICIENT TO EXPLAIN THE ALIENATION OF LAYMEN FROM THE ENGLISH CHURCH

And now let us consider the matter in a more general light—with reference to the position not of our clergy only, but, as we did at starting, to that of the laity also. How will the latter be affected by such teachings on the part of the former as those which we have just been discussing ?

Let us put what these teachings come to in a more succinct form. The novel and peculiar feature of them is that they shift the foundations of belief from the external evidences of the Bible, and even those of tradition, to some internal experience of the vitality of the Christian idea. Now, in one sense, and within limits, this procedure is correct, and only emphasises a truth which has always been implicitly recognised. If the personal character and many of the utterances of Christ—the Sermon on the Mount, for instance—had not in some special way appealed to the human heart, the idea of Christ's divinity would never have formed and spread itself ; and if nothing were left us but this idea, apprehended as ideally true, a religion might still exist and dominate many minds which, with perfect accuracy, might be called a species of Christianity. So far we may agree with the Bishop of Worcester. But though such a religion might, in a genuine sense, be Christian, there is one thing which it would not be—it would certainly not be the religion of Christian orthodoxy. Christian orthodoxy, as such, has for its distinctive essence not a mere assent to the ideal truth of an idea, but the assertion and belief that the idea, as a matter of history, embodied itself at definite dates in certain miraculous events—events which, in the Bishop of Worcester's phrase, were as 'absolutely coincident with the idea' as the Battle of Hastings was with the idea of the Norman invasion.

Such being the case, then, the whole point here at issue is not whether the Christian idea is subjectively true and valuable, and leads the individual soul to a private union with God, but whether the idea has signalled its unique verity by what the bishop calls 'a coincidence' with a series of objective prodigies ; and the religion of Christian orthodoxy, as distinguished from that of the Christian spirit, depends, according to the bishop and the whole modern Anglican school, on the question of whether objective evidence exists sufficient to convince us that such prodigies actually occurred. The

discussion, moreover, is narrowed down by the admission that unless they occurred substantially in the manner described in the Bible, it is idle to suppose that they ever occurred at all.

Now, as everyone knows, and as the English Prayer-book testifies, the series of prodigies which orthodoxy has thus represented as facts is a long one. They were held to have begun with man's first appearance on earth, and their continuity, and the vital connection between the more important of them, have always been held hitherto to be essential parts and evidences of God's supernatural dealings with the human race. But modern Anglican thought, as represented by the Bishop of Worcester, now discards a large number of these as entirely wanting in the character which traditional orthodoxy has imputed to them; and it does so for one or other of two reasons—either that the Biblical evidence for them has collapsed under modern criticism, or that modern scientific knowledge has shown that they could not be true. On these grounds the Bishop of Worcester enunciates views which, if they are taken seriously, turn the whole of the miraculous incidents of the Old Testament into myths, valuable—but valuable only—because they convey to the imagination the fact that God, before the coming of Christ, was producing a 'need, an ideal,' of Him in a 'certain delimited race.'

The bishop, however, does this with an apparently light heart, because he declares that a method which is applicable to the Old Testament cannot for obvious reasons be possibly applicable to the New. But how far is this principle verified by his own procedure? As we have seen, when he comes to the New Testament himself, most of its miracles, once believed to be true, and celebrated still by his Church every day in her services, fare no better than Adam and the Old Testament prophecies. They, too, are brushed aside as legends or misconceptions of fact, either because the evidences for them are worthless or contradictory, or because they are inconsistent with facts as we now know them. As has been said, he leaves only four remaining; and can any reasonable man believe that he has succeeded in showing that the evidence for these is any better than the evidence for the rest? We have examined the manner in which he has attempted to defend one of them—namely, the Virgin Birth, and we have noted his own confession that when all is said and done—when all the fantastic suppositions about Joseph and his affidavit have been made—the evidence, as it stands, 'does not compel belief; that there are ways to dissolve its force.' He would have spoken far more consistently with his own express admissions had he said that we can, if we give free rein to our fancies, arbitrarily invent incidents which will save it from being self-condemned. In other words—to repeat what has been said already—the Bishop of Worcester in his defence of the Virgin Birth abandons his professed principles of criticism altogether, and falls back on the mysticism of a vague

subjective certainty, which he vainly tries to invest with a quasi-scientific force by arguing that the imperfections of offspring come from the father only, and that consequently a sinless son could have had but one human parent.

To the Bishop of Worcester himself these reasonings, no doubt, seem valid. He is convinced beforehand, so he has to put no strain on them. But how will they strike those whose faith is lost or wavering—those for whose benefit alone he finds it necessary to urge them? What will such people think of an orthodoxy whose sole foundation is a mysterious leap from an idea to a series of historical facts? Let us test the legitimacy of such a leap in the eyes of the ordinary doubter by applying it to one case more. Let us apply it to the miracle of the Ascension. A belief in this is, according to the Bishop of Worcester, no less essential to the faith than a belief in the Virgin Birth, and his argument is that the idea of a God descending into a human body involves a departure from the earth no less unique than His entrance. Now can anyone maintain that this subjective inference, even though we may admit it to be a natural one, carries with it a belief that Christ in human form visibly went up from the earth's surface into the sky? I said at starting that certain of the miraculous events, solemnly asserted in the English liturgy to have occurred, are now regarded by increasing numbers as ridiculous. I have no wish to offend the devout feelings of anybody by adding that of such events the Ascension is perhaps the chief. The bishop attempts to defend the Virgin Birth by an appeal to scientific argument—to our modern knowledge as to heredity. Let us apply to the idea of the Ascension knowledge of the same kind. The idea was at one time equally sublime and natural, but its sublimity and its naturalness were altogether dependent on the old conception of a flat, immovable earth, overarched by a firmament on which was the local habitation of the deity. What, however, is the case now? The old conception of earth and heaven is destroyed. A heaven that is above, and an earth that is beneath, mean nothing to us; and the old doctrine of the Ascension consequently means nothing also. I am mentioning merely what to every thinking man must be a platitude, and what one of our most eminent preachers has, in even plainer language, urged already from his pulpit in Westminster Abbey. Instead of its being true, Archdeacon Wilberforce said, that a belief in the Ascension is, for the modern mind, a certain or probable consequence of a recognition of Christ's divinity, any actual going up of His Body is not only incredible but nonsensical. 'What is up in Galilee,' he said, 'is down at the antipodes; and the literal physical departure of a body through trackless space' is an event which the devoutest thought can no longer entertain seriously. We need not here consider the archdeacon's farther contention that the Ascension, as described in the New Testament, was really an optical delusion

produced by Christ for the benefit of His ignorant followers, and that what He veritably did was to vanish into the fourth dimension of space. It is enough to observe that the negative part of his argument, which is absolutely unanswerable, effectually disposes of the argument of the Bishop of Worcester from *a priori* ideas to the objective reality of one of his four essential miracles, and shows us that, just as the evidence for the Virgin Birth does not 'compel belief' in the actual occurrence, so the very idea of an Ascension no longer permits it. Into the Bishop of Worcester's and Dr. Sanday's treatment of the divinity of Christ and His Resurrection we cannot, as I have said already, inquire particularly here. It is enough to observe that there are the germs in it of a far more destructive scepticism than any which has openly expressed itself in the utterances either of Mr. Beeby or of Canon Henson; and though the bishop and his friends may not draw from it its full logical consequences, the ordinary public will inevitably in time do so.

I will, in conclusion, merely ask the Bishop of Worcester, and all the thoughtful and scholarly clergy of the Church of England as well, whether the conclusions which they have actually already reached and admitted are not sufficient to account for a general decline in church-going, without invoking the assistance of Sunday concerts or bicycles, or too many candles on one altar, or too few on another? Whatever nice distinctions may be drawn by clerical experts between the mass of unbelievable miracles and a privileged minority of four, they are certain to be quite disregarded by the plain common sense of laymen. If Dr. Sanday or the bishop were to begin his services by convincing the mass of his congregation that the prophecies were 'erroneous predictions,' that their fulfilment was imagined by the Evangelists, that the miraculous incidents of Christ's temptation were mythical, that Christ thought He was casting out devils when He was not, and that half of His utterances were the utterances of a man as ignorant as His contemporaries, the mass of the congregation would at once doubt or reject the stories of the miraculous birth, of the empty tomb, the two men in white apparel, and the Body that ascended into a cloud from a spot which it is impossible to determine. In any case, a multitude of miracles which the clergy themselves actually tell us to reject are asserted with ceaseless iteration throughout the whole English liturgy. And if the truth of these assertions is openly denied in our chancels, can the occupants of the chancels wonder at the increasing emptiness of our naves? Some laymen, no doubt, may still, in spite of everything, find in our Church worship the consolation of a spiritual atmosphere; but to most it will be increasingly repulsive to take part in a service which involves at every moment a solemn profession of beliefs, the truth of which both they and the clergy deny.

W. H. MALLOCK.

## THE DIFFICULTY OF PREACHING SERMONS

FEW things are more curious than the attitude of ordinary Church-going men and women towards sermons. They criticise sermons and complain of them, they insist upon the poverty and foolishness of them, they declaim against them as doing little good, and sometimes as doing positive harm. Yet if anything is certain in the religious life of Protestant England, it is that a sermon possesses a strangely attractive influence upon the minds and spirits of the very persons who abuse it. 'There are perhaps few institutions in modern life,' says Professor Mahaffy in his essay on *The Decay of Modern Preaching*, 'more universally accepted, and at the same time decried, than that of preaching.' The orthodox soul feels at times that something is wanting even to a musical service in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, unless a sermon forms part of it. Perhaps the truth is that, if the world does not like sermons, yet somehow it seems to like disliking them.

Criticism, even unjust criticism, is not a bad thing for most people. Certainly it is not a bad thing for the clergy. Outside the Church they meet objection and opposition, but within it they are autocrats. It is their perilous prerogative to address in church men and women, who are often their intellectual superiors, upon the highest of all themes, without any fear of contradiction. It can hardly be a matter of surprise that, if no one overtly disagrees with their arguments or conclusions, they should come to look upon disagreement as unreasonable. But many a congregation avenges itself for the enforced silence which prevails during the sermon by vigorous animadversion upon it when it is finished. The people who sit under the preacher within the church not infrequently sit upon him in the churchyard.

Yet it is possible that Christian laymen would be more lenient critics of sermons, if they realised how hard a thing it is to preach. Good speaking is rare enough, but good preaching is, and must be, rarer. For if the sermon be regarded merely as a mode of human oratory, it is of all modes the one which makes the largest demand upon the intellectual and spiritual faculties of the orator.

One reason is that, however many sermons are preached, their

subject is practically the same ; it may be treated in many ways and in many manners, but it is one. 'The old, old story,' beautiful and sacred as it is in itself, lacks and cannot but lack the special interest of novelty. What a preacher says, and must say, to-day, has been said by thousands of lips in thousands of ways during nineteen centuries. When a statesman addresses a public audience it is generally in his power to communicate fresh information, or to originate criticism upon information lately given, or to conduct an argument about it, to start a policy, or set it out in a new light, or recommend it by new arguments, or urge new reasons against it. There is an air of expectation and excitement in the looks of men as they enter a hall to listen to a speech at a time of strong political feeling ; they are eager to know what a particular statesman will tell them about the topic of the hour. But the theme of a sermon is already familiar ; that it is important, august, and sublime is perfectly true—*omnia magna quæ dicimus*, as Augustine says—but it is not novel. All that the most original of preachers can aspire to do is to shed a little fresh light upon well-known and well-worn truths.

No doubt there have been times when the Gospel came to men as something new. It was so, of course, in Apostolic days. It has been so when an age of religious enthusiasm has succeeded an age of religious indifference. Luther, and the other great Reformers, arrested attention as much by the novelty as by the fervour of their convictions. Wesley and Whitefield, in the era of the Methodist revival, enjoyed the advantage of preaching the terrors of the Law and the promises of the Gospel to people who welcomed the message as something strange and startling, something which they had never heard before or had wholly forgotten and felt to come upon their minds and consciences as a revelation. For the preaching of conversion to souls which have lost the thought of God always suggests and often effects a novel experience. It is told of Louis the Fourteenth that one day he asked the poet Boileau what kind of preacher was a certain ecclesiastic whom all the Parisian world at the time was running after. Boileau replied, 'Votre Majesté sait qu'on court toujours à la nouveauté, c'est un prédicateur qui prêche l'Évangile.'

But this is a state of things happily rare ; it occurs only now and then in the crises of the Church. For the most part men and women are not surprised by the novelty, but rather wearied by the familiarity of the preacher's message. Yet he must preach, and must preach every Sunday ; and, however weary or languid he may be, must try to preach as though his whole heart were in his sermon.

But that every ordained clergyman should preach sermons was not at all the idea of the primitive Church. It seems that the first regular preachers were the bishops. They could, and they alone ordinarily did, preach ; but it was in their power to confer the privilege



or impose the duty of preaching upon others. Thus Augustine, although he himself argues that it was the proper office of the bishop to preach, was, as his biographer relates, the first presbyter of the African Church who delivered a sermon in the presence of the bishop. Jerome stood up for the rights of presbyters to preach; it was 'a very bad custom,' he said, 'in certain churches,' that the right of preaching should be denied them. Deacons, however, were never allowed to preach except in rare and special circumstances. But it is related by the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius that Origen was invited as a layman by Alexander, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to preach before him. If so, Origen, who was often an innovator, may be regarded as the prototype of licensed lay preachers.

But whatever may have been the nature and number of the exceptions in primitive or even in mediæval times, preaching did not become the regular function of all ordained ministers until the Reformation. It was then that bishops, priests, deacons, pastors, ministers, all alike began to preach, and to preach with almost equal frequency; preaching in fact became everybody's business.

The Reformation introduced many ecclesiastical changes, and among them a change in the use of the pulpit. It invested preaching with a new importance. The pulpit took the place of the altar. Every clergyman and minister of religion became a preacher. The office of preaching, which in the Roman Church was and is more or less limited to certain orders of preachers, was usurped by the clergy generally. To preach became the one thing, or the chief thing, which the clergy could do for their people, as the one thing, or the chief thing, had been in the old days to offer sacrifice. It follows that clergy of very various gifts and attainments have been expected from Sunday to Sunday to deliver sermons of their own composition upon the great verities of the Gospel. But where everybody preaches there will be many bad preachers; where sermons are many even good sermons will lose their flavour. In the interests then of the clergy, no less than of the laity, it would be well to diminish the number of the sermons. Not the most richly endowed of human beings could preach well as often as the most ordinary clergyman is, in modern times, expected to preach. It was a favourite saying of Bishop Andrewes that he who preached twice in a week 'prated once.' How hard then is the fate of a vicar or curate, infinitely below Bishop Andrewes in learning, facility, and experience, if he has to preach three or four sermons a week, or, as I have known, eight or ten sermons in Holy Week! Such a multiplication of sermons is not only a burden upon preachers and hearers alike, but it falsifies the idea of public worship; for the true end of worship is not preaching but devotion. The worshipper who is never happy at divine service without a sermon has not yet adequately learnt what worship is. It is possible to pray at all times, but it is not possible to preach often. The tacit

understanding which binds the clergy to frequent preaching renders the difficult office of the pulpit doubly difficult.

For it must be remembered that preaching is speaking without certain helps which are generally conceded to secular oratory. I do not say that preaching could or ought to avail itself of these helps, but only that, because it lacks them, it is more difficult. It is the difficulty of preaching which is my subject.

There is no doubt that a good many sermons are dreadfully dull. But it is an element in the difficulty of preaching that clergymen, in preparing and delivering their sermons, are practically debarred from adopting some accepted oratorical means. Thus the use of humour in a sermon is almost unknown within the Church of England. Non-conformist preachers like the late Mr. Spurgeon have sometimes employed humour in their sermons with striking effect. When he preached (if the story is true) upon the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford, and asked where it was possible to find martyrs at the present day, and suggested that, if the bishops and clergy of the Church of England were the martyrs, they would be sure to burn well, they were so dry, he resorted to a device which might or might not be allowed and approved by his own congregation, but would certainly grate upon the critical taste of Churchmen. 'To be amusing in the pulpit is a great crime,' says Professor Mahaffy, who seems to regret that it is not open to preachers to appeal to 'that peculiar human faculty, the faculty of laughter.' But the use of humour in sermons is a dangerous weapon. It is more likely to create offence than to excite piety, and the clergy of the Church of England have wisely agreed to forego it. For where one orator possesses the subtle tact of knowing when to raise a laugh and how to check it in his congregation, and of employing merriment in such a way as to leave no sense of incongruity or irreverence behind it, it is probable that ten men in the exercise of humour will do harm rather than good, and will destroy or diminish the moving power of their own exhortations. There have, however, been times when the clergy of the Church of England have not scrupled to insert humorous passages in their sermons. If it were necessary to specify a humorous preacher, although his humour was of a coarser grain than would be allowed to any preacher in the present day, I think I should mention Dr. South. It will be enough to cite one instance of his humorous style. In a sermon which he preached at Westminster Abbey on the 22nd of February, 1684, from Proverbs xvi. 33—'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord'—he dwelt upon 'those vast and stupendous encreases of fortune that have followed the small despicable beginnings of some things and persons.' Then he continued in the following strain :

Who that had lookt upon Agathocles first handling the Clay and making Pots under his Father, and afterwards turning Robber, could have thought that from such a condition he should come to be King of *Sicily*? Who that had seen

*Masaniello* a poor Fisherman, with his Red Cap and his Angle, could have reckon'd it possible to see such a pitiful thing within a week after shining in his Cloth of Gold, and with a word or a nod absolutely commanding the whole City of Naples? And who that had beheld such a Bankrupt beggarly fellow as *Cromwell* first entering Parliament House with a threadbare torn Cloak, and a greasy hat (and perhaps neither of them paid for), could have suspected that in the space of so few years he should, by the murder of one king and the banishment of another, ascend the Throne, be invested in the Royal Robes and want nothing of the state of the King but the change of his Hat into a Crown?

King Charles the Second was an auditor of that sermon; he burst out laughing as he listened to it and said, turning to Lord Rochester, 'Ods fish, Lory, your Chaplain must be a Bishop; therefore put me in mind of him at the next death.' But he himself was the next to die, and South never became a bishop. Such humour is as much out of date as out of taste; it is rather a warning than an example to preachers, and few critics of sermons will be found to regret that modern preachers have ceased to be humorists of the school of Dr. South.

Again, the art of preaching, difficult as it is in itself, is made still more difficult by the unbroken silence in which congregations listen to sermons. Time was when sermons, like speeches, were subject to interruption, as Chrysostom's were, for example, at Constantinople, and the interruption, if it was disturbing, was enlivening. There is, indeed, a story that Chrysostom once preached a sermon against the practice of applauding preachers by clapping of hands and stamping of feet, and that his congregation received even that sermon with applause. But piety, or perhaps decorum, has long since forbidden the expression of approval or dissent in churches. It would be thought a strange thing that anyone listening to a sermon should cry 'Hear, hear' or 'No, no.' Such ejaculations are wholly undesirable; they are fatal to reverence. But the absence of them enhances the difficulty of preaching. For when an audience gives no visible or audible sign of emotion, how can a speaker tell what the effect of his words is, or whether they have any effect at all? The secular speaker knows more or less if he is in touch with his hearers, but a preacher never knows. For half an hour or perhaps three-quarters of an hour he addresses an audience which seems to be utterly apathetic or indifferent. It is true, indeed, that a preacher who reads his sermon from a manuscript is less dependent upon the sympathy of the congregation than he who preaches, as the phrase is, *ex tempore*. But all preachers, and extemporaneous preachers most of all, would sometimes be thankful if their sermons could evoke at least some sign of sympathy, or even of dissent. They could not, indeed, or would not, use the interruption as political orators use it, for quick rejoinder or repartee; but it would suggest something that they ought to say but had not thought of saying, it would help them to make their meaning more lucid and more persuasive; at all events it would give them time to take breath. So essential to oratory are regular breathing-spaces, that in theatres

it has often been found necessary to organise applause. The explanation of the *claque* in French theatres is that actors cannot speak their parts with comfort unless they know that at stated intervals they will get opportunities of recovering themselves by a brief pause. Such opportunities political orators create for themselves. But to speak for considerable length without eliciting a single sign of favour or disfavour, and so to speak as not to weary a critical audience, is one of the hardest oratorical tasks which could be imposed upon anybody, and it is imposed every week upon the clergy.

Sermons, too, like speeches, if adapted to the public taste, must vary greatly at different times. The sermons of one nation are distasteful or displeasing to another. No English congregation would have listened to such sermons as used to be popular in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. There is, indeed, a story told of a dissenting preacher named Lobb in the seventeenth century who, when South went to hear him, 'being mounted up in the pulpit and naming his text, made nothing of splitting it up into twenty-six divisions, upon which separately he very carefully undertook to expatiate in their order. Thereupon the doctor rose up, and jogging the friend who bore him company, said: "Let us go home and fetch our gowns and slippers, for I find this man will make night work of it."' But Mr. Lobb himself was humane in the pulpit as compared to a certain Mr. Thomas Boston, to whose sermons Sir Archibald Geikie has lately drawn attention in his fascinating *Scottish Reminiscences*. Mr. Thomas Boston, who wrote a book called *Primitiæ et Ultima*, was minister of the Gospel at Ettrick. In a sermon on 'Fear and Hope, Objects of the Divine Complacency,' from the text Psalm cxlvii. 11—'The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him and in those that hope in His mercy'—Mr. Boston, 'after an introduction in four sections, deduced six doctrines, each sub-divided into from three to eight heads; but the last doctrine required another sermon which contained "a practical improvement of the whole," arranged under eighty-six heads. A sermon on Matthew xj. 28 was sub-divided into seventy-six heads'; on this text, indeed, Mr. Boston preached four such sermons. It is more than doubtful whether any brains or hearts south of the Tweed could have stood the strain of such discourses. But a Scotch preacher, not in the present degenerate age, has been known to preach from five to six hours at a stretch, and sometimes, when one preacher had finished his sermon another would begin, and there would be a succession of preachers delivering sermon upon sermon, until the unhappy congregations were kept listening to 'the Word' for as many as ten hours without a break. No sermons ever preached in England can compare with these. It is told, however, to the credit of an English congregation, that Bishop Burnet once preached with an hour-glass at his side, and, when the sands in the hour-glass had run out, he was requested to turn it upside down and preach another

hour. And there may be at the present time a certain interest attaching to a contemporary account of one of the fast-days connected with the framing of the Westminster Confession of Faith. 'After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large two hours most divinely. . . . After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm; thereafter, Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached an hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours, then a psalm. After, Mr. Henderson brought them to a short, sweet conference of the heat confessed in the assembly, and other seen faults, to be remedied, and the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially Anabaptists and Antinomians.'

But upon the whole the judgment of modern times is not unreasonably adverse to long sermons. Life is short; but many things in it, and sermons among them, are apt to be too long. Life is busy, too, nowadays; I do not think any religious service should exceed an hour and a half, or any sermon should exceed half an hour. As a rule, sermons gain point and power by compression. It is a wise saying of St. François de Sales: '*Plus vous direz, moins on retiendra. Moins vous direz, plus on profitera.* . . . *À force de charger la mémoire d'un auditeur on la démolit: comme l'on esteint les lampes quand on y met trop d'huile; on suffoque les plantes quand on les arrose desmesurément. Quand un discours est trop long, la fin fait oublier le milieu, et le milieu le commencement.*'

But it is not only in regard to the length of sermons that the public taste has undergone a change. If I may specify four celebrated preachers of the Church of England—Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Dr. South, and Bishop Butler—it is safe to say that there is not one of them whose sermons would be appreciated or perhaps tolerated at the present day. Let me take as an example the sermons of Jeremy Taylor. Bishop Heber has passed a sound criticism upon them in the preface to his edition of the works of Jeremy Taylor. It will be enough to quote the following remarks:

It may still more excite our wonder that such sermons as these should have been addressed to any but an audience exclusively academical. A University alone and a University of no ordinary erudition appears the fit theatre for discourses crowded as these are with quotations from the classics and the Fathers, with allusions to the most recondite topics of moral and natural philosophy, with illustrations drawn from all the arts and sciences, and from history ancient and modern, clothed in language rich and harmonious indeed beyond all contemporary writers, but abounding in words of foreign extraction and in unusual applications of those which are of native origin.

Nor should I have hesitated to conclude that most of Taylor's sermons had been really composed and intended only for an academical audience, had not the author himself informed us, in his title page and in his dedication to Lord Carbery, that they were preached at Golden Grove to the family and domestics of his patron, or at most to a few gentlemen and ladies of that secluded neighbourhood, and to as many of the peasantry on the estate as could understand English.

*Autres temps, autres mœurs*, as Voltaire says. But it is difficult to believe that any congregation in the seventeenth century, and least of all a rural congregation, can have listened with pleasure or patience to the sermons on Christ's Advent to Judgment, or The Return of Prayers, or the Flesh and the Spirit, or the House of Feasting, or the Marriage Ring.

Yet if the character of preaching varies with the times, it is not perhaps impossible to lay down some general rules for the composition and delivery of sermons. Archbishop Magee, in a lecture on the art of preaching, divided preachers into three classes, viz. : (1) preachers you can't listen to ; (2) preachers you can listen to ; (3) preachers you can't help listening to. But although these three classes may exist in all ages, it does not follow that the same persons would always compose the same class. Preachers vary as much in their manners as in their gifts ; and whatever is natural to a preacher is generally best for him, so long as what is natural is not understood to be what is easy. A great preacher, like a great orator, is a law to himself ; but for most preachers the only true freedom is the freedom of walking at large within certain broad definite limits.

It seems to me as clear as any just rule can be that a preacher ought to write out his sermons. That there are preachers who can dispense with the use of manuscript in the pulpit does not upset this rule, but rather enforces it. Fluency or facility is a peculiar snare to preachers, and above all to young preachers. For if a man is never at a loss for a word, if he can address a congregation at great length without any fear of breaking down, he is of all men the one who most needs the sobering discipline of committing his thoughts to paper. I have never known a preacher, not the most eloquent or the most powerful, who would not, as it seemed to me, have preached better if he would have taken the trouble to write out his sermon. Extempore preaching is apt to be, like long preaching, a form of conceit. It is essential that the preacher should say what he means to say and not something else. It is better to preach too little than too much. But the literary composition of sermons is the best safeguard against prolixity, as it is perhaps the best guarantee of orthodoxy. The rule of Cicero about oratory is still more applicable to preaching : 'Caput est quod, ut vere dicam, minime facimus (est enim magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus) quam plurimum scribere.' .

The writing of sermons was the rule of the primitive Church. Origen is said to have set the example of extemporaneous preaching ; but he did not begin it until he was past sixty years of age, and even then it was taken to indicate his wonderful knowledge of the Scriptures. His sermons were reported by *ταχυγράφοι*, or shorthand writers. Augustine, too, sometimes preached without preparation, as on one occasion when the wrong psalm was given out in Divine Worship, and he laid aside his prepared sermon and preached upon the psalm

which had been read. But extemporaneous preaching may mean two separate things, either that the preacher delivers unprepared sermons, or that he delivers sermons without the use of manuscript. Of the former practice it is only possible to say with Archbishop Magee, that 'unprepared preaching is like schism, either a necessity or a sin.' But even to preach a sermon which has not been largely or entirely written out is, as it seems to me, at least in a young preacher, to forget the seriousness of preaching.

A sermon is so solemn a thing that not only every passage of it but every statement—I might almost say every sentence—demands careful consideration. It is so easy to overstate the argument, or to understate it, or to misrepresent truth by some partial ill-conceived expression, or to fall into heresy, or to say a little more or a little less than is suitable to the occasion or the circumstances.

How many a preacher who speaks on the spur of the moment wanders from his subject or becomes involved in it, or contradicts or refutes himself, or gets into a muddle with his matter, or, as has been said, has made an end of his sermon and does not know it! Scrupulous exact composition—such as Pope prescribes in his criticism of 'copious Dryden,' who

wanted or forgot

The last and greatest art, the art to blot—

is the only means by which a sermon, alike in its style, its character, and its length, can do such justice as the preacher is capable of doing to his high theme. It is my opinion that no sermon should represent less than six, or if possible eight hours' work; many sermons should represent more. A preacher who possesses the fatal power of droning on with unfinished sentences and undeveloped arguments, to the weariness and misery of his audience, is one of the worst enemies of the pulpit, and, I am afraid, one of the worst enemies of the Church. It were well for him to lay to heart South's trenchant phrase, 'How men should thus come to make a salvation of an immortal soul with such a slight extempore business, I cannot understand, and would gladly know upon whose example they ground that way of preaching.'

No doubt rules are less strictly applicable to preachers who have long been occupied in the anxious and arduous duty of saving souls, than to such preachers as are immature and inexperienced. Bossuet was wont to say; 'My sermon is finished, all that remains for me to do is to find the words.' Yet there can hardly be too much pains spent upon the composition of a sermon. If a clergyman preaches easily, he may feel sure that he preaches badly. Rather should he spend a quarter of an hour in elaborating his sermon for every minute that he takes to deliver it.

But while the duty of careful preparation is incumbent upon all preachers, it does not seem that any absolute rule can be laid down for the delivery of sermons. There is no such evident gain in reading

a sermon as in writing it. Reading adds little, perhaps nothing, to the precision of statement; but it may detract something from the energy of effect. The following words are Cardinal Newman's: 'I think it is no extravagance to say that a very inferior sermon delivered without a book answers the purpose for which all sermons are delivered more perfectly than one of great merit, if it be written and read.' Most people know Mrs. Oliphant's story of Edward Irving, how, in the critical hour when he was preaching his first sermon before a Scotch congregation at Annan, he happened, by some incautious movement, to upset the Bible in front of him and sent the manuscript of his sermon, which had lain hidden in its pages, fluttering on to the precentor's desk beneath. A rustle of excitement ran through the Church as the congregation waited to see what the neophyte would do in such trying circumstances. But in a moment he bent his massive figure over the pulpit, grasped the manuscript as it lay, crushed it up in his hand, thrust it into his pocket, and went on preaching as fluently as before. 'There does not exist,' she adds, 'a congregation in Scotland which this act would not have taken by storm. His success was triumphant. To criticise a man so visibly independent of "the paper" would have been presumption indeed.'

The habit of reading a sermon from manuscript may be tolerable before a cultivated congregation, it may be actually preferable in a large cathedral, where the preacher, if he is to be audible, needs all his thought for the delivery, rather than for the phraseology of his discourse; but there are congregations, especially such as are illiterate, which can scarcely be brought to believe in a sermon that is read and not spoken. Bishop Phillips Brooks, in his *Lectures on Preaching*, tells a quaint story of a backwoodsman in Virginia, who paid a bishop of the Episcopal Church the rough compliment of remarking that 'he liked him; he was the first one he ever saw of those petticoat fellows who could shoot without a rest.'

It does not indeed follow that a sermon should be committed to memory. Ancient orators were in the habit of learning their speeches by heart. French and Italian preachers often learn their sermons by heart to-day. But upon the whole memory holds a less distinct and decided place in modern oratory than in ancient. It was generally assumed in classical treatises upon Rhetoric that some more or less artificial means by which a speaker could retain the thread of his subject in his mind were essential to oratory. But modern English speakers or preachers dislike the habit of learning or trying to learn their addresses by heart, if only because when they depend upon memory for their words, their memory may fail them, and then they are wholly at a loss. Scarcely any position is more painful or more dreadful than when a preacher who has committed his sermon to memory finds in the pulpit that it has wholly vanished from him. It was the fear of such a catastrophe which led



Bourdaloue—*le prédicateur des rois et le roi des prédicateurs*, as he was called—to preach with his eyes closed. Preachers less eminent than Bourdaloue have not seldom depended upon prompting. But the English feeling for simplicity or straightforwardness does not approve the presence of a prompter standing half hidden with a manuscript in his hands somewhere on the staircase of the pulpit behind the preacher's back.

Perhaps there is no better way of preaching than that which was advocated by Fénelon in the second of his well-known dialogues. It has been recommended and illustrated by famous preachers, *e.g.* by Dupanloup in France and Magee in England. It is that a preacher should write out his sermon in full, or almost in full, and read it over a good many times until its thoughts, and in some degree its words, have stamped themselves on his mind, and then deliver it without the aid of manuscript, or at least with no other aid than a few heads, inscribed upon a sheet of notepaper, as a means of saving him from any failure of memory. He should feel that no preliminary study can be too great for the solemn task of preaching. But if everything is prepared and nothing left to the inspiration of the moment, sermons are apt to seem lifeless and heartless. The late Mr. Spurgeon, in his *Lectures to my Students*, pokes fun at the preachers who, after imploring the Holy Spirit to prompt their utterances, would be seen slipping their hands behind their backs to draw out a carefully elaborated manuscript from their coat-tails. But where the sermon is written out and yet not verbally committed to memory, it is possible to unite in some degrees the qualities of thoughtfulness and liveliness, of reflection and emotion, of the responsibility which will not give to God what has not caused the preacher a strenuous effort, and of reliance upon the divine assistance promised, in the hour of speaking, to the witnesses for Christ.

There may well be, and sometimes is, an excess of art in sermons. For if the art is ostentatious it is fatal. Even a studied elocution is apt to leave a disagreeable impression, as though the preacher were thinking of something else than his high and solemn message. For where rules of oratorical delivery have been formally taught and carefully learnt, sermons may indeed be artistic; but they lose the quality which is better than art, and it is just that quality which makes the sermon real. A sermon may owe much to the preacher's skill in composing or delivering it, but the soul of the sermon is not there. The supreme quality of all sermons is the ethical. As Bishop Dupanloup says in his *Ministry of Preaching*, 'Nothing is more essential to the preaching of the Word of God than a certain character of elevation.' Even in secular teaching personality counts for much. The printing press has not altogether supplanted the platform or the desk. It is still true, as Socrates used to say, that books cannot answer questions, and living teachers can. It is probably the feeling for

personality which has led congregations by a sure instinct to dislike and almost distrust the practice, which seems at first sight eminently reasonable, of clergymen preaching sermons other than their own. It is because the speaker or the lecturer can put himself *en rapport* with his audience, can feel their pulses, as it were, and suit their tempers, because he can impress upon them the indefinable effect of his own character, that oral teaching remains as great a force as ever. But in sermons personality is everything. It is not so much what the preacher says as what he is that makes his sermon. Personality, it is true, may affect preaching in more ways than one. A village priest, let me suppose, has lived many years among his people; his home is theirs, his interests are theirs; he has baptised the children of the village and seen them grow up, he has married them, and some of them he has laid in the grave; there is not a family whose history he does not know, there is not a cottage within whose walls he is not a welcome and frequent visitor; he has shared his people's hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows; he has been the recipient of their confidences, he is their neighbour, their adviser, their friend; he has exemplified in his rectory or vicarage what Coleridge calls 'the one idyll of English life.' How is it possible that they should distinguish his sermon from his life? It comes to them fraught with a thousand memories of kindness and sympathy and help in hours of need. Such a man's life is his sermon; his sermon is his life. When he enters the pulpit the congregation who listen to him care not to ask if he is eloquent or forcible in his preaching. It is enough that he is their well-known, long-tried pastor, and his sermons are stamped with the indelible impression of his ministry. Because this is so, it would undoubtedly prove a loss to take away the right of preaching from the parochial clergy and confine it to certain preaching orders. Whether these clergy preach well or ill, nobody can preach to their congregations so well as they.

But where a preacher delivers a single sermon or a series of sermons to a congregation which he has seldom or never seen before, and may not see again, the case is different. The qualities required to impress his sermon upon men's hearts are not such as issue from association or recollection; they are personal qualities exhibited in the moment of preaching, they are independent of his life and labour in the past. Such a preacher will need many gifts, but above all intensity and sympathy. He must speak with living reality, not as one who is smooth or careless or self-centred, but as though his words came surging from his soul; he must preach, in Baxter's emphatic phrase,

As never sure to preach again,  
And as a dying man to dying men.

For far above all style or expression or oratorical skill stands the effect of the preacher himself upon his audience. The great Massillon,

it is said, when he began to preach, gave the impression of being utterly unable to refrain any longer from uttering the truth which filled his soul and burst like living flame from his lips.

It is an interesting question, and like most questions of high interest, difficult to answer, whether the pulpit is, or can ever be again, as potent a force as it used to be upon the thought and character of Christendom. There are not a few observers who hold that the great days of preaching are past. They argue, not without reason, that many agencies—books, magazines, newspapers, lectures, addresses upon social and moral questions—occupy to a large extent the old established place of the pulpit. It must, I think, be admitted, that the sphere of preaching can no more be made, as it once was, nearly co-extensive with human interests. Yet preachers like Newman, Robertson, and Spurgeon have exercised a powerful influence within the nineteenth century, and it arose primarily and principally, although not entirely, from the use which they made of the pulpit.

It seems to me that the preacher of to-day will do his work best if he pays regard to the necessary limitations which modern life imposes upon his office. The effect of his preaching may be as strong as ever, but it will be felt within narrower bounds.

For except where the congregation is uneducated (and uneducated congregations are becoming happily few) he cannot now speak from any vantage-ground of superiority. He is not like a master instructing his pupils, but like a friend persuading his equals. He cannot be sure that his hearers will accept what he says because he says it. He cannot assume the old conditions of thought and temper, patience, and docility, the sense of respect, the willingness to learn, the conviction of sin, the unclouded faith in God and Christ, which might once be supposed to exist everywhere. And as this is so, he will always, unless indeed in condemning overt sin, avoid anything like an-arbitrary, dictatorial tone. He will refrain from laying down the law in unmeasured terms. Even in censuring what is wrong, he will associate himself, as it were, with his hearers; he will not always say 'you,' but rather 'we.' He will claim for himself the privilege of offering counsel upon the highest subjects, and that only as one whose profession has led him to study them exclusively or specially, and to meditate and reflect upon them, and to form conclusions which are in his eyes so vitally and profoundly true that he could not rest satisfied if he did not give them utterance. For after all it is not to assert any unique virtue in the clerical office, if it be taken for granted that, as men who have studied and practised medicine all their lives are the best authorities upon the art of healing, and men who have been brought up from boyhood in the ways of business, upon commerce, so the clergy, from their study of religion and their intimacy with the discipline of souls, if not also from their personal character, may often prove not the least competent teachers in

matters of faith and conduct. And in these matters, if rhetoric is, as Aristotle defined it, the art of persuasion, it is spiritual persuasiveness which will be the highest attribute of preaching.

It must be remembered that the pulpit is not now and will apparently not again become the only or the chief organ of teaching upon theology. When nobody could read the Bible outside the church it was necessary that people should go to church in order to read it. When nobody could hear moral and spiritual truths except in church, it was in the church that everybody heard them. But the church no longer enjoys a monopoly of these subjects. A certain office, then, which once belonged to the pulpit, is now discharged, and perhaps more suitably discharged, by other agencies. For the delivery of sermons does not at the time allow sufficient leisure for the reflectiveness which theological controversy demands. Where religious topics are discussed everywhere, not only in literature but in conversation, the hortatory character of the pulpit may remain what it was, but something of its instructive character must depart from it. I believe the preacher of to-day will be wise if he keeps his pulpit, as far as possible, clear of controversy. There is as much good sense as ever in Mr. Simeon's saying that 'the servant of the Lord must not strive,' even in the pulpit. For then Christian men and women will find in church a tranquil spiritual atmosphere which cannot be equally found elsewhere, and the effect of it will be edifying and sanctifying.

But there are two kinds of controversial preaching which are open to particular objection.

It cannot but be a grave mistake if the preacher makes use of his pulpit to enunciate frequently before a mixed congregation the extreme theories of Biblical criticism. Such theories may be true or untrue, and I have no need here to pronounce a verdict against them; but they lack the quality of edification which is proper to the pulpit. The preacher's office is not to destroy faith, but to fortify it. Attacks upon the Word of God, and upon accepted and established interpretations of it, upon the creeds and ordinances of the Church, have their due place, but that place is surely not the House of God. All such teaching as is given from the pulpit should be in fact and in intention constructive. The preacher who sends away his congregation with a wounded or weakened faith not only mistakes the nature but in some sense violates the sanctity of the pulpit. For the office of the pulpit is not to pull down but to build up, not to show men how little to believe but how much, to afford them something of grace, of helpfulness, of corroboration, to make them good soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ. The highest triumph of preaching lies not in instructed intellects, but in converted and consecrated souls.

Still worse, however, than the introduction of criticism is the introduction of politics into sermons. That religion must affect political life, as it affects all life, is perfectly true; but the pulpit is

not the platform, it is degraded if it is converted into a platform, as the minister of religion is degraded if he becomes a political demagogue. And the almost certain result of political preaching is not the elevation of politics, but the secularisation of the Gospel.

The preacher of to-day will follow most closely in his Master's footsteps if it is written upon his conscience that Jesus Christ, in His ministry upon earth, sought not to save souls by effecting political or social reforms, but to effect such reforms, even if slowly and painfully, by saving souls. For this reason he will allow nothing to interfere with the spirituality of his preaching.

Preachers have too much forgotten the Divine example. They have attenuated the force of their preaching by enlarging its scope, they have regarded every high topic, if only it could be coloured with religion, as suited to the pulpit. That was not the way of the Christ. It has been brought as a charge against Him that His range of interests was confined. Art, science, literature, politics, He left alone. It would have been better to have learnt from Him that nothing is the true and vital matter of a sermon except what tends to the saving or strengthening of souls.

It is not a little remarkable that, wherever preaching in modern times has produced a powerful, energetic effect upon society, the preacher, like Wesley, like Luther, like Chrysostom, like St. Paul, in other ages of Christian history, has made his appeal to the intrinsic spirituality of human nature.

The need, then, of the day is that preaching, at least to cultivated congregations, should become not perhaps less intellectual, but more spiritual. After all, it is the spiritual side of man's nature that affords a reason for preaching, as for all religious worship. For it is this side which is capable of Divine things, and religion alone can satisfy its demand. But herein lies the supreme equality of the preacher's office. He speaks as an ambassador for God, he is charged with a message which he did not originate and which he may not ignore or impair. It is his responsible duty to hold up before his congregation a moral standard far above his own possible attainment. The dignity of his message is too often the censure of his own life. And however earnestly and assiduously he tries to lift himself to the level of the truths which he proclaims, he cannot but be conscious that they escape and transcend his actual practice and rise above the earthly sphere in which he moves into the serene and sacred atmosphere which lies around the throne of God.

The preacher will be subdued, then, by the feeling of his own unworthiness. Not less subduing to his intimate consciousness will be his appreciation of the contrast between the vast amount of preaching in the Christian world and the actual or apparent poverty of its results. It has been calculated that 100,000 sermons are preached in the United Kingdom every Sunday. But if he asks himself how great is

the result of all this effort, he knows not what answer he can give. It may well be that after years of preaching he feels that he has preached almost in vain. He cannot tell the name of any one person, man or woman, who has been moved by any sermon of his to any single definite act of renunciation or generosity or nobleness or faith. I may be permitted, then, in concluding this essay, to quote a moving story not without its encouragement and consolation. I take it from Twells's *Colloquies on Preaching*:

A friend of mine (he says), a layman, was in the company of a very eminent preacher, then in the decline of life. My friend had happened to remark what comfort it must be to him to think of all the good he had done by his gift of eloquence. The eyes of the old man filled with tears, and he said, 'You little know; you little know! If I ever turned one heart from the ways of disobedience to the wisdom of the just, God has withheld the assurance from me. I have been admired and flattered and run after, but how gladly I would forget all that to be told of a single soul I have been instrumental in saving!' The eminent preacher entered into his rest. There was a great funeral, many pressed around the grave who had oftentimes hung entranced upon his lips. My friend was there; and by his side was a stranger, who was so deeply moved that, when all was over, my friend said to him, 'You knew him, I suppose?' 'Knew him,' was the reply, 'No, I never spoke to him, but I owe to him my soul.'

It has been my object to show that preaching is a difficult task, difficult in its moral and spiritual exigencies as well as in its demands upon the intellect, and that it deserves more sympathy than criticism. Clergymen and ministers may not all feel alike about it. But to me there is known at least one preacher who looks upon the delivery of sermons as the most exacting duty of all the clerical life, who has preached many sermons, but never one that he would not, if it had not been laid upon him by his profession, have thankfully been spared, who has hoped almost against hope that the seed cast upon the waters he may find again though after many days, and whose prayer is that the office, which he has felt to be so great a burden, if only it be executed with a due sense of its responsibility, may in some degree be accepted by man and not wholly rejected by God.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

## SHALL WE RESTORE THE NAVIGATION LAWS?

Writing in the July, 1902, number of this Review on British and American shipping, in connection with the then recently formed Morgan Combine, the present writer pointed out that the method of maritime progression followed by America might compel us to reimpose such portion of the old Navigation Laws as would close our register and our coasting trade to foreign vessels.

British vessels are even now debarred from the trade along the enormous double coast lines of the United States, and between these lines and the new overseas Federal possessions. America has a perfect right so to debar us if she pleases, but we retain our equal right to debar her vessels from our coasting and colonial trade if we find it necessary. It is open to us to refuse advantages to the ships of any power which refuses equal advantages to our own vessels. It is as practicable to countervail subsidies on ships as bounties on sugar. And it is certainly necessary to prevent our own flag from being used as a cover for foreign vessels attacking our own trade.

Since these words were written the Americans have converted their colonial trade into coasting trade to be reserved for their own flag, and, besides running their steamers under the British flag regularly in our colonial trade, have recently proposed (during the Atlantic rate war) to put their steamers on the coasting trade of the United Kingdom. And they have remitted to a Commission of Congress to investigate and recommend what legislative steps should be taken to replace the American flag in the international carrying trade of the oceans.

As the Marquis of Graham aptly remarks in the August number of this Review, it seems strange that when we abolished the old Navigation Laws we should have failed to recognise the enormous power for negotiation we possess in our shipping. Mr. Gladstone, however, perceived it when, in the course of the debates on the measure for the repeal of these laws, he pointed out how America would obtain the advantage if we left her with the reservation of her coasting trade while admitting her to our colonial trade. 'In days of old,' as Lord Graham says, 'the reservation of coastal trade to national keels was well recognised as one of the most powerful and promising

arguments for use in demanding 'an open market.' It is the purpose of this article to consider whether these days should not be renewed.

It is as true now as it has always been that our national existence depends upon our maritime prosperity. But the truth is now even more pertinent than it ever was, in view of the fact that America is rapidly building up one of the greatest war navies in the world, which she is conscious cannot be effectively maintained without a commercial navy to feed it and be protected by it. Attention to this subject is recalled by much that Sir John Macdonell says in his important article on 'International Questions and the Present War,' in the July, 1904, number of this Review:

For some years the development of maritime international law proceeded along one line. The supremacy of the navy of this country was either taken for granted, as natural in view of its possessions and dependence for food upon foreign supplies, or the day when this supremacy was to be overthrown was regarded as distant and uncertain. The other chief States of the world, possessing great armies, were resigned, for a time at least, to England's predominance at sea.

Some of them are no longer so resigned, and the question of belligerent rights, on which Sir John Macdonell commented, becomes enlarged and complicated by the diffusion of maritime commerce. And how far maritime commerce has been and will be affected by the extension of the American domain to oversea territories, and by the construction of the Panama Canal, it is imperative for us as a maritime nation to attentively note. The 'plain man' has not yet realised how every acquisition by the United States of territory and predominant power, outside the continental limits of the Federal Union, means a direct barrier in the way of British shipping and commerce, by annexing and closing up oversea territory hitherto free. It is no argument to say that the amount of foreign tonnage at present engaged in British coasting and colonial trade is small. It is certainly not large, but every year it is becoming larger. Thus, by Lloyd's latest returns, the foreign tonnage in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom increased from 378,108 tons in 1901 to 481,531 tons in 1903; and last year 988 foreign vessels of 967,224 tons entered and cleared from ports in the United Kingdom with cargo for British possessions. If, however, to the declared foreign tonnage we add the actual foreign tonnage which we inconsistently allow to be run under the British flag, we shall find a much more imposing and menacing total. And the cold, clear truth remains, that the one nation which has the greatest ambition and is making the most strenuous efforts to rival us on the ocean and in the trade with our own possessions is the one nation which shuts us out from the largest amount of coasting trade.

Let us, then, first observe the effect of the absorption by the United States of a number of oversea territories in the great American fiscal union—territories which had formerly their own tariffs and



customs, and now are part and parcel of the American protective system. The new oversea possessions of the United States are Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, and the Samoan Islands. Cuba is now an independent though protected Republic, and the reciprocity treaty between it and the United States was ratified in last Congress.

Puerto Rico was one of the spoils of the war with Spain. It was ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Peace of December, 1898, and civil government was established by law on the island on the 1st of May, 1900. It is one of the West Indian Islands, about 450 miles from Cuba, 75 miles from Hayti, and 1,400 miles from New York. It has an area of about 3,000 square miles, and in 1900, when it entered upon a new political existence, its population was 953,243. Up to that time the principal source of revenue was the Customs, but the new law of Congress provided that

whenever the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico shall have enacted and put into operation a system of local taxation to meet the necessities of the Government of Puerto Rico, and shall by resolution duly passed so notify the President, he shall make proclamation, and thereafter all tariff duties on merchandise and articles going into Puerto Rico from the United States, or coming into the United States from Puerto Rico, shall cease, and from and after such date all such merchandise and articles shall be entered at the several ports of entry free of duty.

In any case, these duties were to cease by the 1st of March, 1902, and in the interim the Legislative Assembly had to devise a new system of taxation to meet the necessities of the Government, in place of the Customs revenue derived from American goods, and Puerto Rico was by Act of Congress specially exempted from the internal revenue laws of the United States, so as to allow the adoption of an insular excise system. Agriculture is now the principal source of wealth to Puerto Rico, and the three most important staples of the island are coffee, sugar, and tobacco. These, with some tropical fruits, provide its exports. In effect, coffee forms more than half the exports of Puerto Rico, and the imports formerly about equalled the exports in value. In 1900 about 97 per cent. of the whole trade of the island was conducted by American vessels, and in that year not a single vessel cleared from the island for the United Kingdom. Formerly, nearly all the trade between the American continent and the West Indies was carried on under the British flag. It is now restricted to American bottoms by the law which reserves all the coasting trade of the United States to American-built and American-owned vessels. The British Consular Report for 1900 contains this passage :

With the year began also the introduction of the United States Navigation Laws, which, treating Puerto Rico as a portion of the States, prohibit alien bottoms from carrying cargo between American ports. It is anticipated that this will, with the assistance of the new tariff, have the effect of extinguishing

the steady trade in fish and lumber which gave regular employment to the Nova Scotian small craft, and which in the year ended the 30th of June, 1898, amounted to 29,383 tons. Nova Scotia requires for herself but a limited supply of Puerto Rican produce, and her vessels being deprived of their former freights homeward *via* the United States, her trade with the island will diminish down to her positive requirements.

The Hawaii (or Sandwich) Islands form a group of eight distinct islands, of which seven have a population registered in 1896 as 109,020, of whom 39,504 were Hawaiians, 2,266 Americans, 15,191 Portuguese, and the rest Japanese, Chinese, etc. The area of the group is 6,449 square miles, and the islands are separated by channels varying from six to sixty miles in width. These islands are wholly dependent on agriculture, as they have no other industry and no other resources. The main produce is sugar, which employs most of the capital and labour of the islands, and forms the bulk of the exports. The resolution for annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, in response to the petition of the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, was passed by Congress in July 1898. It provided that 'the existing treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations shall forthwith cease and determine, being replaced by such treaties as may exist, or may be hereafter concluded, between the United States and such foreign nations.' And by the Act for the government of Hawaii passed by Congress in April 1900 it was provided 'that the Constitution and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said territory as elsewhere in the United States.' Also 'that the Territory of Hawaii shall comprise a Customs district of the United States, with ports of entry and delivery at Honolulu, Hilo, Mahukina, and Kahului.' Between the date of annexation and June, 1902, the Customs records of interchanges are incomplete and involved. But in 1901 there was a large increase in the imports from the United States, of which some portion was lost in 1902 owing to the great activity of the American home trade in that year. We have lost all the trade we once had with Hawaii in sugar machinery, coals, dry goods, iron and steel, etc.; and as the islands are now part of the territory of the United States, our vessels are debarred from carrying cargo for them to and from America.

Hawaii was a gift of peace to the United States. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were the spoils of war, and the latter have not been an unmixed blessing. The group of the Philippine Islands contains some 73,345,415 acres of land, a large portion of which is extremely fertile and naturally irrigated. The chief products are hemp (Manila), tobacco, and sugar; but the mineral resources are extensive. Large deposits of copper are known; coal is found in eight or nine of the islands; gold has been discovered in many places; iron exists; the timber wealth is enormous, in vast forests of dyewood trees, of gum

trees, and of rubber and gutta-percha. Cotton used to be grown before the tobacco monopoly discouraged other cultivation, and tobacco is, next to hemp, the most important crop. Writing after the annexation, the British Consul at Manila said that British interests in the Philippines are much larger than is supposed at home. There are about twenty British firms in Manila, several of them of long standing, and two of the three banking establishments are British. The largest exporting and importing firms are British, as are also the chief engineering works, ship-repairing works, etc. The only railway in the islands belongs to a British company, and British interests in the Philippines run into millions.

After the annexation the shipments of Manila hemp to Great Britain declined from 2,051,984*l.* in 1901 to 1,546,869*l.* in 1902, while those to the United States increased from 500,597*l.* to 1,512,803*l.* The shipments of sugar to Great Britain declined from 38,665*l.* in 1901 to nothing in 1902, while those to the United States increased from 19,473*l.* to 61,115*l.* The enormous increase in the exports to the United States is attributed by Consul Firth, in a report to our Foreign Office, dated the 21st of May, 1903, to the fact that by Act of Congress, March 1902, all articles the growth and produce of the Philippines admitted into the United States free of duty are now eligible for a return of the export duty imposed in the Philippines, provided they be shipped to the United States direct, and proof be submitted of their importation and consumption there. Thus, Manila hemp, which constitutes about 75 per cent. of the total exports, when shipped direct to the United States receives a return of about 1*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* per ton, being an export duty levied in the Philippines that shipments to the United Kingdom have to pay in full. In consequence, large quantities of Manila hemp which used to go to the United Kingdom for distribution elsewhere, now go to the United States—a significant diversion of traffic.

In the Blue Book, Cd. 1761, is the following reference to tariffs :

Puerto Rico and Hawaii are treated as territories of the United States of America for Customs purposes, *i.e.* trade between them and the United States is free from Custom House duties. Philippine goods are admitted into the United States on payment of 75 per cent. of the rates fixed by the United States tariff, and any export duty levied in the Philippines is refunded on importation into America. On the other hand, goods from the United States pay the full Philippine tariff on admission into the Philippines.

—for the present.

The importance of the shipping question may be briefly shown. At present the bulk of the carrying trade of the Philippines is conducted under the British flag. That is to say, over 75 per cent. of the exports and about 60 per cent. of the imports are carried in British vessels, including practically all the trade with the United States. German and Spanish vessels carry most of the remainder, American

tonnage having as yet only about 2 per cent. of the carrying trade. There are three British lines to one Japanese line between Manila and Hong Kong, and there is a German line between Manila and Singapore. The insular coasting trade, on the other hand, is practically all done under the American flag. After 1906, that flag will also monopolise the whole of the carrying to and from the Philippines and the United States, as we shall presently see.

Cuba is not a territorial possession of the United States, but is now an independent Republic, independent only by will of, and under the protection of, the United States. By the Reciprocity Treaty between the two countries, which was finally ratified on the 7th of December, and came into operation on the 27th of December, 1903, British interests are more affected by the intervention of the United States than in any other of the insular territories. The American eye always turned to Cuba with longing. John Quincy Adams, when Secretary of State, declared that

there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation. As an apple, when severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, so Cuba, when forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of Nature cannot cast her off from its bosom.

In 1859, a Committee of the Senate, reporting on a Bill for negotiating for the acquisition of Cuba, said there were only three possible alternatives in regard to its future: possession by a European power, independence, or annexation to the United States. The first would not be permitted, the second could only be nominal, and as for the third, it would be beneficial if not effected by war. There has been war, followed by quasi-independence, and the position now is that Cuba constitutes a political entity, which the American Senate Committee aforetime declared could never be permanent. Those who know the Cubans have little faith in their ability to govern themselves.

When President Roosevelt succeeded the late President McKinley at the White House, one of his earliest declarations was to the effect that 'Reciprocity is the handmaid of Protection.' He has succeeded in making Reciprocity a sort of limited partner with Protection by means of the treaty with Cuba. The year 1903 was, indeed, a memorable one for the most assertive American President of our time. He has, in defiance of the principles of his party, practically created a new Republic in Central America out of a seceder from the Republic of Colombia. He has ensured the construction of the long-talked-of Isthmian Canal as an American enterprise, in territory practically under the Federal rule, and certainly under the Federal control. And he has completed a reciprocal arrangement with the Republic of Cuba, which will place it commercially in the hands of the United

States, and which will lead up in its financial result to the political absorption of that island by the American Union.

The island of Cuba comprises an area of 28,000,000 acres, and the census of 1899 showed a population of 1,572,797. It is divided into six provinces. Three of them—Havana, Matanzas, and Santa Clara—are highly cultivated, and produce the sugar and tobacco for which the island is famous. One of them, Puerto Principe, is mainly given up to the grazing of cattle. And in another, Santiago de Cuba, are deposits of hematite iron ore, which are turning out much more valuable than was formerly supposed. The native whites form about 58 per cent., and the native coloured people about 32 per cent., of the population, the rest being foreign whites and Chinese. Since it was freed from the domination of Spain by the help of the United States—a war in which Mr. Roosevelt himself took an active part, as the leader of the Rough Riders—Cuba has become a separate State, and as such has negotiated a commercial treaty with the United States, but has made no commercial treaty with Great Britain. This is why we are now at a disadvantage.

The treaty between the United States of America and the new Republic of Cuba was declared in the preamble to be 'inspired by the desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship between both countries,' and to have 'the object of facilitating their commercial relations by improving the conditions of mercantile traffic between the two nations.' The first Article declares that

while the present treaty shall remain in force all articles or merchandise which are the products of the soil or industry of the United States which are now imported into the Republic of Cuba free of duty, and all articles or merchandise which are the products of the soil or industry of the Republic of Cuba which are now imported into the United States free of duty, shall continue to be admitted into the respective countries free of duty.

But that does not mean very much, as the duty-free commodities in both countries are few and of small commercial importance. This clause merely stereotypes the existing practice. The Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool, London, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Bury, Bradford, Glasgow, and Belfast, urged Lord Lansdowne to claim most-favoured-nation treatment in Cuba, because the Reciprocity Treaty practically closes Cuba to British trade. It also closes Cuba to British Indian trade, and it is closing the United States market to the British West Indies. America has joined with us in maintaining, or at all events proclaiming, the 'open door' in China, and shares in the benefits of the Anglo-Japanese treaty; yet she presents us with a shut door in Cuba. All the Cuban sugar now goes to the United States, just when we should be glad to see it coming over here in competition with Continental beet sugar. Cuba produces four times as much sugar as the British West Indies, and these islands are now shut out of the American market, which saved

them from extinction under the pressure of bounty-fed beet. By the treaty America now obtains a preference of 40 per cent. on all the rice hereafter imported from her planters. This alone means the loss of a considerable trade to British India.

There is nothing expressed in the treaty to give American shipping a preference over British in Cuban ports; <sup>1</sup> but the tendency is to a decrease in the proportion of British tonnage there. In 1902, of 156 vessels entering the port of Havana, thirty-five were British, ninety-six American, nine South American, eight Cuban, and eight belonging to other countries. In 1902, British vessels carried 2,076,657*l.* of the declared value of imports, and 1,161,449*l.* of the declared value of Cuban exports. The effect of the Reciprocity Treaty will be to diminish these proportions very materially, though at first there was a rush of British ships to carry away the stock of sugar which had been accumulating in Cuba pending the ratification of the treaty.

Senator Frye was the coadjutor of the late Senator Hanna in the last Ship Subsidy Bill. Here is one of his recent utterances :

Witness these figures: Great Britain pays in postal subsidies, in Admiralty subventions, and in retainers for sailors, a little over 6,000,000 dollars per annum; France pays in Admiralty subventions, retainers for sailors, bounty construction, and postal subsidies, over 7,000,000 dollars per annum; Germany, commencing but lately to reach out into the markets of the world, pays over 2,000,000 dollars; Austria-Hungary pays 1,724,000 dollars; Spain paid to one single line 1,629,000 dollars; Japan paid 3,492,000 dollars, and the United States paid 998,000 dollars. Are we to submit to this humiliating and wretched condition of things? There is one reason beyond pride in country which I wish to suggest. These nations have paid these postal subsidies for the purpose of establishing mail lines from their great commercial ports to the commercial ports of the world. For what purpose? For purposes of trade and nothing else. Trade cannot precede the mail. The mail must precede the trade, and they pay annually over 25,000,000 dollars for postal subsidies for one single purpose, and that is, to put themselves in position to dispose of their surplus products in the markets of the world. There is not a nation on this earth that needs markets for surplus products more than does the United States of America. Its increase of product is growing year by year. Suppose a market is not found for this increased product; suppose the country finds itself with a surplus on hand which it cannot sell. Then comes stagnation, capital without profit and wage-workers without pay. Is there any one who for a single moment would dream that it is profitable for us, in endeavouring to find those markets, to secure them through our enemies in trade? Is there any merchant who would for a moment think of hiring the commercial agent of a rival house to find markets for his goods? Is there any one who doubts that an American ship, commanded by intelligent, active, earnest, interested American officers, is a better instrument for the distribution of our products abroad, and for the finding of those markets, than a German ship, officered by Germans, Germany being the dangerous rival of the United States in all this business for the next twenty-five years? What can we do? In my opinion there is only one way in which

<sup>1</sup> This is an omission which a number of the American newspapers are clamouring to have repaired by a supplementary treaty.

anything can be accomplished, and that is by paying out of the treasury of the United States annually a sum of money which shall be equal to the difference between operating and carrying on of trade in foreign ships and carrying it on in our own. It has been done for every other industry, it should be done for shipping. For almost a quarter of a century I have been trying to solve the problem of restoring this mercantile navy of ours in the oceans of the world. I have taken more interest in it than in any other subject, and I have perhaps given it more thought and more care than I have given to all other subjects. I know of no way but one, and that is by national aid.

We need not stop to correct Senator Frye's error in supposing that British shipping in general owes anything whatever to the subventions paid for carrying mails and providing reserve cruisers for the Admiralty. And we need not stop to wrestle with the amazing idea that the mail services make trade, not trade the mail services. We cite the passage because it reflects so clearly the set of feeling among the shipping reformers in America, and it indicates so clearly the form of State aid they want to ensure.

The most direct attempts which America has yet made to re-create a merchant marine are associated with the last session of Congress, which passed two Bills reserving the Philippines trade, and the carrying of naval and military stores, exclusively to American ships, which assumed the protectorate of the new Republic of Panama and authorised the construction of the canal there as a Federal enterprise, and which authorised the appointment of a Commission to devise means for the direct encouragement of American shipping. The most flagrant act was undoubtedly the bringing of the Philippines under the coastal laws of the United States.

It is some time since Senator Elkins, whose Shipping Bill in a former Congress was regarded as a direct blow at British shipping, said :

There are two reasons why we should keep the Philippines. The first is, that they are harder to give away than to retain. The second is, that if Germany and England and other countries want them, they are good enough for the United States. The great struggle for the future will be for territory. All the foreign powers want territory in order to extend their markets. We want territory for the same reason. We need these islands in the future as an outlet for our people; while for the present they will become our home market. We need them as an incentive for the increase of our shipping and for the building up of our navy, until our flag is seen once more on all seas. We need them because they mean so much to the Pacific slope, a section which is deserving of as much encouragement and attention as the Atlantic coast.

But under the Treaty of Paris with Spain, Spanish vessels have a right to enter Philippine ports on the same terms as American vessels up to the year 1909, and we had official assurances that British shipping would be treated not less favourably than Spanish shipping. An Act of Congress dated the 8th of March, 1902, prescribed that foreign vessels may enter United States ports from the Philippines

on payment of the usual tonnage dues payable by vessels coming from foreign countries, up to the 1st of July, 1904. Secretary Hay wrote to the British Ambassador at Washington, in reply to interrogations, that the principle to be followed with regard to the Philippines was expressed in Annex 2 to Protocol 16 of the Treaty of Peace. That Annex runs thus :

The declaration that the policy of the United States in the Philippines will be that of an open door to the world's commerce necessarily implies that the offer to place Spanish vessels and merchandise on the same footing as American is not intended to be exclusive. But the offer to give Spain that privilege for a term of years is intended to secure it to her for a certain period by special treaty stipulation, whatever might be at any time the general policy of the United States.

From all this it was reasonable to suppose, and was supposed both by the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, that British shipping would not be treated less favourably than Spanish shipping, and that, therefore, there would be no reservation under the coastal laws before, at any rate, April 1909. Nevertheless, Congress in April last adopted and made law the Bill introduced by Senator Frye 'to regulate shipping in trade between ports of the United States and ports or places in the Philippine Archipelago, and for other purposes.' The following is a summary of its provisions :

Section 1. From the 1st of July, 1906, no merchandise, except Army and Navy stores, may be transported by sea between ports of the United States and ports or places in the Philippines, either directly or *via* a foreign port, and whether for the whole voyage or only a part thereof, *except in vessels of the United States*, under penalty of forfeiture of the merchandise. This does not prevent the sailing of foreign vessels between the respective ports, provided no cargo is carried between the United States and the Philippines. They may have cargo between two other places, or between a foreign port and either the United States or the Philippines, but such must be manifested accordingly, and not have been unloaded.

Section 2. From the same date, no passengers shall be carried by a foreign vessel between the United States and the Philippines, directly or indirectly; penalty 200 dollars per passenger.

Section 3. Sections 1 and 2 not to apply (at present) to traffic between Philippine ports, *inter se*.

Section 4. Nor to voyages begun before the 1st of July, 1906.

Section 5. Nor to vessels owned by the United States.

Section 6. The same tonnage taxes, on and after the passing of this Act, to apply to vessels coming into the United States from the Philippines as apply to vessels from foreign countries, provided that until the 1st of July, 1906, the provisions restricting trade between the United States and Philippines to vessels of the United States shall not be applicable to foreign vessels engaged in trade between those places, and the Philippine Commission shall be empowered to issue licences to vessels now engaged in the lighterage or harbour work, or to vessels or other craft built in the United States or in the Philippines, and owned by citizens of either.

Section 7. The Act not to impair privileges granted to Spanish ships and merchandise by the Treaty of Paris of the 10th of December, 1898, ratified on the 11th of April, 1899.



Section 8. The Department of Commerce and Labour to issue regulations from time to time for the enforcement of this Act; the Navigation Laws of the United States in regard to vessels arriving in the Philippines to continue to be administered by the officials in the islands.

This Act, then, revokes the Act of 1902, and reserves the Philippines under the coastal laws of the United States on and after the 1st of July 1906. It is, as Lord Landsowne has pointed out to the American Government, inconsistent with the declarations made when peace was arranged between the United States and Spain, but as an Act of Congress it stands law unless amended before July of 1906. Even if amended, the door will be open only until 1909, when the American coastal laws will in any case come into effect.

What, then, we are now faced with is an American policy of bringing oversea long-distance colonial trade under the exclusive reservation of the coastal laws, designed for the American continental coasts only. Under this policy the United States will have no boundaries. Now, however open to objection was the law which declared that a voyage from New York to San Francisco round Cape Horn was a 'coasting voyage,' to be engaged in only by vessels on the American register, it had at least the sanction of custom, for this voyage has always been exclusively in American hands. But the extension of that law to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines—and hypothetically to Cuba—is to transfer forcibly to America a large amount of shipping trade which she never before had, and which British ship-owners have industriously cultivated. These possessions are not part of America, and the trade captured by the sudden application of the Navigation Laws never was American.

Not only that. A Bill was introduced into Congress just before the adjournment, and will be reintroduced when the Houses reassemble, to bring under these same coastal laws the traffic between the United States and the zone of the Panama Canal, on both shores, during the whole term of the construction of the waterway. The object is to secure exclusively for American vessels the carriage of the whole material of construction, and the passenger traffic relating to it, as well as the provision of the material. What intention may be beyond this proposal we will not discuss just now. The canal zone extends ten miles on each side of the waterway, and as leased in perpetuity to America it will always be under American control. Therefore, one is not surprised to learn that at a meeting of the American Cabinet on the 24th of June last, plans formulated by the Secretary of War for postal and tariff systems in the Panama Canal zone were approved, and were formally transmitted to the chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission. The tariff regulations have the effect of applying the Dingley rates to all importations into the canal zone from any country, except the United States or the insular possessions of the United States. Goods entering the zone from ports of the United States

will be free of duty, and goods entering from the insular possessions of the United States will be admitted on the same terms as at the ports of the United States. There is nothing in the order regarding goods imported from the canal zone to the United States, but it is believed that the law officers of the Treasury will hold that under the decisions of the Supreme Court in the insular cases such goods are entitled to free admission, in the absence of any legislation by Congress imposing a duty upon them.

Lord Muskerry, in the House of Lords, recently called the attention of his Majesty's Government to the practice of other maritime countries reserving what is termed their coastwise trade to vessels of their own nationality, and asked what had been the nature of the representations of his Majesty's Government to the United States Government respecting the application to the Philippine Islands of the coastwise laws of the United States, and whether the United States Government had as yet forwarded any definite reply to the representations. The Marquis of Lansdowne said the subject was of the utmost importance, but Lord Muskerry did not meet the point at issue. As to the Philippines, the restrictions imposed by the Bill passed by Congress have been objected to by Sir Mortimer Durand, and the matter is the subject of 'discussion' with the American Government. As to coastal laws generally

It is obvious (Lord Lansdowne said) that if we were to exclude foreigners from access to our coasting trade altogether we should find ourselves liable to reprisals at the hands of those countries which do at present admit us. That would be a serious matter.

But no one suggests such a course.

Lord Lansdowne also said :

Out of the seven Powers which do a large amount of coasting trade, four—Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal—admit our vessels freely to their coasting trade. France does the same, with the exception of Algerian trade, which is specially reserved. There are only two considerable Powers—Russia and the United States—which exclude us altogether. It is necessary to bear in mind when you speak of the possibility of retaliatory action on these Powers that they are, as it happens, the very Powers which make less use of our coasting trade, and can consequently afford the smallest margin for reprisals of the kind.

This brings us to the point. America does not at present take much part in our coasting trade, but she takes a very considerable part in our inter-imperial trade, by vessels under her own flag, by American-owned vessels under the British flag, and by foreign vessels under long time-charters. It is quite open to her to turn the entire fleet of the Morgan Combine into the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, and into the trade between the United Kingdom and Australia and South Africa and Canada; but it is not open to the Cunard and Allan fleets to engage in the coasting trade of the United States, or in the trade between the United States and Puerto

Rico, Hawaii, and (after 1906) the Philippines. And America is now bent on creating, by bounty in some form, a great American merchant navy, equipped for all trades, at the very time when she is drawing larger and more widely separated areas under the reservation of her coastal laws. No serious-minded person has ever proposed, as Lord Lansdowne seems to have assumed, that the whole coasting and intercommunication of the British Empire should be closed against the ships of all foreign countries. What is proposed, what is indeed rapidly becoming imperative, is that we should close our coasting and colonial trades against the shipping of all countries which exclude our shipping from their equivalent trades; but only so long as they exclude us. This portion of the Navigation Laws should be revived, not for the purpose of Protection on our part, but to enable us by reservation to promote a general policy of reciprocity in shipping.

It is worth recalling what the Cecil Select Committee had to say about the inter-imperial coasting trade. Their recommendation was that

means should be taken to obtain the removal of foreign laws and regulations which exclude the British shipowners from the trades appropriated by various foreign Powers to their own shipping as 'coasting trade,' and that, if need be, regulations for the admission of foreign vessels to the British and colonial trade of this Empire should be used with the object of securing reciprocal advantages for British shipowners abroad.

The reservation by foreign nations of their coasting trades to their own ships is practically a form of subsidy, and that is a measure of Protection. But for our part we have to consider that the maritime industry is absolutely our most important industry, because upon it depends not only the prestige but even the very existence of the Empire. It is quite certain that but for our resources in mercantile marine we could not have retained our position in South Africa. It was our power on the sea that prevented us from being swept into it. This, therefore, is a matter which we must regard from a broader point of view than that of the schools. We cannot submit to suffer any loss in shipping because the Cobdenites, for example, should say it would violate our economic policy if we resist.

The position, as stated by the Cecil Committee, is this: While the British coasting trade is absolutely open to them as to the vessels of all nations, the United States reserve, as a coasting voyage restricted to vessels of their own flag, the voyage from New York to San Francisco, and the voyage from San Francisco to Honolulu. France reserves the trade between French ports and Algeria; and Russia reserves to its own flag the trade between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and between all Russian ports in Europe and Eastern Asia.

These restrictions undoubtedly affect British trade to a considerable extent, even if they have kept American, French, and Russian vessels from competing with us in international trade. There is no more

reason why American vessels should be allowed to trade when they please between Liverpool and Melbourne, or between London and Calcutta, than that British vessels should be allowed to trade between New York and San Francisco, or between San Francisco and Honolulu. We have submitted to the injustice hitherto because there have been too few American vessels in ocean trade to make it serious, but the position is altered now by the expansion of American territory and the development of American maritime commerce.

There is, however, no need for prohibition. At the last Conference of Colonial Premiers in London the subject of Imperial coasting trade was fully discussed, in the light of certain Treaties of Commerce and Navigation submitted by the President of the Board of Trade. And the Conference came to this resolution :

That it is desirable that the attention of the Governments of the Colonies and the United Kingdom should be called to the present state of the navigation laws in the Empire and in other countries, and to the advisability of refusing the privileges of coastwise trade, including trade between the Mother Country and its Colonies and Possessions, and between one Colony or Possession and another, to countries in which the corresponding trade is confined to ships of their own nationality, and also to the laws affecting shipping, with a view of seeing whether any other steps should be taken to promote Imperial trade in British vessels.

The recommendation of the Colonial Premiers was only for inquiry and consideration of the matter, while that of the Select Committee on Shipping Subsidies was that ' means should be taken ' to establish reciprocity in coasting trade relations—not, of course, the entire exclusion of foreign vessels from the Imperial or even the British coasting trade, but equality of conditions. The coasting trade of every nation which seeks to enter our coasting trade should be open to our vessels, and all vessels entering into the carrying trade of the British Empire should come under the regulations as to construction, loading, equipment, and manning which British vessels have to comply with.

As to this, the Report of the Select Committee is not very conclusive. It says :

The idea naturally occurs, what would be the effect of reserving to all British ships the Imperial coasting trade within the British Empire ? Several witnesses spoke in favour of it, one of the most emphatic being resident in Australia. Some of these views were subject to the qualification that reciprocal advantages should be given to those countries whose coastwise trade is open to British shipping. One or two other witnesses were not prepared to express a definite opinion, and looked upon reciprocity with suspicion. Another condemned the reservation of the coasting trade on the ground of high policy.

The objection on the ground of high policy is based on the fear of retaliation by the nations whose vessels we might exclude from our coasting trade, or inter-imperial carrying trade. But these nations could only retaliate by excluding our vessels from their own

coasting trade, and this they do already—America and Russia absolutely, and France partially.

When giving evidence before the Cecil Committee, Sir Robert Giffen urged the desirability of excluding foreign subsidised ships from the coasting trade of the British Empire. Confronted by Colonel Ropner with the statement that the tonnage of foreign vessels trading between British ports is only 9 per cent., Sir Robert was questioned, and answered thus :

278. Then if we confined our coastwise trade to vessels under the British flag only, all we could gain would probably be the 9 per cent. carried now in foreign vessels, would it not ? (*Ans.*) My point in making the suggestion was not on a question of gain to ourselves, it was more a question of making it difficult for the foreigner in that particular thing to come into competition with our ships ; but even 10 per cent., supposing we were to gain it all, would be a considerable addition to the shipowners interested in these particular trades. . . . 282. It is generally supposed by a section of shipowners that all we could gain by our proposed coastwise legislation would be the 9 per cent. which is now carried in foreign vessels, and that there is a great danger of foreign countries making reprisals, that they might take much more from us than we could possibly gain by any such legislation. What do you say as to that ? (*Ans.*) There is always that danger to be considered in any measure of that kind that we may adopt ; but if you find that under the present system your shipping is exposed to very great dangers, and that relatively it is not holding its own quite as it used to do, then you must face difficulties and dangers on every side in order to maintain your own shipping. 283. May I take it generally that you are of opinion that foreign nations are already doing their very worst as far as our shipping is concerned, and that we cannot lose anything by this proposed legislation of restricting the British trade between British Colonies and the Mother Country to the British flag ? (*Ans.*) I am quite sure, so far as the proposal I have made is concerned, that foreign countries are already doing what I am suggesting we ought to do. They have no cause of complaint whatever.

Sir Robert Giffen might here have been more emphatic. The reservation would only be against those countries which adopt reservation, and which, therefore, have no reprisals to make. And there is another highly important consideration in this connection. The reservation of our coasting trade might have little appreciable effect on our shipping to begin with, but it would have a very material effect if it prevented the creation and multiplication of subsidised merchant navies. If America knew that we were resolved to revive a portion of the old Navigation Laws if we are shut out of her coasting and colonial trade, she would certainly not vote State money for the building and sailing of ocean steamers.

Has, then, the time not come when the British nation must make up its mind with regard to its greatest industry ? Are we, or are we not, to leave that industry open to the fleets of all nations, while any of them debar our vessels from any part of their domestic or colonial trades ? Are we to be content to allow other nations to cut into our colonial carrying trade to what extent they like, while they deprive us of trade we have won by long endeavour ?

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

## THE AMERICAN WOMAN

### AN ANALYSIS

IN the course of an article contributed to this Review<sup>1</sup> some months ago, and dealing with the influences and effects of commercialism, I had occasion to comment upon the remarkable development taken by the American woman, which seemed to me to be extremely significant. My remarks, however, have been so universally misunderstood in the United States, and in some cases so oddly wrested from their simple meaning, that I have thought it desirable to explain more fully the position I intended to take up. This has involved a more intricate and intimate treatment of the subject than was possible in my former article.

Controversies have battled about the position and status of woman, probably ever since the sexes were conscious of each other. That war of the sexes which the conditions of their severance involve has been responsible for the readjustment of their relations from time to time. But the whole tendency of life and experience has been to emphasise the position and claims of man. The old fable which relates how woman was stolen from the ribs of man may be taken to convey the traditional inferiority of woman, a theory which had its origin in epochs beyond historical reach. It is quite true that among certain races the matriarchal principle of society holds, and seemingly holds successfully; but the matriarchal system has undoubtedly arisen by the way, through the operation of local forces, needs, or superstitions, and by the direct abdication of man from his original rule and domination. That rule followed naturally and inevitably from his physical superiority. The foundations of feminine nature are as simple and as easily traced as those of the male nature. They take their rise in physical facts, and are responsible for all the moral and mental properties appertaining to the sex. Both sexes are united by obedience, or subjection, to two ultimate laws, the law of self-protection and the law of reproduction; but in their obedience, or subservience even, to these primal instincts they manifest the differences that separate them. The divergence of the woman in physical structure from the

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, November 1903.

man implies, as cannot be too loudly reiterated, a mental and moral divergence. The supposed mysteries surrounding her sex are seen to be not mysteries but logical results in the light of those basal demarcations, and when man shrinks in wonder from the complexity of his partner, it is only because he has not the key to see how simple and inevitable is her nature. Woman is unintelligible only because she is not 'undeveloped man but diverse.' With the understanding of her physical differentiation man may proceed comfortably to explore her secrets.

This article does not propose to enter into an elaborate disquisition on the nature of woman, but merely after indicating the sexual distinctions to examine their application to the civilisation of the United States. The broad characteristic of the female sex is the inferiority of physique which it necessarily derives from its enforced functions. This inferiority is partly muscular, but mainly nervous. The muscular deficiency entails exemption from the more onerous forms of bodily labour. From primitive savagery to the civilisation of the West this exemption has prevailed, for though the savage keeps his wives at manual labour in the fields he reserves for himself the violent hazards of war and the chase. As civilisation mounted, it is obvious that this exemption increased, until it has now reached under certain conditions its climax of absolute relief for the woman. The nervous constitution of woman is responsible for the larger part of her character. Her functions create an emotionalism which is intermittent, violent, irrational, and often unselfish. But this, so to speak, is mere staccato in her; it is not her normal mood, which goes to an ordinary *andante*. By the laws of her descent and heritage she must preen herself and decorate for her master; hence she has gathered an inordinate vanity, or at least the capacity for it. She loves jewels and colours, and she delights in such gifts as the man who has chosen her may offer at her altar. By these is she not discovered to her rivals as the chosen woman? Vanity baffled and vanity triumphant are jointly responsible for most of her acts and sentiments. Jealousy to her is less what a man understands by jealousy than that same baffled vanity. In consequence of this dual control, wherein she swings, she has developed a defective taste. That is to say, her taste has been perverted by her appreciation of the gifts of man as tributes to her beauty. A man will take a thing to eat or wear or use somehow, because, whether it be bad or good, he likes it. A woman's possessions are rather the fruit of her vanity than her taste. She acquires things not because she likes them or needs them, but because they represent self-esteem, gratification, the humiliation of rivals. When you have learned how greatly woman hinges on her vanity, you have then to reckon with that emotionalism of which I have spoken. It is, at its extremes, sudden, abrupt, precipitous, and blind. Consequently it may commit woman to the most heroic of sacrifices; and it may also plunge her in

shame. She may fight for her own hand or for another's with equal madness and lack of scruple. Thus in that wavering and changeable sea of dimples may arise in a moment devastating storms. Woman's passion is ever a bolt from the blue.

This constitution, which here has of necessity been but lightly sketched, is fundamental. The savage woman conforms to it only in a less degree than her civilised sister. Civilisation has added the elegances, the disguises, the trappings. With civilisation have come a higher specialisation and a more lively sense of decoration. The centuries of evolution have poured a wealth of detail on the original facts. Woman now is infinitely more complex than she was in the camps of the barbarians, but it is only in her secondary and tertiary characteristics. The primary characters remain unchanged; and it is only necessary to follow the workings of those a little way to appreciate all the derivatives. Civilisation has achieved a very elaborate woman, but the elaboration is unimportant from the point of view of science. It is decorative; the structure endures; the heart of modern woman is the heart of her savage ancestress dressed and adorned and furnished.

This permanence of muliebrity serves to indicate the requirements of natural law. Woman may not depart from it to any considerable extent without impairing her position and nullifying her functions. There may be, and are, variations from it; there may be no violation of it. We must walk in mute correspondence with Nature, if we are to succeed in life, whether individual or national. And it seems to me that it is precisely here that the danger to American civilisation arises. I have endeavoured to indicate the main features of woman's nature, which I prefer to sum up in the word 'muliebrity.' This muliebrity, with its decorative modifications, is essential to the wellbeing of mankind. The American woman is lapsing from it. There is the sequence of my argument. The conclusion may be easily drawn, and constitutes the peril of national life in America. I am not saying that the danger does not exist to some extent in other countries—in Great Britain, for example—but it is most conspicuous in the United States, where, therefore, it invites study.

Upon the threshold one is met with the blunt statement that there is no such creature as the American woman. This has been the way in which many of the critics of my former paper met my argument. But is this so? The United States were originally settled by three separate races, Anglo-Saxon, French, and Dutch. Of these the Anglo-Saxons predominated in numbers and influence, and to-day the English stock is uppermost. Immigration, however, has materially altered the balance of population. The Anglo-Saxon element has dwindled, its congener, the German, has remained stationary, while the so-called Latin element (which is represented mainly by Italians) has largely increased. We are dealing, however, not with the prospects of nationality lying before America a generation



hence, but rather with the American of to-day, who is the product of forces in operation during the last fifty years. The diversity of races is one of the singular features in the United States, but a no less singular feature is the remarkable genius for assimilating that diversity. The poor exile of Erin, the Teuton from Westphalia or Frankfort, the native of Christiania, and the rude peasant from the Apennine provinces, all pass into the huge maw of America, and are digested. Their children, retaining maybe the tie of language, are born Americans. This is notorious. All facts quoted by American writers themselves go to prove that the migrating races converge, comparatively rapidly, on a uniformity, which marks a national character. America is a wonderful unifying machine. Under differences of creed and custom, and even of tongue and race, there is achieved a common national platform with characteristic and abiding qualities. This is manifestly due to the climatic and social conditions of the great Republic, but to what extent each of these factors is responsible it is impossible to say. Nevertheless, the influence of one or the other or both is so marked that already a certain physical type is being developed in both sexes, and we might claim with some justice not only that the American woman exists, but that she has also a characteristic physiognomy.

If we may then assume, as I think cannot be denied, that the potent conditions of the United States have already moulded American types, and that the American woman is almost as national in her individuality as, say, the German woman or Englishwoman, we may be permitted to attempt to define her with some care.

She is of necessity the creature of her environment, which has modified the characters of blood and strain most materially. As close an observer as Dr. Emil Reich declares that the affinities of the American with his English cousin are far fewer than with any other European. This is, like many of Dr. Reich's statements, exaggerated, for the pleasant paradox is ever waving a tempting finger to him. But the statement has a sufficient basis of truth. The American has diverged, even in the brief space of time during which he has occupied the continent, very far from the stock of which he came. In physique he is altered; in habit of mind, in his outlook, in his temperament, he has suffered a radical change. The American woman is marked by a greater susceptibility of nerves than her English sister, a departure which we must refer very largely to the climatic conditions, though these are not the sole factors in that evolution, as will presently appear. The well-known American restlessness of mind and body flows directly from that imperfect equilibrium of the nerves, and that characteristic again gives rise to many secondary properties which help to compose the full nature of the American woman. For the change in the nervous balance is probably the key to that nature. Nor does it, as I have said, arise wholly from geographical conditions.

The social conditions have had an important effect upon woman in America. The United States cover a large tract of country, thinly peopled, and slowly reclaimable for the use and benefit of man. The country, being new, and thus deliberately brought under the plough, has had to feel its way. Traditions and canons imported overseas from England, Holland, France, warred in the new theatre. And there were many traditions which, if I may use an Irishism, had to be made. The people of the United States have had to build up a civilisation of their own, suitable to the needs of their own country. They have had to make their conventions as they went along. A thousand years have not given their authority to manners and morals across the Atlantic. To break through traditions in the Old World is a long, black business : it is but the affair of a few minutes in America. There is no general body of conventional opinions current in the United States, and thrust upon women for their acceptance. Outside the preservation of certain moral scruples the sex is free, and rejoices in its freedom. The result of this is that the enlarged liberty of the sex still further enlarges the opportunities of neurosis. It is an interesting question as to whether a body of conventions will eventually be fastened upon American women, and, if so, whether they will accept them with that conservatism which characterises the sex in every other country. Women have always been the drag on evolution in every age and clime ; and American women, who are to-day avowedly in the front of ' progress ' (which is by no means identical with evolution), may subsequently find themselves the victims of their own conventions. The development of the American woman is so untrammelled to-day that it is not possible to guess at what the future has in store for her. She is a most interesting and astonishing experiment.

I have touched upon some of the factors which have moulded the character of the American woman. But, of course, the list is not complete. The open turmoil of commercial life in the United States must affect the conditions under which families exist, and thrive or starve. This great malström is obviously another factor. To that must be added the rapid accumulations of wealth in the hands of newcomers. The freedom of conditions renders possible the eruption of fortunes on a scale that has no parallel in Europe ; and in a country where the poor man is a millionaire to-morrow, and the millionaire a pauper the next day, it is impossible that the same nervous balance can be maintained as exists in the more temperate and more equable sphere of the Old World. The tendency towards that unstable equilibrium, which is evidenced in the success of every form of quackery in the United States, is enhanced by the isolation of the country. The estranging Atlantic removes the New World from the coterie of the Old ; and this banishment has mainly contributed to American self-consciousness, to what directly issues from that—American swagger. The American is ' on his own,' and regards Europe from afar with

jealous eyes. He belongs to another school. In completing my list of factors in the divergence I will content myself with two others—the one, the attitude of the American man to the American woman, on which I animadverted in my former article; the other, the system of education under which American women are brought up. That education emphasises the forces in favour of freedom, and an American college girl is probably the most independent and confident creature on earth.

These considerations should enable us to get a glimpse of the American woman in her essence, with her defects and her virtues, and to understand how she is compiled. She emerges to the sight a creature of over-sensitive nerves, who by her immense liberties has become assertive and dominant, and has broken definitely from the traditional trammels of her sex. You have only to follow this character into one department of life or another to see how it would work out in the circumstances. Its set is towards strenuousness in business or in pleasure, in religion or in dissipation. It does not recognise a mean; it offends daily against the old Greek artistic canon, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. It adopts new religions and new fashions; there is nothing so extravagant but will make an appeal to it. The mondaine of New York and Newport will run after new dukes and buy new jewels. The sober wife of the sober New England farmer will sit under new pastors and buy new drugs. This is the country of Brigham Young, of Dowie, of the prophet Harris, of Shakers, of Christian scientists, of the Agapemone. Americans may be disposed to take these fads and impostors as mere signs of vivacious blood, working to eccentricity, as showing that their nation is 'live.' They show nothing of the sort; they are rather the pimples that speak to an ill condition of blood. It is that want of nervous balance of which I have spoken—the saner nervous balance of the Old World.

And in her outlook on pleasure, as in her face towards the more serious elements of life, the American woman still betrays that weakness of her nature. She has perfected the cult of pleasure as no living being in all the history of the world. A certain common bond unites the drab woman on her farm and the belle of Fifth Avenue. The one has little part or lot in the distractions of life, the other is swallowed up by them; but in the bosom of each, as Stevenson has finely said in another connection, the same hands pluck and pull them. The one in her vanities, the other in her duties—both move to the nervous strings of the racial spirit. It has been objected that criticism which is aimed at the voluptuary woman in America can only be fairly directed against a single class, and that a small class. This is a mistake; for it is the spirit abroad among American women which the critic calls in question, and that spirit is visible in all classes of real Americanised women, whether in the daughter of the millionaire or in the factory hand. It is the spirit of independence, which finds

its logical issue in cold selfishness. The factory girls refuse to be married and take up the burdens of maternity; they put their savings upon their backs and 'have a good time.' The careful researches of Mrs. and Miss Van Vorst have demonstrated this fact beyond question. That rupture with the ancient and traditional sphere of woman is to be observed in all American classes. Woman has arisen, insurgent, and denies her proper sphere. Her constitutional restlessness has driven her to abdicate those functions which alone excuse, or explain, her existence. In this year of grace 1904, at a Woman's Congress in Berlin, the world has been informed by an American woman that 'the female element is the central and older element, the male, the later and younger,' and that 'with the beginning of the woman's movement an era will be inaugurated which will bring about the end of male rule.' It is satisfactory to learn, also, that Mrs. Perkins, the lady in question, stated that it was not the intention of women, when they came to their own, to act towards the male sex as do the bees towards their unhappy drones! These are but extravagances symptomatic of the general disease. The nervous equilibrium is gone, and woman has fallen from her throne. It may seem odd to make such a statement when the American woman is enthroned at the moment higher than her more dependent sisters of Occidental Europe. But the world is divided into three parts—the East, the West, and America; and the riddle of the last is more difficult than that of the other two. Enthronisation is the reward of that race of women who fulfil the requirements of nature. Do American women?

The typical American woman is proverbially careless of the male of her race. We can see it in the pronouncements of Mrs. Perkins, as we may see it in the informing work published by Mrs. and Miss Van Vorst. We Europeans see it every day in the case of our American visitors. The American woman is set on getting the best she can for her money, or her father's money, or it may be her husband's. She rides over man rough-shod. 'I guess you're an Englishman. I don't like Englishmen,' said a young American beauty to Sir Philip Burne-Jones in some such words. 'We Americans are accustomed to have the men at our feet,' said an American lady to me. 'We wouldn't take up the position your women do for anything.' It is the era of the woman's revenge, and apparently she is getting it. But in the result it is achieved by a demoralisation of sex, even by a debauch of sex. Muliebriety has been carried to its full limits in Europe; in America it has already begun to decline. The American woman, desiccated as she tends to become by her circumstances, retains the outward signs and rites of muliebriety, more particularly as I shall have to specify later. The fulness and richness of blood she should possess are dwindled. She has the shadows of those feminine qualities which we have seen pass through woman universally, and lacks the substance from which they are derived. She clothes herself in gay

raiment, and her bill for jewellery is long. She is a handsome clothes-horse. But we can see this secondary product of Nature, this by-product, as it were, emerging in that view we spoke of, brilliant in her attainments, bright in her beauty, but wanting that affinity with the elemental, with the animal, which alone can maintain a race healthy. President Roosevelt has drawn attention to the falling birth-rate in a country which is not over-populated, as is the case with older lands like Great Britain or France. The doctrine of the superiority of women, or its analogue, the dominance of woman (it matters not which), has resulted in a breach of the laws of maternity. Evasion of child-birth follows, and will follow the passage of woman's rights and the higher feminism. Events and facts have proved this beyond dispute. And even on the threshold of this great and delicate question is one stayed by the consciousness that the American woman has aimed the first great blow at the reign of Love. We know not what lies on the knees of the gods, nor is it possible to map the course of future events. It may be that the last state of this man shall be better than the first. But, so far as the eye of man can carry now, American civilisation, by the overthrow of Love and its potency, will have inaugurated a new era fraught with portentous issues. American woman stands self-confessed as cold of heart and cool of head. 'They never lose their heads and rarely their hearts,' says Mrs. George Cornwallis-West, who has the best opportunity of knowing. If that be so, then American civilisation is on the eve of a momentous change, a change which is infinitely more important than that revolution which founded the Great Republic in the eighteenth century.

Let me explain more clearly, for a good deal hinges on this. The new era, if it be fulfilled in all its promise, will mark the third of three great epochs. In the first the relations of the sexes were regulated by force rather than choice. The primitive woman stands by while her lovers fight each other, and goes off peacefully with the victor. Nay, there is even stronger evidence of the absence of all sentiment from those savage minds, whose alliances, indeed, are comparable for the most part only with the mating of animals, to which they are cognate. For it is well known that in many tribes the widow becomes the complacent bride of the man who has killed her husband. This constitutes the era of force, of mere animal feeling, for in that stage man is but imperfectly removed from the brute creation. But among the noblest achievements of evolution has been the investment of this animal passion with sentiment, which marks the second era of the marital condition. In that era both sexes are more affected by a tie of sentiment which is imposed upon the merely physical. Love is an edifice of sentiment upon a foundation of desire; but among the animals and in the lowest era nothing more than the foundations are visible—the building is not begun. At the same time it is well to recognise the fact that the foundations are essential, and that no

building can exist without them. The fear is lest the attenuation of feeling, as evidenced among American women, may not be sapping the necessary foundations. Coldness of heart is not a virtue, but a defect. The whole building will topple over if the foundations be insecure or faulty. Having emerged from mere barbarism into an age of sentiment, are we to complete the cycle by passing into a stage where considerations of personal ambition, or vanity, or greed, or something material, rule the sexual relations? We are, it would appear, on the threshold of the third era, in which love is to be abolished, or rather to be faded into a sentiment so thin that it would not be recognisable of our sturdy fathers. That stage of the cycle surely must spell decline, diminution . . . death.

But it has yet to be proved that this stage is necessary. Personally I believe it is not, and that the conditions of life which are producing it in the United States, and to a lesser degree in England, are merely accidental—curves in a greater curve, variations by the way, which do not affect the ultimate goal of evolution. The conditions of our existence on this globe compel us to keep close to certain first principles or perish. Nature must always reign, despite the cynics. You may expel her, as Juvenal says, with a pitchfork, and she comes back. The conservation of the family is necessary, or the race dies out; the earth becomes extinct as a place of human habitation, given over to the reign of wild life that has not learned to commit suicide by refinement. The fundamental laws by reason of which we exist and have climbed to our comparatively high place in the scheme of evolution, by reason of which we are enthroned among living things, involve the ascendancy of man and the maternity of woman. These two principles are being seriously undermined in the United States to-day. I may be met with the retort that the rule of woman which is engrossing the land is quite compatible with those essential conditions of life to which I have referred, since in healthy primitive tribes matriarchy exists and flourishes. To this one must reply that a matriarchal system is perfectly intelligible, given certain developments, but that matriarchal rule is only possible in a race where fecundity is recognised as desirable. It is because of fecundity that matriarchy exists. Whereas in America the power of the woman is increasing in proportion to her denial and refusal of the obligations of her sex.

The gradual desiccation of her nature must eventually leave its outward impress on the American woman, because of the great law of correlated variation. But so far the visible signs and tokens of the change are few; her physical excellences are marked, and in some ways superior to those of her European sisters. The conditions I have been considering have evolved, along with the defects of blood, a singular grace of flesh and charm of style. The flower is fragile, but it is exquisite. Under the influences of that electric climate, and

in those free circumstances, the American woman has attained an etherealisation of structure and a bodily symmetry which are almost unrivalled, and which compare in many cases most favourably with robuster types. The Venus of Milo is rare in America, which has evolved an individual and distinctive Venus of its own. Beauty is not one, but many and diverse. But it is hardly so much her superiority of physical charm that has attracted so many Europeans to the American woman, as her nimble intellectual equipment and her enlarged sense of companionship. She is above all adaptable, and fits into her place deftly, gracefully, and with no diffidence. She knows not shamefacedness; she has regal claims, and believes in herself and her destiny. If her fidelity is derived from the coldness of her nature, she owes her advancement largely to her zest for living. Her range is wide—wider than that of her sisters in the Old World; but her sympathies are not so deep. She is flawless superficially, and catches the wandering eye, as a butterfly, a bright patch of colour, something assertive and arresting in the sunshine. Her curiosity is insatiable, and her interest in life is that of a gourmet in his food. She has an inordinate capacity for enjoyment, and does not excuse it. The puritanism of that part of her ancestry which is New England has long since passed out of the ascetic phase; she reconciles to her conscience large latitudes of self-indulgence. The consequence is that she is in effect a fascinating figure on the horizon of the twentieth century. But one wonders what is behind that figure, and what it portends. Is it really the beginning of a new era, not only for woman but for man?

The solution of the problem is in the hands of Time. The currents of evolution sweep on, but flow where they list. To solve the riddle would be to approach immortal knowledge, to understand those things-in-themselves of which Plato wrote, to attain to a comprehension of the Absolute. Macaulay, in one of his most celebrated essays, has remarked wisely that the cure for the excesses of liberty is continued liberty. This may be applicable to the American woman. Her unbounded licence, which is in part the cause of her excesses, may find its own remedy. She may set up in time those conventions which are necessary to a proper pursuit of life, and if so, the conventions will be all the better for being evolved from modern conditions. Most of the European conventions are stale, out of date, and hampering. Still, that does not touch the deeper and bigger question of her departure from primitive laws. But that, too, may be soluble in the course of time. Meanwhile these notes merely record the impressions of one whose interest has been engaged by perhaps the most striking development of modern society. They do not presume to offer a solution.

H. B. MARRIOTT-WATSON.

## *MY FRIEND THE FELLAH*

SINCE the days when the Pharaohs wrote their tragedies across the face of the world, the patient, unsophisticated fellah has tilled the soil of the green Egyptian Fan, forgivingly forgetful of the hardships of his lot in his glow of thankfulness to Providence for the blessings of the Nile and the North Wind. The poor peasant is indeed beholden to all-begetting Father Nile, the creator and perpetuator of Egypt, who saps and forces his sinuous way to the delta by mountain, papyrus marshes (sudd), and desert, through regions of unsurpassable wildness and barren desolation.

It flows through old hushed Egypt and its sands,  
Like some grave mighty thought threading a dream.

Likewise is he grateful to the North Wind, whose breath makes navigation possible against the prevailing southward currents of the noble river, and renders summer field labour tolerable by tempering the ardour of the scorching sun.

The higher Nilus swells,  
The more it promises: as it ebbs the seedsman  
Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,  
And shortly comes to harvest.

Day by day and year by year this seedsman, as Shakespeare makes Antony name him, with his body in the sun and his feet either in the water or upon the wide-spread carpet of fertilising Nile mud—the slime and ooze—has worked under a varying series of hard task-masters. From time immemorial he has bowed his head, without fear and without hope, to rulers of a different race from his own, and never, until the last twenty years, has my friend the fellah lived under a government anxious to promote his interests, to maintain his rights, to protect him from injustice, and to make the wealth of the soil fully accessible to him. So conservative is he that he has ploughed and reaped for centuries with practically the same pattern of primitive implements as were used by his forebears when the Armed Shepherd King, the then ruling Pharaoh,<sup>1</sup> set Joseph over all the land of

<sup>1</sup> Pharaoh signifies literally 'great house' or 'palace,' and the vogue of calling a line of rulers after their dwelling-place still lingers in the twentieth century, the



Egypt. Since the Pharaonic epoch the fellah has altered little ; as he was in his adversity, so is he in the time of prosperity—patient, law-abiding, fairly industrious, good-humoured, and healthy ; suspicious of the motives of those in authority over him ; always prone to lengthy gossip ; excitable at times and quarrelsome, but in general his disputes are very short-lived and rarely end in blows, though accompanied while they last by violently threatening gesticulations. To no other peasantry can the saying ‘His bark is worse than his bite’ be so aptly applied as to the Egyptian fellah. He has a quite extraordinary disregard for time ; and if he is called on to take a railway journey he makes no inquiries as to hours of departure, but goes to the station, squats down, and waits for the train, showing no concern, however protracted the delay. For he has a saying that ‘Precipitation is from Satan, but patience is the key of contentment.’ His unwavering constancy to old habits, ideas, and traditions is at the root of his lack of initiative ; the spirit of progress is not in him, and his race will probably never develop any theory or conceit. Yet he is by no means devoid of the sense persistently and perversely qualified as ‘common,’ and the fellah’s communings with nature make him chary of putting great faith in modern catchwords. For example, he cannot believe that ‘Liberty, Equality, Fraternity’ contains a practical philosophy when he sees that nature’s paramount law is subordination, and that the great Mother has made nothing equal. Born, perchance, of this daily intercourse with nature is his freedom from unbelief, for those intimately acquainted with her marvellous ways have no place in their souls for the canker-worm bred of incredulity and scepticism. No tiller of the soil can doubt the truth of the Resurrection, ‘for that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.’ Perhaps, also, his familiarity with the miracles of creation tends to account for the fellah’s total lack of astonishment at man’s achievements ; and doubtless some hereditary memories of similar wonders accomplished aforetime further help to explain the sober, matter-of-fact way in which he views the completion of those marvellous engineering feats, the Maritime Canal and the Nile Reservoir. He wonders not at the Suez Canal, for he credits Sesostris, famous in legend, with having originated the idea of joining the two inland seas (which were then both known as ‘the Very Green,’ and not as the ‘Blue Midland’ and the ‘Red’ Seas) ; and did not Necho, the lame Pharaoh mentioned in the Bible, complete his sweet-water canal, in spite of the Egyptian oracle’s prediction that to connect the Nile and the Red Sea would but benefit strangers ?

Nor does the fellah marvel at the Assouan and Assiout Dams, for the natural depression to the south-west of the Fayoum was utilised nearly forty centuries ago for water-storage. The inter-

Sultans of Turkey, the Suzerains of Egypt, being known as ‘the Porte,’ or ‘gate of the palace.’

pretation of Pharaoh's dreams by Joseph,<sup>2</sup> who in the years of plenty 'gathered corn as the sand of the sea' as provision against the years of famine, is susceptible of the curious explanation that Joseph thus foretold the necessity of laying up food in the cities as he *intended* during seven years to reduce the water supply, and consequently stint the crops, by tapping the Nile to fill the vast Fayoum Reservoir. This explanation may be but an Oriental myth, yet it is significant that, according to the Koran, Joseph predicted, after the seven years' famine, 'a year wherein men shall have plenty of water;' and to this day the canal connecting the Nile with the Fayoum depression, which for years *did* serve as Egypt's great storage basin, is called Joseph's River.

I have known the fellah since 1874, and when describing in 1901 what British administration had done for Egypt I wrote: 'Regularity, rectitude, and reform have superseded the *corvée*, the *courbash*, and the corruption of Ismail's reign, and the rebellion, rapacity, and ruin of the time of Arabi.' It is not my present purpose to dwell on his past troubles: I aim rather at painting a word-picture of the more prosperous Egyptian peasant of to-day. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind that he is now no longer pounced upon in season and out of season by foreign money-lenders—the Koran forbids Moslems to practise usury—and by Government tax-gatherers, nor suddenly seized for military slavery in the Soudan, nor summoned to bear the grievous burden of forced labour; that justice is now brought within his reach, that he to-day gets his fair share of water, and that, the fury of high Niles being under control, the former devastating inundations and terrible famines are but phantoms of a cruel past.

To-day the large proportion of the fellaheen are small proprietors, working, maybe, some twenty days each month for neighbouring farmers, or employed as overseers by large landowners, but living, in part at least, on the produce of their own plots or fields. Few in this restless twentieth century are likely to envy the peasant his humdrum life, and to see the barometer always at 'fair' would deprive them of their privilege and resource of grumbling at the weather; yet my friend the fellah has this great advantage over the go-ahead, feverish moilers and toilers of modern cities—he is happy, peaceful, and contented. If his means are scant, his wants are few. Sunshine and fresh air, enough to eat, and no hard winters to dread—with these things he is satisfied. His humble home is but a hovel built of unbaked bricks such as Pharaoh's taskmasters commanded the Israelites to make without straw. The sun-dried bricks are cemented together with mud, and the rude walls commonly plastered over with

<sup>2</sup> Joseph, called in his youth the Dreamer, was known in Egypt as Psotom Phanech, the Revealer of Secrets, and was the first person to whom the title *Nazer* was applied. He was then 'separate from his brethren,' and the word has ever since denoted a particular sort of separation and devotedness to God.

the unsightly, and at times unsavoury, flat round cakes of poor man's fuel—cattle-dung kneaded with chopped straw. A shapeless collection of these windowless, dirty-brown, flat-roofed cabins forms a village, which, in order to be a few feet above the irrigated fields, is built upon an eminence, generally an ancient rubbish-heap. Near the village is usually to be found a palm grove, or at least a group of these graceful feathery-headed princes of the vegetable kingdom, by which, indeed, the peasant sets great store, for on the fruit of the date-palm he lives for many months in each year—the kernels are ground for his camel, the timber serves in the construction of his home, the soft bark is converted into ropes and rigging for his boat, and the leaves into baskets and fans.

When the labours of the day are over, my friend the fellah plods his homeward way, skirting water-channels on which the lotus rests lazily, or toiling through irrigated fields and standing crops of yellow-flowering cotton, of maize with its feathery bloom, or of barley, wheat, clover, or beans, according to the season and rotation of crops. And the village, this cluster of mud-brick hovels, assumes, in the soft light of eventide, an enchanted æsthetic aspect, making, with its background of palms or tamarisks, the white dome or graceful tapering minaret of its mosque, and its solid-looking pigeon towers (often quaintly constructed of oval earthen pots), a calmly restful picture. Gradually its outlines will grow more distinct; swallows will wheel around the returning labourer, and perchance a kingfisher flop, or a rat dart, into the stream; strings of uncouth yet stately camels or quick-stepping diminutive donkeys will be met, and the tall lateen sails of Nile boats will be seen, to all appearance, uncannily gliding through the standing crops; while to the tired pedestrian even the harsh creaking of the old-time native waterwheels will sound not unmusical, and maybe he will hear the welcome tones of the blind muezzin's vesper call to prayer. Still nearer home he may cross the path of simply but picturesquely clothed girls, with huge earthen jars poised gracefully on their heads, wending their way to fetch water, as did 'Rebekah with her pitcher upon her shoulder.' Nude toddling babies and scantily clothed children, one or two perhaps leading or mounted on amphibious antediluvian-looking buffaloes, will contest his passage, as will scavenging dogs, the models of all that is despicable and detestable to the Arab mind, lean stray fowls, and browsing goats with frisking kids. If he meets a local bey or the village mayor, he gracefully salutes by reaching his hand to the ground and then touching forehead, lips, and breast, signifying by these gestures his humility, single-mindedness, truth, and loyalty. When he at last reaches his small door, over which is set a china tile or some other object conferring immunity from the evil eye, he will stoop low to enter the principal living-room, where so much space is sacrificed to his wife's gaudily painted wooden chest and to the flat-

topped brick stove which serves as an oven by day and a bedplace by night. As often as not he will partake of his simple evening meal squatting in the open. With his fingers he breaks his coarse-round flat cakes of bread, and dips each morsel into a *sauce piquante* called *dukkah*, composed of salt, pepper, mint, or cummin seed, coriander seed, sesame, and chick peas. His favourite beans, which have been slowly boiled for hours, he eats with linseed oil or butter, and he but seldom indulges in animal food. Dates or water-melons serve as dessert, and draughts of Nile water, kept cool in the greyish-looking porous native water-bottles, are his wholesome beverage. Though as a rule the fellah retires early to rest, he does not disdain amusement, but delights in any simple entertainment—which, whatever its nature, he calls a ‘fantasia’—and enjoys weird music played on rudely constructed drums and tambourines, hautboys, viols, lutes, mandolines, and dulcimers. Sandys, the traveller, wrote in 1615: ‘Then put they on him a white turbant; and so returned with drums and hoboyes.’ He also loves to listen to the lively and dramatic-mannered professional reciter, who, on a raised seat in front of the village coffee-shop, narrates from memory romances and love tales not always fit for ears polite. Yet in the absence of these stray excitements, or of the still rarer treat of singing or dancing girls, the fellah is quite content to play draughts, backgammon, or kindred games with pebbles or cowries, or to indulge in his love of talking. And he talks well. Over five hundred years ago the Cairo naturalist, Demiri, said with truth that ‘wisdom hath alighted on three things—the brain of the Franks, the hands of the Chinese, and the tongue of the Arabs.’ Europe has adopted many games from the East, and even some of their names in a corrupted form. In chess, for instance, ‘check mate’ is almost literally ‘the shah, or sheikh, is dead (*māt*),’ and ‘rook’ comes from *rukṇ*, the Arabic word signifying a corner, the piece’s correct position.

As in his food, so with his raiment he is quite simple. A pair of drawers or a loin-cloth, a long wide-sleeved cotton gown or tunic reaching from the neck to the ankle, and on his head a red cloth tarboosh or brown felt cap, with underneath, for cleanliness, a white cotton skull-cap. Round his tarboosh he wraps a long piece of cotton or muslin and so forms a turban, which varies in colour from the customary white to a deep black olive green, each colour having a significance. Turbans are held in great respect, and gossips tell of a holy and learned man who, when he fell from his camphor-white ass, his turban rolling ignobly in the road, received no succour from the bystanders, they being concerned but to rescue his sacred green turban from the dust.

Though the schoolmaster is abroad; the faith of my friend the fellah is as childlike as that of his remote ancestors, who regarded the hawk as an emblem of divinity, the ibis as sacred because its food

consisted chiefly of small frogs, and it thus helped to ward off a recurrence of the loathsome plague from which Egypt suffered when 'Aaron stretched forth his hand over the streams, over the rivers, and over the ponds, and brought up frogs into the houses, the bedchambers, the ovens, and the kneading-troughs;' who revered the civet cat and mummified it after death, in that it destroyed the young of many noxious reptiles and devoured crocodile's eggs; and who worshipped also the strong bull Apis (as the representative of the moon), the patient ox, and the ram.

And this simple faith enters largely, in the form of superstition, into his daily life. The mentally afflicted are greatly respected as being under the special protection of Heaven, and one often sees harmless lunatics begging from village to village in almost a state of nudity, the absence of garments being thought consistent with the sanctity and purity of mind attributed to these unfortunates. For the physically sick a common remedy is to suspend round the neck a paper on which is written a text from the Koran, it being the fellah's belief that these *saphies*, or charms, possess efficacy for the body as well as for the soul, and in consequence they are as highly esteemed by the superstitious peasant as are the prayer-thongs or phylacteries by so many Hebrews.

But if his faith and superstitions have remained the same, his religion has radically changed, and the new creed is summed up by his declaration, repeated very many times each day, 'There is no God but the true God, and Mohammed is His Prophet.' Islam means 'submission to the service of God,' and its chief precepts are prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and commemorative festivals (including the pilgrimage to Mecca). And the fellah does submit to Allah, and does carry out the four points relating to the practice of his religion. Oh! what a purified, pleasant place the world would be were *professing* Christians to follow the poor Moslem's example and act up to the standard set before them! His day of rest is El Gooma'a (Friday), the sixth day, on which God 'created man in His own image:' the first man was named Adam, which signifies 'one that is red,' he being formed out of red or virgin earth. On a Friday, also, Adam died. The Egyptian day begins in the evening, sunset being twelve o'clock; and five times a day—at sunset, nightfall, daybreak, noon, and three hours after noon—does my friend the fellah prostrate<sup>3</sup> himself and pray to 'Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, the Living, the Steadfast; He who slumbereth not nor sleeps.' He is taught that 'the key of Paradise,' as prayer is called, will not be efficacious if

<sup>3</sup> The direction of prayer (Kibleh) is towards Mecca, and the principal postures assumed are (1) standing with open hands raised, the thumbs touching the ears; (2) standing, the left hand folded within the right and the eyes downcast; (3) standing, with inclined head and body, the hands open upon the knees; (4) kneeling, with hands, still open, upon the ground, and forehead and nose touching the earth (5) kneeling, but sitting upon the heels, with hands upon thighs.

used by a person in a state of uncleanness, so he never prays without preparatory ablutions. And where he prays he 'puts off his shoes,' as Moses was commanded to do when he talked with God. Almsgiving in the form of tithe, which is the basis of the Moslem fiscal system, is the second duty enjoined on the faithful by the ritual and moral law; and the third is fasting, 'the gate of religion,' scrupulously observed during the thirty days of Ramadan, the month of Abstinence, when genii are said to be confined, and in which Mohammed received the first revelation of the Koran, 'that which ought to be read.' From two hours before sunrise until the going down of the sun does the fellah abstain from eating, drinking, and smoking; and when this ninth month falls in summer the fast is so severe that I have known cases where it has indirectly proved fatal to men in failing health.

But the crowning duty of the Moslem's life is to obey the command to perform the pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. If he is too poor to undertake the journey he is assisted by well-to-do co-religionists who, prevented from going themselves, are enjoined to help their poorer brethren so to do; for every Moslem to ensure Paradise *must* perform the *haj* (pilgrimage) in person or by proxy. With cheerful resignation does the fellah bear the hardships of the distasteful journey and the exactions of crimps, sharpers, and Turkish officials, tenaciously bent on making the sevenfold circuit of the Ka'abah, a sanctuary containing the Black Stone (which the pilgrim kisses), reputed to have fallen from heaven in the days of Adam; on drinking the salt-bitter waters of the holy well Zem-Zem; and on making sacrifice in the valley of Moona at the foot of Mount Arafat. If time and route permit he also visits the reputed tomb of Eve, just outside the walls of Jeddah. Should he live through the cholera and pestilence which so often break out in the annually congested pilgrim area, he will return to his village home to be invested by his wondering neighbours with a transient halo of sanctity; and, with a subdued pride, he will show his relatives and friends his jealously closed tin vessel of holy water, his tiny piece of the great Sanctuary's covering, and, maybe, even a cake of the dust from Mohammed's tomb at Medina. And over his humble door, in token of having performed the holy journey, and as a charm to ensure long life, he will hang a twig of the mitre-shaped aloe, which thus suspended without soil and water will often live for years, and sometimes even blossom.

It may be his *kismet* to reach home but to die, in which case he will obey the call resignedly, firmly assured that having performed the pilgrimage he will be rewarded in Paradise by a share of the houris, by hearing the songs of the angel Israfil, and by beholding, morning and evening, the face of Allah.

Of 'the two angels deputed to take account of a man's behaviour' during life, Mohammedans have a tradition that good actions are written down at once, ten times, but that the angel who records ill

actions is enjoined to 'forbear setting it down for seven hours ; peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon.'

In *The Golden Legend* Longfellow has beautifully rendered in verse this comforting thought :

There are two angels, that attend unseen  
Each one of us, and in great books record  
Our good and evil deeds. He who writes down  
The good ones, after every action closes  
His volume and ascends with it to God.  
The other keeps his dreadful day-book open  
Till sunset, that we may repent ; which doing,  
The record of the action fades away,  
And leaves a line of white across the page. .

Two flat perfectly blank stones, one surmounted by the carving of a turban, will find place in an upright position at the head and the foot of the poor pilgrim's grave, and they are intended to carry, inscribed thereon, the messages of the Recording Angels. But should it be written of my friend the fellah that Sleep's twin sister Death shall 'reap the bearded grain' while he is yet journeying to or from his pilgrimage, then, if proper grave linen be not forthcoming, the voluminous folds of his turban will serve as his winding sheet. Mohammedans speak always of their dead as 'those on whom Allah has had mercy,' and we may believe that He *will* show compassion on our friend the fellah on the Sixth Day, El Gooma'a, or 'the Assembly,' the day prophesied for the Resurrection, 'when the trumpet shall be sounded, and they whose balances shall be heavy with good works shall be happy, but they whose balances shall be light are those who shall lose their souls' (*Al Koran*, chap. xxiii.).

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WALTER F. MIEVILLE.

## COLLEY CIBBERS 'APOLOGY'

THE man who wrote this book—this *Apology for his Life*, as he called it—may be accounted, if not one of the great figures in the history of our actors, at least one of the most conspicuous; the most lively, irrepressible, and good-humoured of those who as actor, author, and manager have served the theatre. For over forty of the eighty-six years of his life Colley Cibber was a busy actor; for more than twenty of these years a successful manager; and during that time the author of some thirty comedies, tragedies, farces, adaptations, and pastoral interludes, all more or less successful; he was, moreover, for the last twenty-seven years of his life one of the worst of our many indifferent Poets Laureate—a record which for activity, for quantity if not quality of work, may stand alongside with those of Shakespeare and Garrick. Pert, foppish, vain, and affected, loving the society of persons of quality, light in his morals, Colley Cibber was at the same time an honest, hard-working actor, proud of his calling, conscious of the abuses to which the theatre of his day was subject, and doing his best, when occasion offered, to mend them; a straightforward and fair-dealing manager, a shrewd and sensible man of the world, a good-humoured but dangerous adversary, as Pope and Fielding found to their cost; above all, not a dull man, as Pope, goaded to madness by the merited, if indecorous, retort that Cibber made to the poet's insult, would have had posterity believe when he deposed Theobald to make Cibber the hero of the *Dunciad*.

Of Cibber's dramatic works not one, if we except his adaptation of *Richard III.*, now rarely played, holds the stage in the present day. His comedies were written to please the taste of his time and often to furnish himself with the kind of parts in which the public delighted to see him: these were light, comic characters, chiefly of the order of fops, 'coxcombs and men of fashion,' old and young. In his playing of these parts, in dress, deportment, and manner, he was a model to the beaux of his day. He would have loved to have been accepted as a tragedian in spite of his weak voice and insignificant appearance, but he was wise enough to recognise wherein his real excellence lay, and when he did essay tragedy, to content himself with such characters as Richard the Third and Iago, in which



there was less call for harmony of voice and majesty of bearing than in the Hamlets and Othellos. A further reason he gives us for his choice of these parts—and his reasons in this instance smack somewhat of excuses—is that your villains are generally ‘better written, thicker sown with sensible reflections, and come so much nearer to common life and nature than characters of admiration, as vice is more the practice of mankind than virtue.’ Be this as it may, there seems little doubt that Justice Shallow, in which he would appear to have been inimitable, and not Iago or Richard, would have been Shakespeare’s measure of Cibber’s quality as a player.

As a poet, and as laureate, Cibber was the laughing-stock of his contemporaries: it pleased his vanity to think his Odes superior to those of Pindar, but it is hardly too much to say that in the twenty-seven years during which he composed lyrics, he did not write one good line. In literature he lives by his *Apology*, and by his *Apology* alone. Though its style is often incorrect and affected, and he makes at times curiously simple blunders, it has, what no style is of any value if it lack, character. The reader will find in its pages no little wit, no little knowledge of human nature, the ripe experience of a life spent in humouring successfully the whims and tempers of artistic colleagues, quaint and happy turns of expression, much lively description, a good deal of self-revelation, and the healthy active spirit of the busy tireless man to whom Horace Walpole, on meeting him when he had already passed his eighty years, exclaimed, ‘I am glad, sir, to see you looking so well.’ ‘Egad, sir,’ replied the veteran, ‘at eighty-four it is well for a man that he can look at all.’

Cibber went on the stage in the year 1690, being then nineteen years of age. His father was a sculptor of some note; his mother belonged to an old Rutlandshire family, her grandfather, Sir Anthony Colley, having ruined himself in the cause of King Charles the First. His father had hoped to make a parson or a soldier of Colley, but for various reasons these plans miscarried, to the secret joy of the son, who had entered the theatre only to be at once possessed with that strange and invincible fascination it exercises alike over the capable and the incapable.

To be an actor instead of a clergyman or a soldier was, in the seventeenth century, no small sacrifice to make in the cause of dramatic art. Cibber sets forth very fairly the advantages and disadvantages of the profession in his own day, and tells one or two anecdotes of the ill-repute in which the theatre was then held. He cites a moving tale of a lady of real title whose ‘female indiscretions had occasioned her family to abandon her.’ The unfortunate lady, anxious to make an honest penny of what beauty she had left, wanted to go on the stage. Her family, hearing of this, advised the managers of the theatre not to engage her, and they, unwilling ‘to make an honourable family their unnecessary enemies,’ felt con-

strained to decline her services. Cibber laments over the hard case of the lady, who found herself denied by prejudice the means of earning an honest living. And he is no doubt just in his reflection. At the same time it seems doubtful whether the modern stage is to be congratulated upon the fact, that recruits of this kind will in our own day find little difficulty in swelling at any time the ranks of the incompetent.

A more serious instance of the ignominious treatment to which actors were liable to be subjected is that of Mr. William Smith, a barrister turned actor, a man of high moral character and very popular with people of rank. A gentleman having grossly insulted Smith behind the scenes, was dismissed the Court by King James the Second, who was a great admirer of the actor. The courtly gentleman revenged himself upon the player by having him so soundly hooted at his next appearance, that Smith withdrew for a time from the stage; but the actor showed his gratitude to the King by joining his army as a volunteer on the landing of William of Orange.

Certainly Smith's experience, coupled with other stories of the insolence that characterised the attitude of many so-called gentlemen in the playhouse, arouses indignation in the mind of any man; but at the same time we must remember that there were good reasons in 1690 why the stage should be regarded by respectable persons with some disfavour, and actors should find it difficult to uphold their right to common consideration. In the first place, the gross indecency of the plays performed—an indecency which in 1698 inspired Jeremy Collier's extravagant denunciation of the theatre—degraded the actor's occupation; and, in the second place, the familiarity that existed between the actor and his audience seriously diminished the independence of the artist. The very conditions under which he acted, the wings crowded with gentlemen who had the run of the stage-door—'those buzzing mosquitoes who took their stand where they might best elbow the actor and come in for their share of the auditor's attention'; the audience often noisy and intractable, such conditions as these were hardly calculated to inspire respect for the art of the player. Again, the kind of happy family feeling that naturally sprang up between actors and audience when two theatres at most were sufficient for the needs of no doubt a very limited number of playgoers, had its inconveniences. A modest expression coming from the mouth of some admirable artist of more or less doubtful reputation, was apt to provoke 'fleers from the witlings of the pit.' As a consequence of the sensitiveness provoked by such impertinences, Cibber gives an instance—indeed, an extraordinary instance—of an actress who, conscious that beauty was not her strong point, desired that the warmth of some lines she had to speak emphasising her personal beauty might be abated; but he

adds, 'in this discretion she was alone, few others were afraid of undeserving the finest things that could be said of them.' One actress, a Mrs. Rogers, justly proud of her virtue, was in the habit of announcing it to the public; in an epilogue to an obscure play in which she acted a part of impregnable chastity, she bespoke the favour of the ladies in the audience by protesting that, in honour of their goodness and virtue, she would dedicate her unblemished life to their example :

I'll copy you ;  
At your own virtue's shrine my vows I'll pay,  
Study to live the character I play.

That in her subsequent career she forgot her vow, only shows how much wiser Mrs. Rogers would have been to have let the subject alone.

If the treatment accorded to the actors in Cibber's day was often familiar and impertinent, that of authors was far worse. Cibber, himself be it remembered a popular author, complains bitterly of the severity and impatience of the audiences in their reception of a new play. 'The vivacity of our modern critics is of late grown so riotous that an unsuccessful author has no more mercy shown him than a notorious cheat in a pillory; every fool, the lowest member of the mob, becomes a wit, and will have a fling at him. They come now to a new play like hounds to a carcass, and are all in a full cry, sometimes for an hour together, before the curtain rises, to throw it amongst them. . . . In a word,' he concludes, 'this new race of critics seem to me like the lion-whelps in the Tower, who are so boisterously gamesome at their meals, that they dash down the bowls of milk brought for their own breakfast.' We must be thankful indeed that to-day the bowls of milk are at least quietly consumed before the young lions pass judgment on their fare.

Whilst Cibber enumerates those peculiar disadvantages attaching to the calling of an actor in the late years of the seventeenth century, he sets against them certain compensations. Apart from the pleasure derived from the exercise of an art in which, as he quaintly phrases it, 'to excel requires as ample endowments of nature as any one profession (that of holy institution excepted),' he notices the fact that if an actor excel in his profession, he will be received among people of condition with a social distinction to which he would never have attained had he followed the most profitable pursuits of trade; and he cites Betterton, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Nance Oldfield and others as instances of those thus distinguished. Let us suppose, he adds, that these men had been eminent mercers and the women famous milliners; can we imagine that merely as such, though endowed with the same natural understanding, they would have been called into the same honourable parties of conversation in which, he affirms, these actors and actresses were capable of

sustaining their part with spirit and variety, though the stage were never the subject of discussion? Cibber here touches very happily on one of the principal causes of the vulgar resentment cherished by the mercers and milliners of different ages against a calling which religious prejudice has taught them to despise, but which they find to their astonishment encouraged and courted by their social superiors—a confusion of ideas that in dull capacities aggravates rather than allays resentment.

He takes, too, an opportunity of administering—almost contemporaneously with Voltaire—a well-deserved rebuke to the Roman Catholic Church for its treatment of actors, which was in his day one of the least charitable and amiable features of that religion. He hits the nail on the head, as Cibber often does, when he remarks that in many countries where the Papal religion prevails, the holy policy, though it allows not an actor Christian burial, is so conscious of the usefulness of his art, that it will frequently take in the assistance of the theatre to recommend sacred history to the more pathetic regard of the people. How then, he asks, can they refuse an actor Christian burial when they admit his profession to serve the solemn purposes of religion? How far, he asks, is such inhumanity short of that famous painter's who, to make his crucifix a masterpiece of nature, stabbed the innocent hireling from whose body he drew it, and having heightened the holy portrait with his victim's last agonies of life, sent the picture to serve as the consecrated ornament of an altar? Never was a cruel prejudice more thoroughly and trenchantly exposed. Happily such prejudice is for the most part a thing of the past, and there are now few religious bodies of any denomination that will not gladly accept the gladly-given services of actors and actresses in support of their charitable undertakings.

But, even since Cibber wrote, traces of such prejudice, though in a more obscure form, are to be met with. A recent writer, I believe a Roman Catholic, in an historical monograph on Robespierre, an admirable and picturesque, if at times histrionic biography, misses no opportunity of insulting a profession of which he in all probability knows nothing, and allows his prejudice—at least, so it appears—to betray him into the most singular inaccuracy. The violent and eccentric conduct of Tallien, the conventionalist and contemporary of Robespierre, he constantly appears to explain and justify by the fact that he was a comedian, an actor. I should very much like to know what evidence he can produce that Tallien was ever an actor. Is he not thinking of Collot d'Herbois? And if Tallien were an actor and did flourish a dagger at Robespierre in the Convention, a piece of 'actor's foolery,' as he describes it, what, pray, of Edmund Burke and the Birmingham dagger he flourished in the House of Commons? If this gentleman means to imply that Tallien was an actor—and it certainly reads as if he did—then he is incorrect; if

he means that his conduct in flourishing a dagger in the Convention, in shedding blood in Bordeaux, in lounging in drawing-rooms and posing as a southern voluptuary was the conduct of an actor, then he is not only incorrect but unjust and offensive into the bargain.

When the actor has recovered from his astonishment at such gratuitous flouts, Cibber opportunely reminds him that we actors can claim a canonised saint in the Roman Martyrology, one Masculus, master of interludes, put to death by Genseric the Vandal, with great torment and reproach, for confession of the truth ; from which and other instances, such as the fact that some ten noted actors took up arms for King Charles the First when the Civil War shut the theatres, Cibber concludes that 'there have been players of worthy principles as to religion, loyalty and other virtues ; and if the major part of them fall under a different character, it is the general unhappiness of mankind that the most are the worst.' One would hardly dwell on facts of this kind, were it not for the amazing ignorance that is at the bottom of the dregs of prejudice that still survive against the theatre, and that one sees so egregiously displayed whenever some newspaper, reverting to a topic that always 'draws,' opens its columns to the lucubrations of the descendants of the dismal Prynne and the intemperate Collier. Colley Cibber should always at such seasons be referred to as a wholesome antidote to the doldrums and megrims of those who can neither find nor permit satisfaction in what he very justly describes as 'the most rational scheme that human wit can form to dissipate with innocence the cares of life, to allure even the turbulent or ill-disposed from worse meditations, and to give the leisure hours of business and virtue an instructive recreation.'

For twenty years Cibber remained a salaried actor, playing for the most part at Drury Lane under the management of Christopher Rich. He commenced work at a salary of ten shillings a week, which just before he went into management had risen to the then considerable sum of 5*l.* a week. This with his benefit brought him in some 162*l.* for the year 1708-1709, the largest sum made by any actor in the company that year being 259*l.*, earned by the popular and industrious Wilks, who added to his playing the duties of stage-manager. The story of Cibber's first salary is interesting. Hanging about the wings waiting for employment Master Colley, as he was called by his familiars, was sent on to the stage in the part of a messenger charged to deliver his message to the great actor, Thomas Betterton, perhaps the noblest figure in the recorded annals of our players, a man whose pre-eminent artistic and moral excellence made him in his day the unquestioned leader of his profession, and won the respect and admiration of such various beholders as Steele, Pope and Cibber. If his artistic genius was surpassed by Garrick and Kean, they neither of them could inspire that personal

affection and regard that the generous, simple nature of Betterton extorted from his contemporaries. To this commanding actor entered Master Colley with his message, but so appalled was he to find himself in the presence of the great tragedian, that he forgot entirely message and everything. Betterton, annoyed at his confusion, asked his name. 'Master Colley!' replied the prompter. 'Then forfeit him!' 'But,' urged the prompter, 'he has no salary.' 'No,' replied Betterton, 'then put him down ten shillings a week, and forfeit five!' This ten shillings, so pleasantly earned by Cibber, was shortly after raised to twenty on the recommendation of Congreve, the author, and then to thirty shillings on the secession of Betterton and other of Mr. Rich's discontented actors.

It was little wonder that actors who could afford to quarrel soon quitted a theatre of which Mr. Christopher Rich was the chief director. Cibber's sketch of this seventeenth-century manager is one of his happiest. The great art of Mr. Rich as a manager seems to have been to do his actors out of as much of their salary as he conveniently could. He was as sly a tyrant, says Cibber, as ever was at the head of a theatre; for he gave the actors more liberty and fewer days' pay than any of his predecessors; he would laugh with them over a bottle and bite them in their bargains. He would judge the merit of a leading actor by his ability to keep the other actors quiet when they had gone six weeks without any salary. He was always promising his actors what he was pleased to term 'arrear,' but in fifteen years Cibber declares he never received more than nine days' of them. The actors in Rich's day were paid by shares of the profits, ten going to the management, ten to the actors; but Rich so contrived it—he had been a lawyer—that 'the actors were limited sharers of loss, and he the sole proprietor of profits.' Much criticism is expended on our actor-managers of to-day, but it is only fair to record in their favour that it was not until Cibber, Wilks and Doggett, three actors, took over Drury Lane in 1710 and entered on their twenty years of successful management, that a theatre was once again honestly and decently administered. It is with justifiable pride that Cibber tells us that in the twenty years of his management he never had a creditor that had occasion to come twice for his bill, 'that every Monday morning discharged us of all demands before we took a shilling for our own use: we never asked any actor, nor were desired by them to sign any written agreement whatsoever.' As he truly says, 'Our being actors ourselves was an advantage to our government, which all former managers who were only idle gentlemen wanted.'

Among the many reforms introduced by Cibber was the closing of the stage-door to the idle gentlemen who were accustomed to haunt the wings of the theatre and elbow the actor during his performance; and in this regard he shrewdly touches on the in-

advisability of actors making themselves cheap, and allowing the curious to penetrate the mystery that should to some extent shroud the practice of their calling—a mystery which it is, alas! to-day almost impossible to preserve. ‘In admitting these gentlemen behind the scenes,’ says Cibber, ‘we too often showed them the wrong side of our tapestry, and many a tolerable actor was the less valued when it was known what ordinary stuff he was made of.’

Cibber and his colleagues had their share of good fortune. It is not often that the author of a successful play foregoes his fees, yet such was the case with Addison when he presented *Cato*, free of encumbrance, to the managers of Drury Lane. *Cato* was perhaps the greatest triumph of the Cibber management. Its production was the occasion of intense excitement, both in the literary and political world. Pope wrote a prologue for it, Garth an epilogue; Swift came to the rehearsals, and not being accustomed to the ways of rehearsal, was very much astonished to hear the ‘drab that acts *Cato’s* daughter’ stopping in the midst of a passionate part to call out to the prompter, ‘What’s next?’ By the term ‘drab’ Swift is describing the brilliant Mrs. Oldfield, from whom, said Horace Walpole, no bad judge, women of the first rank might have learnt behaviour, and whose morality was sufficiently respectable to allow of her interment in Westminster Abbey. Had Swift been versed in the conditions of an art the ignorance of which seems to many a literary critic the highest qualification for depreciating the art itself, he might have known that imperfection at rehearsal is sometimes the privilege of genius and no criterion of the achievement of the first night. It must be indeed a warped or unthinking prejudice that makes Pope incarnate dulness in the person of the lively Cibber, and Swift style the elegant and accomplished Mrs. Oldfield a drab.

But to-day, whatever the fate of our actors, our actresses seem to me to be in no danger of such rude depreciation as Swift treated them to in the person of Mrs. Oldfield; no ‘drabs’ from the Dean are likely to affront them; they must rather be on their guard lest they be lured to ruin by the subtle flattery of specious wooers. My friend Mr. Walkley, the accomplished critic of the *Times*, most subtle and most specious, openly courts their favours at the Royal Institution and the Playgoers’ Club; he tells these ladies that while we actors are something rather less than men, impaired citizens—in the words of Henley, neither masters of our fates nor captains of our souls—like, as I venture to think, the barrister and the novelist, dealers in emotions not our own, states of feeling, portrayals of characters not our own; our actresses, on the other hand, are something more than women: the practice of their art induces a sublimation of their sex until they pass to something beyond it, whether in the direction of greater masculinity or some more ethereal class of being, whether they put on the wings of angels or develop the thews

of men, I have never quite been able to understand. But in any case I would venture to warn these ladies against this apparently artless wooer. Beware this gay and debonair suitor! Beware lest he be merely piping you on to ruin, lest when you fall at his feet prostrate with praise, worshipping this unexpected deliverer, he turn upon you, and with the *ὑβρις* of the young Greek, the 'insouciance' of the flippant Gaul, spurn your advances, and show you that, in becoming more than women, you have been transformed into some unattractive and unnatural cross between a Gorgon and a mermaid. I, for my part, mistrust these dulcet attempts to lure our damsels from the fold. We actors must stand together, lest our women be torn from our unmanly arms and handed over to the more virile protection of full citizens, complete masters of their fate, perfect captains of their souls.

The first performance of *Cato* under Cibber's management was wildly successful. Addison, nervous and excited, sat in a box with Berkeley, the philosopher, fortifying his spirits with burgundy and champagne. Political feeling had been stirred by rumours of the play being a covert attack on the Tory Government; but that seemed only to make the approval of the audience the more unanimous; for the Whigs applauded vociferously what they considered a Whig play, whilst the Tories applauded no less vociferously to show that it was not. Lord Bolingbroke, then Secretary of State, called Booth, who played Cato, into his box and presented him with fifty guineas for his honest opposition to a perpetual dictator, otherwise the Whig Duke of Marlborough; whereupon the Whigs vowed that they also would get up a subscription of fifty guineas to present to Booth, to show their appreciation of his services to the Whig dramatist, Addison; but history does not relate whether the fortunate tragedian ever received this second dole; he may well have been content with the first. The play on its first production ran for thirty-five nights, an unexampled record in those days. This long run was followed by a visit of the actors to Oxford, and in this connection Cibber sheds a pleasing light on his managerial ways. It had been the custom for the actors when at Oxford to play twice a day, and, as in those days there were no half salaries for matinéés, they consequently received double pay. But on this occasion, as the Oxford theatre had been enlarged and the London season so successful, the managers, anxious to keep their players fresh and make the visit pleasant and profitable to the rest of their society, whilst only giving one performance in the day, paid the actors the usual double salary. And they were no losers by their generosity. The visit was both pleasant and profitable; the three performances of *Cato* were witnessed by overflowing audiences. Cibber's criticism of the respective quality of the London and the Oxford audiences is instructive. 'A great deal,' he writes, 'of that false, flashy wit and forced



humour which had been the delight of our metropolitan multitude, was only rated there (at Oxford) at its bare intrinsic value.' Here, he tells us, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson inspired as deep a reverence as the *Ethics* of Aristotle; and therefore we may gather from his account that whilst *Cato* was received with enthusiasm, the up-to-date fashionable London comedies, some of them no doubt Cibber's own, fell rather flat. Such was the Oxford of 1713. In the Oxford of 1904, whilst we have no doubt that Shakespeare and Ben Jonson still inspire the same reverence as the *Ethics* of Aristotle, our only fear is lest that reverence become an awful regard, too solemn to brook the rough intrusion of dramatic representation.

This was a great year, this 1713, to Cibber, Wilks and Doggett; at the end of the season, when all expenses had been paid, they found themselves the proud possessors of 1,500*l.* apiece. They left Oxford honoured with the thanks of the Vice-Chancellor for the decency and order observed by their company, an honour of which they showed their appreciation by contributing fifty pounds to the repair of St. Mary's Church.

Prosperous as were the years of Cibber's management, he did not escape the trials and anxieties inseparable from such a situation. The authors of bad plays were a great thorn in his side; he complains of their persecution, and their indignation against the actors for rejecting the abortive piles of poetry that they sought to twist into the likeness of a play. Who are these actors, the indignant playwrights would exclaim, to judge of their merit? To which Cibber retorts by asking these gentlemen how they can suppose that actors can have risen to any excellence in their calling without feeling or understanding the value of such productions? Would you have reduced them, he asks, to the mere mimicry of parrots and monkeys that can only prate and play tricks without reflection? And he concludes by asking these gentlemen authors the very pertinent question: if neither Dryden nor Congreve, Steele nor Addison complained of the actors' incapacity to judge a play, who will believe that the slights you have met with are undeserved or particular? We can hardly wonder at Cibber's pointed resentment against these gentlemen when we recall the fact that it was the usual custom of the unsuccessful author of his day to publish his play, after its failure, with a preface in which the actors of it were roundly abused and charged with its want of success. What Cibber says of his own day is equally applicable to the present time. I have often known actors abused by obscure and unsuccessful authors; but it is very rarely that the author of distinction finds fault publicly with his players, even if he have cause. Both author and actor are too well aware that the balance of failure and success will, in the long run, generally hang fairly evenly between the two of them; that they are both working in most cases for a common end, and that

recrimination coming from either side is not only undignified and useless, but is bound to be frequently ill-considered and unjust.

Cibber narrates a pleasing anecdote of one of these fine-gentlemen would-be authors who, on the second night of the performance of his poor play, came swaggering in fine full-bottomed periwig into the lobby of the theatre with a lady of condition on his arm, and called out to the box-keeper to direct him to his seats. 'Sir,' replied Mr. Trott, the then box-keeper, 'we have dismissed the audience, there was not company enough to pay candles!' In which 'mortal astonishment,' adds Cibber, we may leave the worthy gentleman.

Another source of constant trouble to the assiduous Colley were his partners in management, and of these most especially Mr. Robert Wilks, their leading actor. Wilks, a man of gentle birth, holding, before he went on the stage, a post in the office of the Irish Secretary at Dublin, out of which his successor made some 50,000*l.*, was an accomplished actor, indefatigable in his passion for work, but of a hasty and difficult temper. When, on the death of Mountford, the famous light comedian, murdered by Lord Mohun, he came to London in the hope of being his successor, he found that place already filled by one George Powell, son of an actor, himself an able but rough and uncultivated player, of loose life and intemperate habits. The story of the dethroning of Powell by Wilks, who certainly, in the opinion of the critics of the day, had over his rival the inestimable advantage in comedy of being able to appear a gentleman, is the old story of the two apprentices. Though Powell had a better voice, a better ear for speaking than Wilks, as excellent and tenacious a memory, and greater assurance, through an unheeding confidence, an over-indulgence in Nantz brandy, and perpetual impetuosity, he was soon outstripped by his industrious competitor, but not before the spectacle of his intemperance had cured Barton Booth (then a young man) of a love of drink which might have robbed the stage of a remarkably fine actor. It is related of poor Powell that being in constant apprehension of sheriffs' officers, he would walk the streets carrying a sheathed sword in his hand, and if he sighted from afar a bailiff, would call out, 'Get on the other side of the way, you dog!' to which the bailiff would politely reply, 'We do not want you *now*, Mr. Powell.' Such a man could not hope to stand long against the assiduous Mr. Wilks, whose passion for work seems almost unequalled in the history of the stage. Cibber tells us how on one occasion Wilks had prevailed on an author to cut out of his part a long and crabbed speech which he found it difficult to master. The author consented, but Wilks, thinking it an indignity to his memory that anything should be considered too hard for it, went home and made himself perfect in the speech, though well knowing it was never to be spoken on the stage. Such perseverance, added to a charming and

sympathetic personality, enabled Wilks to follow, though at a distance, in the steps of Betterton. 'To beseech gracefully,' writes Steele, in the *Tatler*, 'to approach respectfully, to pity, to mourn, to love, are the places wherein Wilks may be made to shine with the utmost beauty.'

Such was Wilks as an actor, but as manager, if we may believe Cibber, he was a perpetual trial to his colleagues. His temper was impossible; his jealousy, like that of many artists, ever wakeful; his greed for parts insatiable. No amount of money could compensate him for a bad part; the great success of the revival of *The Tempest* only disgusted him, because it condemned him to go on playing the indifferent rôle of Ferdinand. If he ever gave up one of his parts it was only to appear magnanimous, and by surrendering it to some raw young actor to be the more regretted in it. In accordance with such a plan, he, on one occasion, surrendered the part of Macduff, in which he had won enthusiastic praise, to a young recruit to the company, one Charles Williams, contenting himself with what was then considered the less effective part of Macbeth. Booth, his fellow-manager and rival tragedian, was to play Banquo, but, hearing of Wilks's change of characters and suspecting the real motive, he went to Williams and asked him to give him Macduff in exchange for Banquo. Williams readily consented, but no sooner did the news reach Wilks that Booth was likely to be his successor in Macduff than he immediately gave up his projected appearance as Macbeth and resumed his old part.

But Cibber gives a yet more amusing instance of the difficult temper of his colleague. Wilks, it appears, was in the habit of constantly complaining that he was overworked—a drudge, in fact; that he needed rest and repose. At length Cibber and Booth, weary of these protestations, determined to try their value. They were about to revive Vanbrugh's comedy of *The Provoked Wife*. Here seemed an excellent opportunity for testing the alleged fatigue of Wilks. After the play, which had been in some degree revised since its original production, had been read to the company, Cibber turned to Wilks. Says Cibber, the part of 'Constant' in this play being a character of less action than he, Wilks, had generally appeared in, this seemed a fitting occasion for him to ease himself by giving it to another;—here Wilks looked grave—that as the love scenes, suggested Cibber, were rather serious than gay, the part might sit very well on Booth;—down dropped Wilks's brow, furled were his features—that if, continued Cibber, they were never to revive a play without him, what would they do if he were indisposed?—here Wilks pretended to stir the fire—that for one, urged Cibber, in Wilks's position it was unprofitable trouble to play so unimportant a part. At this point, says Cibber, the pill began to gripe him. Wilks, bursting into a passion, charged his colleagues with a desire to ruin him with the public, and flinging the part on the table, sat knocking his heel on

the floor. Booth, to calm him down, said he quite saw his point; that, after all, acting was the most wholesome exercise in the world—in fact, it always gave him, Booth, a good stomach. At this point Mrs. Oldfield, who was to play the opposite part to Wilks's 'Constant,' began to titter behind her fan. The titter seemed to suggest to Wilks a sudden way out of his embarrassment. He turned to Mrs. Oldfield, and said that if she would choose her own 'Constant' he would readily give it up to whomsoever she might select. Whereupon Mrs. Oldfield jumped to her feet, took Cibber by the shoulder, with her usual frankness called them all a parcel of fools to make such a rout about nothing, and insisted on Wilks sticking to the part. Thus, by help of a woman's ready wit, ended happily a very quaint and amusing scene; but Wilks had been made to see that his fellow-managers understood the proper value of his complaints.

Cibber, in spite of their disagreements and the frequent trouble and offence caused by Wilks's irascible disposition, acknowledges its service as a rod by which to keep in order the hired actors, and prevent slackness and carelessness entering into the performances. The sharp authority exercised by Wilks on the stage made the dreaming idleness and jolly negligence of rehearsal, which had grown up under Powell's casual supervision, things unknown while Cibber and Wilks were managers of Drury Lane. Even the great Betterton, from his gentle, easy temper, had proved himself incapable of keeping order among his players; so that we may consider Mr. Wilks well worth that extra 50*l.* a year paid him by his colleagues nominally for writing out the playbills, really for keeping order and preserving discipline behind the scenes.

In another of his managerial troubles Cibber touches us very nearly. We are accustomed to think to-day that never was the legitimate drama in so parlous a condition, never did the more serious forms of dramatic entertainment have so hard a struggle for life; to mention only musical comedy, the most powerful rival of the legitimate drama in the affection of the public, here we have a highly delightful species of theatrical fare spread before the public with a skill, a luxury, a distinction that have never before been bestowed on it; artists of the highest quality are engaged in its service; nothing is spared to render it attractive, and ample has been, and is, the reward of those who have lavished so much pains on its adornment. And, in addition to this attractive competitor, we have on the one side the opera, now an annual institution; on the other, music halls and circuses flourishing in popular favour. Certainly the conditions are difficult, more difficult than ever before; the legitimate drama has to battle bravely to keep its head above the waters of public taste. But when we read Cibber's *Apology* we are inclined to ask, Was it not ever thus? Had not

the purveyors of the drama pure and simple ever the same contest with the natural tendency of busy men to fly to forms of entertainment that offer a few hours of thoughtless enjoyment, the natural tendency of the crowd to the more frivolous forms of relaxation? Though the struggle may be more intense now that men lead more rapid, strenuous lives, and consequently require in a greater measure light and mentally restful entertainment, may we not to-day take some consolation from the fact that it is no new struggle we are watching, no peculiar affliction of our own generation, that the successful exponents of serious drama in the past had to fight the same battle, to hold up their heads against the same competing forces, different in style, but similar in kind? Cibber would have us believe such a struggle is as old as the days of Terence, who in one of his prologues reproves the Roman audience of his day for their fondness for the 'funambuli,' or rope-dancers. It is certainly as old as Horace. With Colley Cibber the wail of the injured manager and dramatist is continuous throughout the pages of the *Apology*, whilst we find Dryden, Pope, Steele, and later Dr. Johnson complaining constantly of the degradation of the drama by the introduction of singers, dancers, puppets and elephants on a stage that should in their opinion be reserved for the productions of pure tragedy and comedy. Cibber reproaches Sir William Davenant with being the first manager to try to combat the success of a rival company of actors more popular than his own, by resorting to the production of dramatic operas, versions of *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* decked out in expensive 'scenes and habits, lightened by the efforts of the best singers and dancers; and, says Cibber, it was little wonder that these frivolous spectacles grew too hard for sense and simple nature, when it is considered how many more people there are that can see and hear than think and judge. Later, Betterton is rebuked for having brought over three famous French dancers, 'mimics and tumblers,' and we find an angry dramatist exclaiming in a prologue

Must Shakespeare, Fletcher, and laborious Ben  
Be left for Scaramouch and Harlequin?

Anon, Italian opera steals in, in the person of one Valentini, a true and sensible singer, according to Cibber, but 'of a throat too weak to sustain those melodious warblings for which the fairer sex have since idolised his successors.' Horror upon horror accumulates when Rich, always anxious, as Cibber admits, to please the majority, meditates the introduction on to his stage of a phenomenally large elephant, and is only deterred from the outrage by the bricklayer's assurance that if he takes down any part of the wall to admit the beast, the elephant will assuredly bring down the house. Cheated of his elephant, Rich fell back on some rope-dancers. This was too

much for Cibber, then a member of Rich's company. On the first night of the rope-dancers' performance the indignant actor stepped down into the pit and told those sitting near him that he hoped they would excuse him if he declined any longer to appear on a stage brought so low as it was by that night's disgraceful entertainment; and he tells us the audience took the player's protest in good part and Rich was obliged shortly after to get rid of his rope-dancers.

From all quarters, it would appear, the actors of the eighteenth century received sympathy in a predicament of this kind. Cibber relates how a nobleman, indignant at the attention an opera was receiving at one of the theatres, told Cibber that it was shameful to take part of the actors' bread from them to support the silly diversion of people of quality. One can hardly help contrasting with the utterance of this nobleman that of the Viscount in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. 'What's the good of Shakespeare, Pip?' he asks. 'I never read him. What the devil is it all about, Pip? There's a lot of feet in Shakespeare's verse, but there ain't any legs worth mentioning in Shakespeare's plays, are there, Pip? Juliet, Desdemona, Lady Macbeth, and all the rest of 'em, whatever their names are, might as well have no legs at all, for anything the audience know about it, Pip. . . . I'll tell you what it is. What the people call dramatic poetry is a collection of sermons.' Do I go to the theatre to be lectured? No, Pip. If I wanted that, I'd go to church. What's the legitimate object of the drama, Pip? Human nature. What are legs? Human nature. Then let us have plenty of leg pieces, Pip, and I'll stand by you, my buck!' As to which of these two noblemen is to be regarded as voicing the true sentiments of the majority of their order at the present day towards the relative merits of serious and light entertainment, we cannot pause to determine; let us express a passing hope that the Viscount has not got it all his own way.

But Nemesis in the shape of managerial necessity was to overtake Cibber, and bring him to his knees for his affronts to the singers and dancers. When he had been manager of Drury Lane for some time, he found himself obliged, from the accustomed lack of sufficiently good plays, to fight a rival theatre by resorting to these same singers and dancers whom he had roundly censured, to all the arts and graces of pantomime of all things. The *Loves of Mars and Venus* was the first of these crutches, as he calls them, to which he was driven for support; thence swiftly declining, we find him producing *Harlequin Sorcerer*, in which Harlequin is hatched on the stage from a huge egg, and so incurring the castigation of his enemy, Pope, who, alluding to this entertainment and its scenic triumphs, writes in the *Dunciad*:

The forests dance, the rivers upward rise,  
Whales sport in woods, and dolphins in the skies;

And last, to give the whole creation grace,  
Lo ! one vast Egg produces human race !

And again :

But lo ! to dark encounter in mid air  
New wizards rise : here Booth, and Cibber there :  
Booth in his cloudy tabernacle shrin'd,  
On grinning Dragons Cibber mounts the wind.

Cibber was much too shrewd and honest not to be conscious of his guilt in this respect, and confess his error in making use of fooleries he had condemned. And he seeks to excuse himself by drawing a parallel between his own conduct and that of King Henry the Fourth of France in adopting the Roman-Catholic religion to suit the exigencies of his political situation. 'I was still in my heart,' he writes, 'as much on the side of truth and sense as the French King, but with this difference, that I had leave to quit them when they could not support me ; for what equivalent could I have found for falling a martyr to them ?' And he goes on in a pleasant spirit to justify his vanity in venturing to compare his conduct with that of so great a man as Henry the Fourth. 'What I want of the King's grandeur, Nature has amply supplied to me in vanity, a pleasure which neither the pertness of wit nor the gravity of wisdom will ever persuade me to part with. . . . Vanity is of all complexions, the growth of every clime and capacity ; authors of all ages have had a tincture of it ; and yet you read Horace, Montaigne, and Sir William Temple with pleasure. Nor am I sure, if it were curable by precept, that mankind would be mended by it. Could vanity be eradicated from our nature, I am afraid that the reward of most human virtues would not be found in this world. And happy is he who has no greater sin to answer for in the next !'

With this pleasing admission of a fault which, confessed, loses half its mischief, let us leave old Cibber. Over his sketches, brilliant many of them, of his brother actors, over his quarrel with Pope, over the many incidents of his varied, busy life that he narrates with such unfailing spirit, such a humorous appreciation of the realities of things, of the good and ill in human character, I have no time to linger ; I can only advise those who read these lines to turn to the book itself, which will very pleasantly while away a leisure hour. Cibber has something to say to us to-day after two hundred years have gone by, because his book is written from the inside of the theatre, not from without ; not by one ignorant of actors, unsympathetic with their art, but by a successful actor, manager and author, a man who, whatever his faults of character, at least loved and respected his profession, upheld its dignity, reformed its abuses, and paid his way as an honest man ; one of the best as he was one of the first of actor managers. Cibber's *Apology*

is the shrewd reply of the practical man of the world to the pedants and theorists who, sitting in their studies, would fain conduct from their desks the business of the theatre. And it is the best reply to those who would have us believe that the actor is a strange, peculiar being, something rather less than a man, but possibly more than a monkey, an impaired, unmanly citizen. Cibber's actors and actresses as he pictures them for us in his book are on the whole as good specimens of ordinary men and women as we are likely to meet with in any other society of his day; and they are the same now. There are of course and have been actors and actors, as there are varied specimens of every class; actors, like Betterton, great worthy men; like Scum Goodman, who, in addition to being an actor, was a cheat, a highwayman, a traitor, and a would-be murderer; the Addisons and the Savages, the Johnsons and the Boyces of our calling; but in their essential characteristics no different from other men, neither better nor worse.

The prejudice against the actor is dying; but, like any prejudice that has religion to support it, it is dying hard. A prejudice that can cite pulpit justification for uncharitable conduct is—such is the inconsistency of human nature—strangely hard to kill; any opportunity that a Chadband can enjoy of looking down on and anathematizing one not too obviously his inferior, will be ever welcome to crawling minds. But that such a prejudice is anything but one of those many unsightly masks by which in past ages human weakness has hidden the face of true religion I refuse to believe. And the religion of the future will wonder at those who have shuddered and held up their hands at what Cibber has well described as 'the most rational scheme that human wit could form to dissipate with innocence the cares of life,' and will consider the man who has devoted his life to such a cause no mean citizen, no unworthy servant to the public good.

Of course we actors must not look to all men for sympathy, nor expect it from them. As some men of high ability, of refined taste in many things, are deaf to the charms of music; it has no appeal to them, the sense of it is lacking in their natures; so are there men of culture and attainment, men of genius like Rousseau, to whom the art of acting makes no appeal, who have no sympathy with the actor's work. Such men have, no doubt, at different times been called on to write about the theatre, and that they should write with little sympathy is all that we can expect; nor should we resent what we cannot correct. But we have at least the right to ask that such a want of sympathy should be the strongest reason for making any man pause and consider before he proclaims himself to be the constant witness or judge of what, if it be true that to act unmans a man, must be a degrading spectacle, before he even suggests, however ingeniously, against any section of his fellow-men that in



comparison with himself, in comparison with those who watch and enjoy their achievements, they are impaired and unmanly citizens. In all times and ages since the theatre has been established, and never more so than at the present day, the actor, to succeed and hold his own, to encounter the difficulties, the chances, the, at times, cruel anxieties of his calling, has required, shall I say, a greater mastery of his fate, a higher captaincy of soul, than many another man is called on to exercise whose work is done in more peaceful and secure surroundings ; and when I look around on the careers of those who are to-day at the head of my profession, I feel that, whatever the varieties of their artistic achievement, to reach the positions to which they have attained they have had to exercise those same qualities of endurance, pluck, determination, and self-control that we look for in all men who have made their mark, in however modest a sphere, on the history of their time.

H. B. IRVING.

## THE PINNACLE OF PROSPERITY

### A NOTE OF INTERROGATION •

'GREAT BRITAIN is standing on the topmost pinnacle of prosperity' was a phrase very current amongst a set of writers on the fiscal question about this time last year. It is not so current this year, though there are still congratulations, in a subdued key now, over each monthly statement of the increase of our imports. The object of the present little paper is to question whether the phrase ever really embodied the true interpretation of the facts of the case. To this end let us glance for a moment at a few of the most salient facts, known to everybody in a vague kind of way, but probably not yet grasped in all their bearings by anybody, for they constitute a problem of the utmost complexity the solution of which would tax the capacities of a Commission of Experts. But there are certain points which anyone without claiming to be an expert can appreciate directly. For instance, there is no difficulty in ascertaining that during the last five years there has been an *increase* on average of nearly a hundred millions sterling a year in our combined Imperial and Local Government expenditures compared with the average expenditures from the same sources during the five preceding years—and be it remembered that those five preceding years were considered profusely and dangerously extravagant by economists. Massing the figures, we find that the expenditure from these two sources in the last five years has been 1,412 millions, against 933 millions in the previous five years and 780 millions in the five years before that. This increase is altogether abnormal, partly owing to the South African war, and we ought always to be on guard in presence of abnormal symptoms. The bulk of this vast excess of expenditure has gone through the pockets of British workmen, British contractors, and British employés. It has necessarily come out of one set of pockets and gone into another set, but the transfer created great activity in trade, and some of the contributing pockets have been foreign pockets. A Government, especially in war time, is a prodigious spendthrift, and municipalities are always liberal paymasters, with their borrowed funds and with the ratepayers' money, so that the wages and profits earned have been much above the average. No wonder that the eating, the drinking,

the dress, and the amusement in every section of our people, from Belgravia and Tyburnia to the Whitechapel Road, are all on an unprecedented scale. No wonder that the income-tax returns have gone up by leaps and bounds. There is one little item in these returns that throws a flood of light on the general situation. The salaries of Government, corporation, and public company officials brought under the review of the Inland Revenue Department for the purposes of the income-tax have increased from sixty millions up to eighty millions in the last five years (a much greater ratio of increase than is to be found in the incomes from business concerns, professions, and employment under Schedule D), and this is an exceedingly instructive and characteristic instance of what is going on generally in this country. Personal services are in the ascendant. Then the war expenditure, of course, stimulated enormously the trade in war-like materials at all the producing centres, such as Sheffield, Birmingham, the Clyde, and the Tees. This was the case, too, in the clothing departments, so that the textile manufactories benefited also. The coal trade was working at full pressure. Government charters kept the shipping profitably employed. Every artisan's and every shop-keeper's craft, from the highest to the lowest, was bound to receive an impetus from this rushing stream of payments, and we have seen the effects in the extraordinary expansion of our home trade and in the great increase in our imports of food and commodities. These imports for the last five years have averaged 520 millions a year, against a yearly average of 438 millions in the five preceding years, and this increase is proclaimed as one of the principal evidences of our unparalleled prosperity.

Now if there be a direct relation of cause and effect between this excess of expenditure (by our Imperial and Local Governments) and the increase of our imports, and if the increase of our imports is to be taken as the sure criterion of prosperity, then it would seem to follow as a logical consequence that the greater the Governments' expenditures are the more prosperous we must be.

But if we look into the items of these expenditures it is impossible to maintain that the bigger they are the better, for the reason that a very large portion of them constitutes a great lock-up of capital; and no country, however rich, can continue to lavish money in this way without becoming seriously pinched and ultimately gravely embarrassed.

The truth is that these imposing figures of imports, exports, railway revenues, income-tax returns, Post Office earnings, bank clearings, Excise and Customs duties, tell us really very little as to our prosperity, because we first require to ascertain the origin of the motive power that has set all the wheels of trade rolling at this accelerated pace. If the proceeds of loans, taxes, and rates have been lavished on unproductive expenditure, then the figures rather

point to future adversity (although at first sight they may appear to indicate present prosperity), because there is a point in this sort of expenditure at which the delicate sensitive machinery of the financial engine will be so severely strained that it will be thrown out of gear.

Already there are ominous signs of creaking in the little wheel of credit which keeps all the big wheels of production and transportation turning. Discount rates vary from day to day in a feverish way. Lombard Street has given notice to the municipalities that they are no longer welcome borrowers. The Colonies, too, are warned off. Any money that we are now finding for our colonies or for Japan and China is not actually our own money, but Continental money. And here we put our finger on the really dangerous spot. Great Britain for the first time in recent history has become, during the last six or seven years, a nation borrowing on a considerable scale from other countries, as well as being a nation lending to other countries.

This is a fateful sign of our excessive extravagance. Our own liquid capital has been too much locked up in armaments and overbuilding of all sorts at home and in our colonies; it has been consumed in eating, drinking, dress, and amusements; whilst with the exception of coal it is difficult to point to any great article the production of which has grown in the last five years in anything like the same ratio as our expenditure has grown. For instance, there has not been any increase in our agricultural production or in the production of our textile and iron industries (our three greatest industries), sufficient to account for 'phenomenal prosperity.' Hence this note of interrogation, What part has borrowing played in producing a simulated prosperity?

And here we may learn something from the experience of our neighbours if we look at Germany slowly recovering, by liquidation, from an over-borrowed position, or if we look across the Atlantic; and in both these instances extraordinary prosperity was proclaimed three or four years ago, and the claim seemed to be fully warranted by the figures. To-day we know how much of it was simulated prosperity due to over-borrowing.

In two articles in this Review (January and August) last year I drew attention to the increase of borrowing all over the world, and particularly in the United States. During the last seven years the banks there have increased their loans by nearly seven hundred million pounds sterling, or at the rate of a hundred millions per year. This excessive borrowing has thrown the financial machinery so much out of gear that the condition of trade at the present moment is very unsatisfactory after the great boom three or four years ago. But, notwithstanding the monstrous over-capitalisation of new companies, the expenditure of the borrowed money has mainly been of a reproductive character—as it was also in Germany. There has consequently been a gigantic increase in the production of iron, steel, cotton

manufactures, and all other kinds of manufactures, whilst the development of an exceedingly rich new country has been going on apace with immense additions to real wealth in the increased cotton, corn, and other crops, and in the output of minerals. The trade accounts to the 30th of June show a very large increase during the last twelve months in the exports of manufactures, as was naturally to be anticipated, and the total volume of trade is a record notwithstanding a great *decrease* in the exports of grain. The financial position is still radically unsound, and the cure will be difficult; but time, the land, and the quickly growing population by immigration may enable the difficulties to be surmounted. But Germany and Great Britain are not in the position of the United States as wealth producers, and consequently they cannot run riot in borrowing, in a like degree, with equal impunity. There is no reason, however, why normal prosperity should not be regained, in our own case, as it has been regained to a certain extent in Germany by liquidating an over-borrowed position, although it is to be feared that there must be a good deal of suffering in the process. The reaction from profuse expenditure is always trying, but in these islands we have extraordinary advantages in the soil, in mineral wealth, and in our unique geographical position for trade, and the British workman, with his inherited capacities, is still the best workman in the world when he chooses to put out his full strength. We have seen also, in the White Star steamship accounts, published the other day, what British captains of industry can do when they put their whole minds and energies into their business, and when they refrain from borrowing. There is no reason, therefore, why we should not have a reasonable measure of prosperity in the future, under rational conditions of expenditure. Our danger at the moment lies in deceiving ourselves by not analysing our position. We do not quite know where we are in the matter of our reserves, and the true significance of the relations between our imports and our exports requires elucidation. We trust too much to a hasty glance at bare figures which are sometimes very deceptive. Reasons have been given above for doubting whether the large imports really testify to the legitimate spending powers of our people, and in regard to exports we have to distinguish between goods sold for cash to France or Germany, for instance, and goods sold on credit to South Africa and Australia. We also want to know whether our cotton manufactures (made from the American staple) have left anything but losses for the past three years.

Then our banking reserve is the most important consideration of all.

Events are moving very rapidly in the Far East, and we cannot evade the necessity of taking account of certain eventualities that may arise. It is the part of every self-respecting nation always to maintain itself in such a position as to be able to view the prospects of

war without dismay, and to that end every nation ought to consider carefully where it stands. We have a strong and, let us hope, a very efficient Navy, and we may count upon the moral support of the United States in the Far East. But how shall we stand financially? Where would our money market be to-day if large amounts of Continental funds were to be suddenly withdrawn from London? No navy and no army could help us in this case. Twenty-four hours might work immense mischief, for we live and move and have our being in an edifice of credit—a vast superstructure poised on a very narrow basis, like a pyramid standing on its apex. It is quite true that in a week's time we can always replenish our stock of gold by sales in New York of our American securities—but *time* may be of the essence of the contract, and the Bank of England's stock of gold is too small. The stability of our money market ought, therefore, to be our pre-eminent care. Yet scarcely anyone in England now gives a serious thought to finance. The House of Commons which ought to guard the purse has abnegated its functions. Outside experts sound notes of warning from time to time, but no real attention is paid to them. Mr. Inglis Palgrave has written weightily on the subject, and Mr. Rozenraad, for instance, told the Institute of Bankers last April that

this question of England's indebtedness to France, Austria, and other countries ought to be brought constantly before the minds of the English banking world. Every English acceptance discounted outside the country created a liability for Great Britain, a claim on Great Britain, which might have to be liquidated at a time when markets were under the influence of political complications or of unexpected events.

Since these words were spoken England's indebtedness to the Continent has increased rather than diminished, if we may judge by the accounts in the daily papers of the renewal of English bills by France and the investment of Continental money in our Exchequer bills. How is it, and why is it, that we have created this unpleasant liability for ourselves? The only answer is, by an extravagant expenditure and by our unwillingness to look facts in the face. We cannot permanently increase our reserves so long as our imports continue to exceed our exports on the existing scale, although, of course, if the rate of interest is higher in London than in the other great centres, more money will be sent here on temporary loan if political conditions remain normal. But what we want is not to borrow more, but to convert ourselves again into being a creditor nation on current account as well as on capital account. For the last seven years (1898-1904) the average excess of our imports over our exports has been something over 178 millions a year (compared with 140 millions, the average of the seven preceding years), and if we assume that the invisible exports are 178 millions a year, there

has obviously been no opportunity for increasing our reserves. We had high hopes a year ago that a National Inquest would enlighten our understanding of these complex questions, but as a matter of fact we know to-day very little more on the subject than we knew before. We are still groping in the dark at a time when we ought to have all the light that the ripest financial experience can throw on the great problems that are immediately in front of us.

Is there any more practicable means to that end than the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into all the ramifications of the position ?

J. W. CROSS.

## *THE POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA*

THE political situation at the hour in Australia generally, and Victoria particularly, is of more than ordinary interest, and the issues involved are of a kind that has not been met with hitherto in any Parliament; and although the population affected is comparatively small and the area relatively large, the principles involved are identical with those struggling for ascendancy in Europe and America.

Numerous speakers and writers have referred to Australia as 'the paradise of the workman,' and quoted cases which have helped to create an impression in some quarters that already the standard of life of the workers generally in Australia is such that there is little or no room for dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic conditions.

If this were so it would be difficult to account for the social unrest that undoubtedly shows itself pretty plainly and finds at the time its chief expression in the political activities of the workers, who are battling vigorously to return to the Federal and State Parliaments an increasing number of direct Labour representatives.

The industrial disputes, too, are fought quite as bitterly as in other countries, a notable instance being that of the Gippsland (Victoria) coal-miners, where the men of the Outtrim, Jumbunna, and Korrumburra coal-mines, some 1,300 in number, stubbornly resisted for seventy weeks the conditions the employers sought to impose, and have now yielded when actual starvation has compelled them; and this week a number of them who have been entirely peaceful and law-abiding all through the dispute, are leaving Victoria by boats for other States—viz. New South Wales, Western Australia, and New Zealand; some of them deeming it expedient to change their names to run less risk of being black-listed by the Employers' Federation. The unemployed assemble several days during each week and hold meetings in the usual style, calling upon the authorities to provide means for work, &c., it being alleged that in Melbourne alone there are between five and six thousand out of employment—a statement which can easily be believed seeing that this represents 5 per cent. of the male workers; whilst the trade union statistics show that in



several trades 15 per cent. more correctly represents the true state of affairs.

The Amalgamated Engineers at the present time have 18 per cent. of their members in Victoria in receipt of Society benefits; New South Wales being quite as bad. Nor is gold-mining in Victoria any better, as is shown by the conditions obtaining in and around the city of Ballarat. It is authoritatively stated that in Ballarat, East and West, there are about one thousand six hundred miners employed; of these about six hundred receive 7*s.* 6*d.* per shift of eight hours, or 2*l.* 5*s.* a week, and the thousand who work as 'tributers,' and usually put in six days a week, average about 12*s.* 6*d.* per week per man. This seems almost unbelievable, and but that I have had many opportunities of mixing up with the men themselves and talking the matter over in its various phases, I should doubt its accuracy. As regards farm workers, wages range from 6*s.* to 18*s.* a week and food, but for harvest hands about 6*s.* a day is paid.

Many skilled workers are badly organised, and wages are proportionately low, many connected with the agricultural-implement making receiving not more than from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a week.

As regards furniture-making in Victoria, in spite of trade unionism and a wages board stipulating the conditions for all at the trade, Chinamen included, this trade is now monopolised by the Chinamen, and white men are literally compelled to leave the State, there being no work for them. Of the 740 men now engaged in furniture-making in Melbourne and district, 110 are Europeans and 630 are Chinese. During the last twelve months the secretary of the Furniture Trades Union, at the Trades Hall, Melbourne, states that he has issued eighty-nine members' clearances—*i.e.* that number of members has left the State because there was not the slightest prospect of their being able to obtain employment. A large proportion of these men are now in New Zealand.

To indicate the stage of development as regards street transit in Melbourne the trams may be instanced, which are run by cable system and are in the hands of a private company, the almost universal charge being 3*d.* In a very few instances, where the State railways compete, penny fares for short stages prevail, and on some lines passengers may purchase a dozen tickets for 2*s.*; but over a very large portion of Melbourne the minimum price is 2*s.* 9*d.* per dozen tickets.

This is in marked contrast to Sydney, where the street cars are on the electric overhead system and are owned and controlled by the State, and where penny stages are generally prevalent. The Sydney trams are one of the best-paying assets of New South Wales.

As bearing upon the social conditions and the relationship between employers and workers, it is stated that the Melbourne tramway employés dare not, as they value their situations, be identified with

any labour union, the most rigid espionage on the part of the company being carried out. The same applies to the employés of the Melbourne Gas Company, who have no industrial organisation, and dare not form one, because of the known hostility thereto of the company directors.

These facts will serve to dispel any idea that the prevailing industrial and social conditions leave nothing to be desired from the workers' standpoint.

But to give the points which tell on one side and not to give others would create a wrong impression, and therefore it is necessary to say that, speaking generally, and more particularly for shop or stores assistants and for many mechanics, the standard of living is higher than in England. For practically all stores assistants to leave work at six in the evening or a little later, to work late one evening in the week only, and for all to have a half-holiday once a week is a distinct advance upon the conditions in Britain. Mechanics generally do not work more than forty-eight hours a week, and the rates of pay are distinctly higher than in Britain. Taking mechanics' wages as ranging in London from 36s. to 50s. a week, a fair comparison here would be for similar men in Melbourne from 45s. to 65s. a week, but this higher figure is obtained for an hour less work per day. Of course there is a difference in purchasing power, and especially as regards refreshments. The customary drinks of the workman in London, costing 1½d., 2d., and 3d. per glass, in Melbourne can only be had for 3d. and 6d. respectively, whilst in many country towns the minimum price is 6d. A felt hat costing 6s. 6d. at home, in Melbourne costs 10s. 6d.; but this difference does not prevail all round, my own estimate being that a typical mechanic will receive 15s. per week more in Victoria than in Britain, and one-half of this 15s. will be absorbed in increased expenditure, leaving a solid margin of 7s. 6d. a week to the good for one hour's work per day less. As counter-acting this, again, the periods of unemployment appear to be longer on the average in Australia than in the Old Country.

As regards working hours, there is no Eight Hours Law generally prevalent in any of the Australasian States, and never has been; and in Victoria at present, taking all workers, there are quite as many working more than eight hours per day as there are working eight hours or less.

The real reason for the instituting of the eight hours day in Victoria by the workers in the building trades in 1856 appears to have been because it was found to be so much more exhausting to work under the heat of the Australian sun than it had been in a European climate, and the demand for the eight hours work-day has been advocated in Australia chiefly on those grounds. It is only in recent years that the demand for reduced working hours has been put forward as a sound economic method of absorbing the unemployed dislodged from

their occupations by the march of invention, and also as a means to enable the worker to share more equitably in the ever-increasing product of labour.

Having regard to the greatly increased productivity of labour, the West Australian Labour party is now vigorously advocating a seven hours work-day, and when one speaker at the Victorian eight hour celebration claimed that there were stronger reasons to be advanced now in favour of a six hours work-day than there were in 1856 in favour of an eight hours day, the statement was received with vociferous applause.

At the forty-eighth celebration of the eight hour day in Melbourne, which took place on the 25th of April of this year, circumstances transpired which added special interest to the event. The occasion was one of more than ordinary interest, as the chief speaker was the Hon. J. C. Watson, M.H.R., who only two days before had been sent for by the Governor-General and charged with the responsibility of forming a Ministry; two days later Mr. Watson assumed office as Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, all his Ministerial colleagues (save one), with himself, being pledged members of the Labour party.

The political Labour parties of the various Australian States date from the year 1890, when, after the termination of the Australian maritime strike, which affected the whole of Australia and New Zealand, and which ended by the defeat of the workmen, forthwith the trade unionists and others resolved to take political action on independent lines. With the advent of Federation and a Commonwealth Parliament, in January 1900, Labour men were ready to contest a number of the electorates, and succeeded in returning fourteen pledged Labour members to the House of Representatives out of a total of seventy-five, each State contributing a share in the following order: New South Wales six, Queensland three, Victoria two, West Australia one, South Australia one, Tasmania one.

To the Senate, consisting of a total of thirty-six members, nine pledged Labour men were returned as follows: Queensland four, West Australia two, Victoria one, South Australia one, Tasmania one, New South Wales none.

That the Labour members worked effectively and assiduously even their strongest opponents frankly admit. That their behaviour in and out of Parliament could not have been displeasing to a larger number than those who had returned them may be concluded from the fact that when the first Parliament expired by effluxion of time, and the election for the second Parliament took place in December 1903, the straight-out Labour men in the House of Representatives were increased from fourteen to twenty-three; New South Wales sending seven, Queensland six, West Australia four, Victoria three, South Australia two, and Tasmania one.

In the Senate the Labour party increased their numbers from nine in the first Parliament to fourteen in the second—viz. from Queensland five, West Australia four, South Australia three, Victoria one, Tasmania one, and New South Wales none.

As Queensland's total number of members in the House of Representatives is nine, and six of these are pledged Labour members, it will be seen that Labour has a slight preponderance of power in the second Chamber as far as this State goes; whilst in the Senate, where the total number of members for each State is six, the Queensland Labour men have five out of the six seats, or, combining the two Houses, the Queensland contingent thereto totals fifteen, and of these eleven are Labour men.

It may be well to explain that each of the six Federated States returns six Senators; whilst the number returned to the House of Representatives is based upon population, New South Wales returning twenty-six, Victoria twenty-three, Queensland nine, South Australia seven, West Australia five, and Tasmania five.

The franchise for both Houses being adult suffrage, much speculation took place as to how the women would vote, or whether they would vote at all. The result has shown that the women were quite as keen to exercise their vote as the men, and, as might naturally have been expected, whilst independence of spirit was shown, and the right to do exactly as they pleased was freely claimed and acted upon, each class voted in the main as did the men folk in the same class; and although quite a number of workmen were concerned as to whether the Churches would succeed in detaching and diverting the votes of many women in a manner unfavourable to the Labour policy, all such were perfectly satisfied when the results were declared.

The women did not vote at the first Federal election, and to most of them it was an entirely new experience, and naturally there was a small percentage of odd cases; but over the whole Commonwealth the lively interest shown by the women and the all-round efficiency that characterised them at the polling-booths commanded the most hearty admiration of the sterner sex. During the election campaign great amusement was caused by the wriggings of those candidates who for many years had opposed woman suffrage, but on this occasion were taxing their brains as to how to secure the votes of the women. Their sudden discovery that after all women would probably impart a healthy tone to matters political, and that there really was no valid reason as to why the right of citizenship should be exclusively held by one sex when the everyday interests of both sexes were directly affected thereby, &c.: this in face of the most determined opposition to the women's claim all through their political careers until they were beaten, relieved the monotony of many a meeting when women themselves, or men on their behalf, insisted upon reminding such candidates of their previous attitude on this subject.

Not that the election proceedings were by any means dull, for all over the Commonwealth the fight was very keen between the growing forces of Labour and the ever-active forces of Capitalism. All the principal papers declared the contest was between Socialism and Anti-Socialism, and for months prior to the election a systematic onslaught had been made by the various sections of the plutocracy on the Labour parties, who in turn were unceasing in the advocacy of their cause.

Very few, if any, of the Labour candidates disavowed Socialism, but only a minority amongst them clearly and pleasurably declared in favour of Socialism; their real attitude being that of Independent Labour candidates, but not necessarily Socialists. The programme of the Federal Labour party, or the 'Fighting Platform,' as it is termed, consists of the following comparatively mild proposals:

- (1) The Maintenance of a White Australia.
- (2) Compulsory Arbitration.
- (3) Old Age Pensions.
- (4) Nationalisation of Monopolies.
- (5) Citizen Defence Force.
- (6) Restriction of Public Borrowing.
- (7) Navigation Laws.

The nationalisation of monopolies being the nearest approach to Socialism, much, of course, depends upon what are considered to be monopolies. It will probably surprise many to hear that the only industry definitely decided upon as being in the monopolistic stage ready for nationalisation is the tobacco industry. This trade being already practically in the hands of a syndicate, and all competition destroyed, it certainly is in a stage of development worthy of special attention. But allowing for a decided disposition to nationalise the tobacco trade, a moderately advanced English worker will wonder what there is in the programme submitted to cause consternation. The matter of compulsory industrial arbitration excites the greatest interest throughout the whole of Australia. The capitalists are bitterly opposed to it, and the workers are very earnest in demanding it. The capitalists vehemently declare that to bring such matters as the adjustment of wages and working hours, and the regulation of apprentices and improvers in the respective trades under the control of a court of law is an unwarrantable interference with the established rights of an employer to control his own business in his own way; that such interference will result in a general set-back to manufacturers by unduly handicapping them in the competitive struggle; and that if the workers had good sense they would never consent to forego their liberty to make their own individual arrangements; and they point to the workmen of England and America who have shown 'their wisdom' by voting down with overwhelming majorities the

question of compulsory arbitration whenever the matter has been discussed. To which the workers in effect reply: That the unwarrantable interference argument is the old contention of every set of employers used in every country against the introduction and extension of the Factory and Workshops Acts; that the world at large has already gone beyond the stage of leaving industrial affairs to the sole control of the capitalists; and that the statement that manufacturing industry will be checked, if not destroyed, is also part of the old boggy tales used on thousands of occasions whenever the State insisted upon reasonable ventilation of factories, &c., fencing of machinery, stipulation of working time, or raising the age when children may commence work. Instead of these capitalistic prophecies coming true, they have been falsified in every country, and the workers have best working conditions and enjoy the highest standard of life in those trades that have the greatest amount of State regulation; that as regards the liberty they enjoy under the present system it is more imaginary than real; and in any case they take their stand as citizens and declare that the interests of the community should be the first consideration under all circumstances, and neither a section of capitalists nor workers should be allowed to dislocate industrial affairs regardless of the convenience of the general community.

As to the working practicability of compulsory arbitration, New Zealand's nine years' experience shows the advantage of the compulsory system as against any other plan existent. In New Zealand 96 per cent. of the cases dealt with (and practically all industrial cases are dealt with under the Act) have proved to be thoroughly satisfactory to both sides, and manufactures have developed much more rapidly during the period that the Industrial Arbitration Act has been operative than ever before. It is also the case that the New Zealanders have called for and obtained amendments to the Act, making it applicable to an ever-increasing number of occupations, until now all may make use of the Act who 'do any skilled or unskilled manual or clerical work for hire or reward.'

As this subject is still being actively discussed in and out of Parliament, and especially as the subject is receiving attention in Britain, it should be mentioned that although statements have frequently been made by responsible speakers on the capitalist side that the New Zealand Act has proved unworkable, and that, whereas it had originally applied 'to any industry,' the farmers particularly organised to obtain a modification of the Act so that it should not apply to them, the absolute facts of the case are that the term 'in any industry' was used by the framers of the Act, intending thereby to cover all workers, but in 1899 a case was brought before the Arbitration Court by the Grocers' Assistants of Christchurch, and the decision thereon was delivered by Mr. Justice Edwards—the then judge of the Arbitration Court—that the Court had no jurisdiction, because

shopmen were not engaged in an 'industry,' but were merely occupied in distribution. He considered that 'industry' meant labour engaged in manufacturing, and did not include the work of those engaged in distribution. Subsequently Justice Edwards was superseded by Judge Martin as President of the Court, and when the Carters Union applied to be brought under the Act Judge Martin ruled that they were not engaged in an 'industry,' but were only distributors. These decisions caused much dissatisfaction, as they ruled out shop-assistants, carters, sailors, engine-drivers, and others the Act was intended to cover. This resulted in a demand on the part of the skilled trades to have the words 'in any industry' removed, and replaced by others sufficiently explicit, that there should be no room for 'fantastic rulings of the Presidents. The Government consented, the three words were eliminated by an amending Act of 1901, since which time the Act may be invoked by any union of persons who 'do any skilled or unskilled manual or clerical work for hire or reward'; and, as a prominent New Zealand official has stated, 'There could be a union of Under-Secretaries of Departments, or of Ministers of the Crown, for that matter, since we certainly all "work for hire or reward."'

Thus it was the workers themselves who insisted upon the elimination of the words 'in any industry,' not to narrow the application of the Act, but to extend it, and place it beyond the power of the judge to narrow its scope.

New South Wales has had an Industrial Arbitration Act in operation for upwards of three years, and, allowing for initial difficulties, it has operated most beneficially, and the workers are practically unanimous in its favour.

A number of the Victorian capitalists are now declaring enthusiastically in favour of a scheme of voluntary arbitration, but unfortunately for them this has been tried in South Australia. The South Australian Conciliation Act is admitted to be an excellent piece of work as far as machinery goes; but lacking 'compulsion,' it has been utterly ineffective, only four cases being brought under it in eight years, because one of these four, the 'Tanners and Curriers' dispute, proved the weakness of the Act, and it is for all practical purposes a dead letter. The workers of South Australia have declared in favour of a compulsory Act.

When the Australian employers point to the success of the English system the workers here naturally inquire what has been the actual result of the proceedings under the Conciliation (Trades Disputes) Act, 1896, as issued by the Board of Trade, the last of which reports shows that during the two years which it covers forty-one cases have been dealt with as against forty-six in the two preceding years, the yearly average for the seven years since the passing of the Act being twenty-two.

*During the same period there has been a total of 4,155 trade dis-*

putes ; the proportion dealt with under the Act (154) being about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; but taking the number settled under the Act during the seven years (total forty-seven), the proportion is a little over 1 per cent. So it would appear that compulsory arbitration as a means of efficiently and fairly settling industrial disputes is very far ahead of any other system.

Reverting to the Federal Parliament of Australia, the Deakin Ministry were endeavouring to carry through Parliament a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill for the settlement of disputes 'extending beyond the limits of any one State, but does not include a dispute relating to employment in the public service of the Commonwealth, or of a State.' This the Labour party determined to alter by the omission of the words, 'but does not include,' with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words 'and includes.' The mover of this amendment was Mr. Andrew Fisher, representing the electorate of Wide Bay, Queensland. In winding up the debate prior to the vote being taken Mr. Fisher said :

I desire to protect the States Parliaments against the Civil Servants by transferring the powers which are at present vested in them to a judicial body which will have ample opportunity to investigate every grievance which may come before it. Believing as I do in State Socialism, and holding that the general welfare of the people should be our first consideration, I am bound to embrace every opportunity to advance those views. If it be true, as some legal members of the House contend, that a railway dispute cannot extend beyond the limits of one State, it seems to me idle to introduce a measure of this character.

The amendment of Mr. Fisher was carried by a majority of nine ; this was on Thursday, the 21st of April. On the 23rd the Governor-General sent for Mr. Watson, the leader of the Labour party, who formed his Ministry, and took office on the 27th, Mr. Fisher becoming the Minister for Customs.

At the present time [middle of June] the Labour Ministry is trying to pioneer the Arbitration Bill through Parliament, and with a promise of success, but not to cover all sections. By a majority of twelve the House of Representatives have declared in favour of the Act applying to disputes on State railways or any public authority constituted under the Commonwealth or a State, and to employes in industries carried on by the Commonwealth. But the Labour Government agreed to drop the clerical staff of the public service, nor is the bill to apply to rural industries. It is difficult to exaggerate the intensity of feeling in this discussion ; the capitalist portion treats the matter as fundamental and vital ; the Employers' Federation is vigilant in its endeavours to organise hostile opinion, and the line of cleavage between the 'classes and masses' is very well marked.

From the standpoint of the Collectivist the Arbitration Bill is but an incident in a much larger campaign, and much depends upon the extent to which the present Commonwealth Government is



imbued with Collectivist principles. It would be wrong to suppose that it is an avowed Socialist Ministry, although each member individually would probably declare in favour of a Socialist State, save perhaps Mr. Higgins, the Attorney-General.

And yet the entire Ministry are a most cautious group of men. The Hon. J. C. Watson, the Prime Minister, who was a compositor by trade, is the essence of politeness and tact.

The Hon. W. M. Hughes, who has filled numerous occupations, has recently been called to the Bar, and is now Minister for External Affairs, is exceptionally well read and a very shrewd and able debater. The Hon. E. L. Batchelor, Minister for Home Affairs, was for upwards of two years Minister for Education in the South Australian Parliament, is a member of the Amalgamated Engineers, and a cultured man all round. The Hon. Senator Dawson, Minister for Defence, was formerly in the Queensland Parliament, and was for a short time Labour Premier in that State. The Hon. Hugh Mahon, Postmaster-General, is a highly trained journalist, and commands and receives the respect of his Parliamentary colleagues on all sides; and equally so does the Hon. Senator M'Gregor, Vice-President of the Executive Council; and the rest of their colleagues belonging to the Labour party, in both Upper and Lower Chambers, are men of considerable experience and wide reading.

That they wish well to the Commonwealth, and honestly devote their energies to the advocating and bringing about that which is likely to prove most conducive to the general well-being in all agricultural, industrial, and trading affairs, none can doubt who has any real knowledge of them. That the affairs of the Commonwealth are safe in their official charge every fair-minded person agrees; for as regards the Ministry, at all events, every man, without exception, brings with him not merely a general knowledge of men and affairs, but also, as the result of years of devotion to a genuine study of social and industrial progress, with an intimate knowledge of Australia's condition and requirements, each man's past life gives evidence of a philosophic grasp of the essential conditions to progress. Whether their period of office be of short or long duration, certainly the true interests of Australia will be duly guarded.

#### THE VICTORIAN STATE ELECTIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

To explain the growth of the Labour movement in Victoria it is necessary to go back to 1889, up to which time it had always been looked upon as quite the correct thing by workmen to support the capitalist candidates. It was held to be the duty of the properly behaved trade unionist to work politically for the return of an employer of labour to Parliament, the universally prevalent idea being that the worker was dependent upon the employer, that the interests

of both were identical, and woe betide any one of their number who dared to whisper in favour of running a Labour candidate; such an one was immediately scowled down as proposing that which was absurdly unpractical.

The dividing line between the respective capitalist candidates was the fiscal question. Nearly everything was imported from Europe or America, and being desirous of establishing manufacturing industries in Victoria, it became part of the political faith of the Liberals to religiously support protection, whilst the Conservatives supported free trade. Numerous Parliaments were returned on the protectionist ticket, with a sublime indifference as to their intentions or doings as regards the more weighty matters of social and industrial development. In 1889 the first definite signs of a change came by the successful running of two Labour candidates, the one Mr. William Trenwith, then secretary to the Bootmakers' Union, now Senator in the Federal Parliament, and the other, Dr. William Maloney, who recently successfully contested Melbourne against Sir Malcolm McEachern as Federal representative.

The time that tried men's souls and sharpened their intellects in Australia was during the maritime strike of 1890. In August and September 1889, when the London dock strike was on, when some 60,000 men were on strike, and at least four times that number had to be provided for by the Strike Committee, the Australians generally responded right nobly to the appeal for financial assistance, and remitted some 30,000*l.* to London in the space of five weeks—a most exceptional response which earned the gratitude not only of the dock labourers, but of the whole democratic half of the English people. I have been surprised to find, during my residence in Australia, that those who were instrumental in obtaining this aid were unable to account for the magnificent enthusiasm shown by all classes in Australia; but how different was it when the following year, 1890, brought with it the Australasian workers' own trouble in the shape of the maritime strike! Instead of kindly conference and friendly co-operation, it soon became war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt. Every humiliation the employers could inflict upon the workers, this they did, and, monopolising all social and political power, they had every institution under their control; the struggle must have been an exceedingly severe one, fought out most bitterly. It was interesting, when in New Zealand two years ago, to find how deeply resentful were some of the men there towards the Australian capitalists who had used their power so mercilessly; and, of course, the strike affected New Zealand and Tasmania as well as the mainland of Australia. From this time, and as the result of this serious struggle, dates the real Labour movement not of Victoria merely, but of the whole of Australasia.

One can reflect upon what would have been the probable trend of

events had that struggle not taken place, or, taking place, had the men and not the employers won the day. It is difficult to conjecture, but it is highly probable that there would have been very little in the shape of a real political Labour movement like unto that which now exists in each State. Partly in consequence of the great distance separating Australasia from the large centres of civilisation, and partly because of the prevalence of the idea, so common until a decade or so ago in Britain, that the Britisher has nothing to learn from the foreigner, the Australian lags a little in the development of the cosmopolitan spirit. But for good or ill capitalism is so thoroughly international, and capitalist instincts so truly universal, and the effects of the capitalist system so identical in all lands, young and old alike, that in spite of race prejudice, and the utter inability to take week-end runs to Paris, or Easter or Whitsun holidays to Ostend or the Rhine, there is now developing that feeling of international brotherhood that is a determined foe to racial conceit, and the sure forerunner of international relationship.

In consequence of Federation the Australian States have found it necessary to cut down the size of their State Parliaments, and Victoria, which formerly had ninety-five members in the Legislative Assembly, now has sixty-eight only. In the Act carried by the Irvine Government last year, the railway employes and the public service generally were partially disfranchised, *i.e.* they were not allowed to vote, as heretofore, as ordinary citizens, but provision was made for the railway employes all over the State to elect two members to represent them in the Assembly, other Civil Servants to elect one member for the Assembly, and the railway men and Civil Servants to jointly elect one member for the Upper Chamber or Legislative Council, which, under the new Act, is also an elected body. Under the older arrangement the Labour party had twelve pledged men in the Assembly of ninety-five. In the New House, as a result of the election that took place on the 1st of June, there are now eighteen pledged Labour men in a House of sixty-eight. So that, allowing for the reduced total numbers, the Labour men are twice as numerous in the present Parliament as they were in the last.

It is noteworthy that as the avowed object of the special franchise for railway men and public servants was to prevent them voting for Labour candidates, all three elected under the special franchise to the Assembly and the one elected to the Council are pledged Labour men. Not only so, but as prior to the railway men's strike of last year the railway men were ordered by the Government to disassociate themselves from the Trades Hall under penalty of dismissal, to show their appreciation of this treatment of ex-Premier Irvine the two members the railway men have elected are Mr. Robert Solly, who was the Trades Hall Council's president last year, and Mr. Martin Hannah, the president for the current year.

Thus the proportion of straight-out Labour men in the Victorian Parliament is about the same as in the Commonwealth Parliament, and equally interesting developments may take place in the one as in the other.

Among the items found on the programme of the State Labour party nothing has excited so much controversy as that of the proposed 'progressive tax on land values, town and country, without exemptions, exclusive of improvement.' The Government, with Mr. T. Bent as Premier, are strongly opposed to a land tax. Those who are advocating it call attention to the fact that although Victoria is the smallest of the Australian States it consists of 88,000 square miles, or the same area as Great Britain, and that 24,000,000 acres of the best of this land is in the hands of private owners, chiefly large squatters. That although the total population of Victoria is merely 1,205,000, of whom 500,000 are in Melbourne, it is impossible for Victorian natives who have a knowledge of farming to get land to farm. Worse than this, a considerable number of young farmers have quite recently been compelled to leave the State because of the impossibility of obtaining good land under tolerable conditions. The loss of population by such means almost equals the natural increase, and yet it is universally admitted that a much larger population is urgently needed in the State, and quite a number of plutocratic statesmen are habitually calling attention to the necessity for a greater population; but a State that cannot find an outlet for the young farmers who were born in the State, and have learned to farm in the State, with a knowledge of its climate, its soil, and methods, can offer but a sorry invitation to others at present living in other parts of the world. The land was sold by the Government for an average of 1*l.* per acre, some of it for considerably less. Much of this land now yields 30*s.* per acre per annum rent; in the Western district much of it is let for dairy farming for 2*l.* and upwards per acre. Land suitable for potato-growing lets for from 5*l.* to 6*l.* 10*s.* per acre, and in a number of instances this is not paid for the use of the land the whole year, but just from the time the potato crop is put in till it is taken off, the owner claiming the use of the land for the remaining portion of the year.

In many instances the squatter supplies the cattle and the utensils with the farm, and lets the same on shares; usually the farmer, who does all the work, gets one-third of the results, two-thirds going to the squatter. In some cases of dairy farming the squatter pays so much per gallon to the farmer for all milk which goes to the butter factory; in one notable instance the squatter pays the working farmer 1*d.* per gallon for the milk, all of which must go to the factory, and, as the average price of milk for butter-fat purposes is not less than 3½*d.* per gallon, it will be seen that the squatter gets two and a half times as much as the farmer who does all the work.

Within one hundred miles radius of Melbourne there are millions of acres of the best land in Victoria, which under present conditions carries about one sheep to two sheep per acre, but which, with decent cultivation, could yield fifteen times as much; portions of similar land under proper cultivation are yielding more than this. Although agricultural land is of the value stated under the present system of land taxation, no land in the State is valued for taxation purposes at a greater capital value than 4*l.* per acre, *i.e.* even land that brings in 5*l.* per acre per annum rent is for taxation purposes never considered to be of a greater capital value than 4*l.* per acre. The Land Act provides that for taxation purposes the capital value of the estate must be based upon the average number of sheep it is estimated to be able to maintain. The land is classified under the Act in four classes as follows:

First-class land is estimated to carry two sheep or more per acre. Capital value, 4*l.*

Second-class land, carrying three sheep to two acres. Capital value, 3*l.*

Third-class land, carrying one sheep to the acre. Capital value, 2*l.*

Fourth-class land, not capable of carrying one sheep per acre. Capital value, 1*l.*

But there are exemptions of two kinds, area and value.

As regards area, unless the estate exceeds 640 acres in extent, no tax is imposed. As regards value, irrespective of the area, unless the estate exceeds 2,500*l.* in value, estimated as per previous statement, no tax is levied; and if it exceeds that value and area, then only that in excess of the amount is taxed. So that in the State of Victoria, consisting of 56 millions of acres, the poorest of which only is now in the direct control of the State, 24 millions of acres of best land are privately owned, and after allowing for exemptions only seven and a half millions of acres, of the nominal value of 11,700,000*l.*, yield any tax, the tax being 1½ per cent. on capital value, leaving fifteen and a half millions of acres, of the declared value of 100,000,000*l.*, as per Coghlan the statistician, which escape taxation.

Those who wish to understand why the Labour party is growing so rapidly should give attention to these matters; herein lies the cause of their deep-seated dissatisfaction, and seeking a remedy they resort to the vigorous advocacy of a tax on unimproved land values, beginning with 1*d.* in the pound, which is estimated to yield about 600,000*l.*, or nearly half a million more than the present system, which yields 120,000*l.* per annum only. If these figures appear small by comparison with similar figures that might be adduced concerning Britain or portions thereof, then it must not be forgotten how small is the population of the State, rather less than one and a quarter millions; and very much of the recent unrest is the direct outcome of the late Government's methods of introducing economies in the State, by lowering the

income-tax exemption, by reducing the wages of public servants, and by adding to the duties most materially, particularly of railway employes, signal-boxes that had been worked on eight-hour shifts for years being placed on ten-hour shifts, and the surplus signalmen thus created being reduced to porters with porters' pay.

The workers have a serious grievance, or consider they have, in the reactionary character of the municipal franchise. As occupier, the worker can have, of course, only one vote; but property owners may have as many as three votes in each ward if they have the necessary qualifying value, so that commonly one wealthy firm can vote down a dozen workmen. As a consequence it has never yet been possible to return a Labour candidate to the Melbourne City Council; several Labour men occupy seats on suburban councils, though the property interests are always dominant. The franchise for the State Parliament, unlike the Federal, admits of property owners in different electorates exercising the vote as they may choose in any one electorate where they reside or hold property, but they must not vote more than once.

For local government purposes the whole of Victoria is divided into cities, towns, boroughs, and shires, the total area under local control being 87,322 square miles, only 562 square miles remaining unincorporated. For provision of water supply, house draining, sewerage, &c., there exists a supervisory body known as 'The Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works'; this body consists of representatives from the City Council of Melbourne and twenty-two other local bodies. And in one direction this body deserves the highest praise, though probably a very large percentage of it should be given to the chairman of the board, Mr. E. G. FitzGibbon, J.P., C.M.G., who was responsible for the present system of disposing of the sewage, that still unsolved problem in London and most other cities in the United Kingdom. In Melbourne and its suburbs, so far as the sewerage system extends, not only is this difficulty managed efficiently, but a solid 6,000*l.* per annum net profit is obtained for the municipalities, and this in spite of the fact that 150,000*l.* had to be paid for the 8,900 acres comprising the sewage farm at Werribee, twenty miles distant from Melbourne. The cost of pumping the sewage to the farm boundary is borne by the rates; on reaching there, every other expense in connection with its treatment is added to the working expenses of the farm. In addition to the 17*l.* per acre paid to the previous owner for this land, to grade and prepare it suitably has cost from 7*l.* to 14*l.* per acre additional.

Of the total acreage, 4,500 acres is at present leased to farmers, until such time as the land will be required when the sewerage system is complete; 2,000 acres are occupied by roads, channels, settling ponds, &c., the actual area of the farm proper being 2,300 acres; this formerly carried from one to two sheep per acre. By treating this

acreage with sewage, twelve crops of rape and other herbage are obtained per year, maintaining twenty sheep to the acre the year round. The plan is to breed and fatten sheep for the market, and for years in succession some of the very choicest are those from the Werribee Farm.

A sufficient sum is earned to pay interest on the cost of	
land . . . . .	£150,000
And on cost of grading, machinery, wharf, drains, &c. .	250,000
<i>I.e.</i> interest is paid on a total crop of . . . . .	£400,000

and the net profits for the last five years have been 32,000*l*.

One is made to wonder why some such scheme has not been found practicable in London, where the population is thirteen times the size of Melbourne, and the possibilities proportionate; why the lowlands of the Essex Coast by which the London County Council fleet of sludge vessels ply could not be built up and utilised like the Werribee Farm on Port Phillip Harbour is difficult to understand. In any case as one has so often been met by the statement that 'it is impossible to deal with sewage in any known way to make a profit,' here is at last a case where, without any glossing of facts or figures, a genuine commercial success is made, and which is surely worthy of the attention of municipal authorities at home.

What may be expected to take place during the next decade in Australia? is a question asked by many who have been surprised at the coming to power of a Commonwealth Labour Ministry.

It is not wise to prophesy far in advance, especially as so much in this case depends upon what development takes place in Europe generally, and in the United Kingdom particularly. But amongst other changes may be expected the nationalisation of the tobacco industry, the opening up of the iron-ore deposits, the manufacture of iron and steel, and consequently a large increase in engineering and machine-making. In this connection a most important development has just taken place in Melbourne, where the manufacture of iron and steel from the magnetic iron sand of New Zealand—and this without the aid of a blast-furnace—is an accomplished fact, and the same principle can be applied to crushed iron ore. The iron-making industry will be taken in hand by one of the State Governments, and kept rigidly under State control. The resumption of the land by the States will be demanded with increasing force. State agriculture and horticulture will be initiated and developed. Land will be set apart for co-operative production, so as to afford scope for co-operative farming, and on lines that will afford opportunities for the unemployed.

Old-age pensions are not yet on a satisfactory basis; additions to the amount allowed, and a more generous manner of disbursing the same, will certainly be authorised.

Between the workers of Australia, Europe, and America there is rapidly developing a community of interest which will result in concerted action on all main social and industrial changes.

Fate has decreed that these Australian States shall be the fore-runners in a really triumphant democracy, not on the lines set forth by Mr. Andrew Carnegie; for instead of the workers of America to-day occupying that position they are amongst the most exploited people on earth. Industrial warfare is there being waged by means of bullets and sabres, by the organised capitalist forces, for the express purpose of fighting down the workers and keeping them under capitalist subjection. The ranks of the unemployed are increasing rapidly in the United States, and their people are suffering because of a plethora of wealth.

The stupendous power of wealth production in America does not result in raising the standard of life of the workers, or in solving the problem of unemployment. The conditions in all countries under a capitalist *régime* are so unsatisfactory that the Australasian States are compelled to look forward to a Collectivist *régime*; this the workers believe to be inevitable, and this they are sensibly preparing for by peaceful and constitutional methods. Many of them are students of social economics, with no prejudice in favour of any system other than that obtained by education and observation of the world's affairs, and they have come to see the wisdom of John Stuart Mill's statement: 'The social problem of the future we consider to be, How to secure the greatest individual liberty of action, with a common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and the equal participation by all in the benefits of combined labour.'

TOM MANN.

*Melbourne, Victoria: June 1904.*



## A CHAPTER ON OPALS

ASSUMING that intrinsic beauty and rarity are the characteristics which constitute a gem, then the precious or noble opal, as the best specimens of the opal are termed, is entitled to very high rank. At the present time Mr. Edwin Streeter, a considerable authority in everything relating to jewels and precious stones, places it fifth in the order of precedence, an arrangement which is apparently governed by the test of money value or price; because in setting pearl at the head of the list, he points out the great appreciation which has recently taken place in its marketable value, saying that pearls which twenty years ago were worth 60*l.* to 80*l.* now fetch 500*l.* to 600*l.* This advance may be due to fashion, and, if so, has to be regarded apart from those cardinal traits of beauty and rarity which are herein accepted as the qualities that ought to determine us in forming a judgment upon the relative merit of gems. Mr. Streeter's table proceeds in the following order:—I. pearl, II. Burma ruby, III. diamond, IV. emerald, sapphire, oriental cat's eye, alexandrite, precious opal. To find diamond in the third place will be a surprise to many, but there are circumstances at work which, if continued, will relegate the diamond to a still lower position, notably the large production from the Kimberley and other South African mines, the ability to make real diamonds artificially, which, although as yet a difficult and costly operation, may be capable of development, and the ease with which brilliant imitations can be manufactured. These conditions apply also, but not with equal force, to the pearl, ruby, emerald, sapphire, and other gem-stones. With the precious opal it is otherwise.

It is on record that by the ancients it was counterfeited more successfully than any other jewel, so that with their tests it was nearly impossible to distinguish between the real specimens and their imitations. If so, the knowledge of this art has been lost, and modern attempts to revive it have ended in failure. It is almost beyond conception that anything possessing the indescribable and fascinating beauty of the finest types could be made by human skill. Therefore as it stands exempted from the danger of imitation, should the element of rarity persist, the noble opal seems likely to regain the exalted position it formerly held. ‘

While not included in the somewhat comprehensive list of gems set by Moses in the breast-plate of Aaron the High Priest, or of those mentioned by the Prophets, and later by St. John the Divine, over whose mind precious stones appear to have exercised great imaginary sway (unless jasper, to which opal is allied, be taken as representative of opal), nevertheless the *opalus* of the Romans, *ὀπάλλιος* of the Greeks, and the Sanscrit *upala*, has a fair claim to antiquity. The affection which the ancients entertained for this lovely gem was unbounded. The Romans particularly held it in great esteem. 'Of all precious stones,' says Pliny, 'the opal is the most difficult to describe, since it combines in one gem the beauties of many species, the fire of the carbuncle, the purple of the amethyst, the green of the emerald, and the yellow of the topaz' The same writer tells that the Senator Nonius possessed a valuable opal, about the size of a filbert nut, of which he was extremely fond. It was set in a ring, and its value, computed in the money of to-day, was 20,000*l*. At the instance of Mark Antony, who, it is alleged, coveted the gem and wished to obtain it, Nonius was proscribed and preferred banishment rather than surrender this treasure. In a curious old volume of the seventeenth century entitled *A Lapidary* the author thus expresses himself: 'The opal is a precious stone which hath in it the bright fiery flame of the carbuncle, the fine refulgent purple of the amethyst, and a whole sea of the emerald's green glory.' Another writes, 'The tender violet of the amethyst, the blue of the sapphire, the green of the emerald, the golden yellow of the topaz, and the flashing red of the ruby appear at times in certain parts of the stone, crossing each other in vivid play with an effect that is magical.' And Boetius, 'The fairest and most pleasing of all other jewels by reason of its various colours.'

The cause of this play of colours in the precious opal, on which its trueness or nobility depends, has greatly exercised the scientific mind and given rise to many different opinions, but no entirely satisfactory reason has been forthcoming, although it has in recent times been investigated by Sir David Brewster, Sir William Crookes, and Lord Rayleigh. Thus far we have been considering only one description, viz. the precious or noble opal; there are many varieties, of which the following are the principal:

(1) Precious or noble opal, which exhibits brilliant reflections of green, blue, yellow, and red, the play of colours indicated above.

(2) Fire opal or girasol, presenting chiefly red reflections.

(3) Common opal, whose colours are white, green, yellow, and red, without the play of colours.

(4) Semi-opal, the tendencies of which are more opaque than common opal.

(5) Wood-opal, which shows a woody structure.

(6) Hydrophane, which assumes a transparency only when thrown

into water. This is a most interesting variety, of which more will be said.

(7) Hyalite, colourless, pellucid, or white.

(8) Cacholong, nearly opaque, of a bluish white colour.

(9) Jasper-opal, moss opal, asteria, and some others.

There are occasionally found specimens of black opal, which are very beautiful, exhibiting variegated colours on a black ground. These are rare and command very high prices.

All of them are composed of silica in the gelatinising or colloidal state, with more or less water, and occasionally, as accidental admixtures, other substances in small proportions. By analysis the following results have been found as regards the silica :

	Per cent.
Precious opal of Hungary . . . . .	92
Fire opal of Mexico . . . . .	92
Semi-opal of Hanau . . . . .	82.75

Opal may be regarded as an uncleavable quartz. Hardness 5.5 to 6.5, specific gravity 2.091. When first taken out of the earth it is not very hard, but by exposure to the air its hardness is increased; nevertheless it always remains a soft stone compared with other gems. More particularly now with regard to the species called Hydrophane, which is composed of

	Per cent.
Silica . . . . .	93
Alumina . . . . .	2
Water . . . . .	5

In its ordinary state it appears as a white or reddish yellow material, feebly translucent or completely opaque. But if it is plunged into water it disengages small bubbles of gas, and at the same time becomes transparent, sometimes displaying the colours of the true opal. Taken from the water this curious stone keeps its transparency for a time, but gradually, as the water evaporates, becomes once more opaque. The older mineralogists, considering this stone an unexampled marvel, named it 'Oculus Mundi,' the Eye of the World. Other kinds have the curious property of improving by the warmth of the hand, which brings out the brilliant tints for which the opal is so famed. In contrast to the Hydrophane, the remarkable gem introduced by Sir Walter Scott into his novel *Anne of Geierstein*, described as an opal, is said to have been utterly destroyed by a drop of water falling upon it. The water, however, was holy water, and the wearer of the jewel was strongly suspected of demoniacal possession, a combination likely to lead to some catastrophe.

Commercially, only three varieties of opal are recognised, viz. oriental opal, fire opal, and common opal. The term oriental was given to it by the Greek and Turkish merchants, who obtained it from Hungary and then carried it to the East for the purpose of

imparting to it additional value under the title oriental, because gems coming from that quarter were supposed to be superior to others. For a long period Hungary was the chief locality from which precious opal was taken, being found in the Tokai Esperieser mountains, not far from Czerwenitza, the principal mines being in the Libanka Mountain, west of Dubnik. It is thought that it was from this district that the ancient Romans procured their opal. More recently fine specimens have been discovered in Mexico, Honduras, and the Faroe Islands. Hitherto little has been found in the United States, or generally throughout North and South America, excepting the two places named. It is to Queensland and New South Wales that the world is now chiefly indebted for its supplies of opals. Attention was first directed to their occurrence in Queensland by Mr. H. W. Bond. In the western interior of that colony, where the water-courses lead with scarcely perceptible fall southward and discharge through the Darling River into the Great Australian Bight, none of the metallic minerals have been found. But in those regions, at detached localities in a north and south line from Erromanga or Opalopolis, on the River Bulloo, in the extreme south-west corner of the State, to Fermoy or Opal Town, near Winton, almost in the centre of the territory, the first recorded discovery of opal was made in 1890, when gem-stone to the value of 3,000*l.* was raised. Since then there has been an output valued at 124,000*l.*, but this is a loose estimate, as the miners either dispose of their winnings to buyers who visit the fields or bring their opal to the towns and there dispose of it, so that the transactions escape official notice. The long-continued drought has particularly affected this industry of late years. The state of the country prevents southern buyers from visiting the opal-fields. The miners have been living under great hardships, being unable to prospect owing to the want of water, afflicted also by the high price of stores and the difficulty in keeping horses alive. A Government official, the Warden of Cunnamulla, who recently visited the district, thus reports :

The country from Eulo to the opal-fields, a distance of forty miles, is uninteresting in the extreme, not a blade of grass or patch of herbage being met with in the whole journey. So severe is the drought in this locality that the very birds seem to have migrated. Permanent water is scarce, the nearest to the opal workings being at Sheep's Station Creek, five miles off. From the dam at this place the water has to be carted to the mines, which conveys some idea of the disadvantages under which the diggers work.

With special reference to the Southern Cross Mine, from which Bond and party had a few years ago taken many thousands of pounds worth of fine opal, the warden says :

There was no work in progress at the time of my visit, nor did I see any signs of habitation in the vicinity. An air of gloom hung over the old workings, silent and deserted, and the solitary grave of the first English manager,

Mr. Rossiter, roughly fenced in, with a bendee tree at the head, stood out clear and defined in the centre of countless heaps of mullock and abandoned shafts. Under his grave (he is buried in a shaft which he himself had sunk) a bed of rich opal was found, but before the whole of it could be brought to the surface the shaft caved in and the working party, with the loss of their tools, had a narrow escape of being entombed also. A great deal of work has been done here. There are many hundreds of disused shafts, and there is evidence of some attempts at prospecting in the neighbourhood, but the place is practically abandoned, save by a few 'fossickers' who at odd times rake over the old workings, but seem to lack the enterprise to prospect for fresh leads.

The sinkings average 32 feet in depth, through soft desert sandstone, opal being met with in a band of pipe-clay in thickness from 6 inches to 2 feet. The gem is found in small ironstone nodules or boulders, thickly imbedded in the pipe-clay. In New South Wales the conditions of mining are very similar, the most important district being known as the White Cliff Opal Fields. Fully 95 per cent. of the opal obtained on this field is of no value, being common or semi-opal, and much, although of the noble variety, contains little or no colour, being very cloudy, or too watery, carrying the colour only in minute bars or streaks, or being stained a reddish yellow by iron, the latter being known locally as 'sandy whisker.'

There is another peculiar form common at White Cliff known as 'nigger head.' These nigger heads are usually oval or spherical masses of more or less opal-impregnated, fine-grained silica; they are of all sizes from 1 lb. to 1 cwt., and almost always contain a centre of opalised wood, often also containing opal of good colour in cracks, caused by contraction. Possibly the most welcome information with regard to opals will be that which enables one to distinguish between good and bad. In valuing opal several points have to be taken into account. Needless to say colour, in a technical sense, is the first, red fire, or red in combination with yellow, blue, and green, being the best. Blue by itself is quite valueless, and green opal is not of great value unless the colour is very vivid and *pattern* good.

That the colour should be *true* is of vital importance. However good it may be, if it runs in streaks or patches alternating with colourless or inferior quality, that is *untrue*, and it is of comparatively small value. Pattern is a considerable factor in deciding the value, the various kinds being distinguished as pin-fire, when the grain, so to speak, is very small; harlequin, when the colour is in minute squares, the more regular the better; and flash-fire or flash opal, when the colour shows as a single flash, or in a very large pattern.

Of course there are many intermediate classes. The harlequin pattern is the most uncommon, and also the most beautiful. When the squares of colour are regular and show as distinct chequers of red, yellow, blue, and green, this kind of opal is truly magnificent. The flash-opal is often very beautiful in colour, especially when of the true ruby or pigeon's blood colour. As a rule, however, it shows green or

red flash, according to the angle at which it is held. The direction of the pattern must also be taken into account. Often a stone that shows a very good edge pattern will not look nearly so well on the face, whilst a stone which shows somewhat streaky in the shorter direction on the edge will sometimes give a fine harlequin pattern on the face. For this reason the shape of the stone comes into the reckoning. A thick stone with a good edge pattern may often be cut up so as to use that pattern as a face to all the portions taken from it, whereas a thin stone, though of equally good edge pattern, which could only be cut with a natural face, would probably not be worth nearly as much, weight for weight. It is difficult to obtain separate pieces of absolute similarity in colour and pattern, therefore for suites of jewellery a large *true* stone, from which the whole could be cut, is worth a great deal more than many smaller stones approximately alike. Again, the ground or body of the opal has to be considered. This is not a constant quantity, as the various patterns require slightly different ground. It should be neither too transparent nor too opaque; almost clear, with a faint milky tinge, translucent, being about the best ground in general. Some kinds of opal are more brittle than others. The harder and tougher the stone, the better it is, as when cut it is less likely to be injured, and it retains the polish better. Remarkable specimens are known to exist in different collections. There is one in the Imperial cabinet of Vienna, found at Czernowitz, near the river Pruth, in 1770, which weighs 17 ounces, and, notwithstanding its cracks and flaws, 10,000*l.* has been offered for it, but the Government refused to sell it even at that price. Some of the finest Hungarian opals are seen among the Crown jewels of Austria, though France includes in her State collection two very valuable gems of this kind. Perhaps the finest of modern times was that of the Empress Josephine, called the 'Burning of Troy,' from the numberless red flames blazing on its surface. An American writer says that one of the most beautiful pieces of jewellery ever seen in America was a necklace made of opals obtained from Honduras, cut and mounted in gold with diamonds.

Whence has originated the superstition, now so widely spread, that the opal is unlucky and the cause of misfortune to the wearer? By the ancients it was held to exercise the combined virtues of the amethyst, ruby, and emerald, becoming moreover the type of Hope, Innocence, and Purity.

Certainly its impaired reputation is not of long standing.

Brand, in his *Antiquities*, having collected together a large number of popular superstitions and beliefs, makes no reference to the opal. Even the gems alluded to are credited with good and benevolent characters. Of the turquoise an early English compiler says, 'The Turkeys doth move when there is any peril prepared to him that weareth it.'

And again, 'Corall bound to the neck takes off turbulent dreams and allays the nightly fears of children.'

Apparently the only reason for the disparagement which the beautiful opal has suffered in modern times is found in chapter xi. of *Anne of Geierstein*, and it must be said that it is wholly insufficient and quite ridiculous.

Superstition spreads quickly, and is very hard to uproot.

The writer overheard in Australia a conversation between two young women in which a most circumstantial story was related of the pernicious effect of an opal ring which had been given to a friend on her marriage. The recipient had sustained misfortune upon misfortune, and the chain of disaster was not broken until the ring was taken to a jeweller and the unlucky opal removed. The narrator of this story was unquestionably in earnest. Eugénie, the French ex-Empress, would not wear a precious opal because it was said to bring ill-luck to the wearer. Queen Victoria, on the contrary, presented each of her daughters upon her marriage with a parure of opals and diamonds. Without the influence of an opal the life of the French Empress was full of vicissitude, and latterly of disaster and sorrow. Her Majesty the Queen, on the other hand, could not be considered otherwise than fortunate in most respects. Gradually, however, the fair fame of the precious or noble opal is being restored, and her admirers are increasing in number and enthusiasm.

H. KERSHAW WALKER.

*LAST MONTH*

## I

THE close of the Parliamentary Session on the 15th of August was hailed with general expressions of relief among all classes of politicians. My readers would hardly forgive me if I were to inflict upon them at this date a review of the Parliamentary history of the year. It has been in some respects eventful, in others most unexpectedly uneventful; but the close of the Session seemed to find everybody filled with an absolute distaste for the proceedings at Westminster and the performances of the Government. It is noticeable that the one event which in January everybody expected to be the distinguishing feature of the Session was the event which did not happen. There was no fatal defeat of the Ministry, and, contrary to universal anticipation, Mr. Balfour emerged from the conflict at Westminster still occupying the office of Prime Minister. It is useless for his admirers to profess that the anticipations of his defeat which prevailed when Parliament met in February were confined to the more sanguine or the more foolish of his opponents. Nothing could be further from the truth than this assertion. It was among the ranks of the Ministerialists, and even among the members of the Cabinet, that the gloomiest forebodings of the fate of the Ministry were heard six months ago. It was they who thought that Ministers could not possibly live through the Session. Is Mr. Balfour's survival with the complete falsification of the predictions regarding his fate to be regarded as a triumph for himself and his party? In one sense, of course, the question must be answered in the affirmative. It is no small tribute to the Prime Minister's adroitness that he should have been able to hold his own in the midst of almost unexampled difficulties, and that the barque of the Government should have been able to ride successfully through all the cross-currents which have so often threatened its existence. If the sole object of a statesman is to keep office as long as possible, no matter under what conditions, then, undoubtedly, Mr. Balfour deserves all that his most enthusiastic panegyrists have said of him, and he is entitled to a high place among those whose lot it has been to lead



great parties. But there is a very large proportion of the British public, by no means confined to his political opponents, who feel constrained to object to this superficial view of his achievements. Everybody will admit that he was not personally responsible for the disastrous schism which destroyed the unity of his party in the summer of last year, and whatever credit is due to him for having kept the Ministry afloat in spite of that disaster he is certainly entitled to receive. But those who look below the surface must ask themselves whether his success in retaining office has been based upon any substantial victory of his in the political world. To this question the only possible answer must be in the negative. He has had his majorities in the division lobby, and these have sufficed to keep his Ministry alive; but it is impossible to pretend that the condition of his party is in any respect better than it was twelve months ago, or that its prospects, when the inevitable hour of reckoning comes, have been in any degree improved during the Session that is just closed. Distraction and confusion are still the lot of the Ministerial majority, and the evidence steadily accumulates which proves that, whatever else the Cabinet has retained, it has lost the confidence of the country. After all, then, it does not seem that Mr. Balfour's much-belauded triumph is a very substantial one. He has maintained his hold upon the Treasury Bench, but he has done nothing to restore its old unity to his party, whilst his position in the constituencies is unquestionably weaker than it was, even in the autumn of last year.

By-elections, in ordinary times, are proverbially poor guides to the trend of public opinion; but when, during a whole session, or, to speak more accurately, during a whole year, the by-elections all teach the same lesson, it is only those who are wilfully blind or perverse who will pretend to dispute their significance. There is no need to go beyond the by-elections of last month for proof of the steady and unmistakable tendency of electoral opinion in the United Kingdom. Oswestry, Reading, and North-East Lanark all point to the same fact. If Ministerial optimists choose to ignore that fact, and to cling to the delusion that a General Election will set everything right, and give a Ministry which apparently does not know its own mind on the chief controversial question of the hour a renewed majority, other people may very well leave them to their hallucination and to the painful surprise which awaits them. Certainly nothing that has happened in Parliament during the Session has been calculated to make the fall of the Government, *when it takes place, less severe and complete than the results of the by-elections indicate that it will be.* The first three months of the Session were wasted in profitless bickerings over the Protectionist policy of Mr. Chamberlain. Ministers, living under the sword of Damocles, made no attempt to push forward measures which they

did not expect to carry out during what remained to them of life. It was not until Mr. Balfour's adroitness had enabled him to patch up a hollow truce between the food-taxers and free-fooders on his own side of the House that he took courage to proceed with any important measures of legislation. When he did so the measure to which he gave special prominence was one that excited even greater animosity and resentment than any of the other Bills for which the present Government has made itself responsible. The Licensing Act is the one important piece of business that has been carried out during the past Session. It is needless to speak of the controversies which it has excited, and of the searchings of heart which it has caused even among the most faithful friends of the Government. The notion that it is in reality not a measure for conferring immense pecuniary benefits upon brewers and license-holders, but for effecting a great reform in the interests of temperance, is not one that can hold water. For proof of this fact we need only turn to the reports of the meetings of the great brewery companies. But even if the measure were the innocuous and virtuous thing which, according to its authors, it purports to be, it has certainly not satisfied that very numerous and powerful body in the community which regards intemperance as our greatest social curse. By them it is regarded as a measure which must delay indefinitely any real reform of the licensing system. Ministers have thus added largely to the number of their enemies by the chief work of the past Session. The fact that the Bill was forced through the House of Commons by the drastic weapon of closure by compartments cannot have softened the feeling which its passing has excited among a large section of the public. Nor can it be said that the Education Bill dealing with defaulting authorities in Wales is calculated to strengthen the position of the Government in any of the constituencies in which the original Education Act has aroused so strong a feeling of resentment. In short nothing has been done in the way of domestic legislation during the year to restore anything of its lost strength to the Ministry.

But good Ministerialists who found themselves compelled to differ from the Government on some important questions, and who could not deny that the country no longer felt its old confidence in Mr. Balfour and his colleagues, took comfort from one thought. That was, that at last the great question of Army reform had been entrusted to firm and competent hands, and that the Government would in consequence be able to wipe out the depressing memories of the South African War by carrying into execution a great scheme of root-and-branch reorganisation in our military system. Many of the opponents of the Ministry shared these hopes, and received with unconcealed satisfaction the report of Lord Esher's Committee when it appeared. At last it seemed that a Minister of War,

competent, vigorous, and resolute, had seized the thorny problem of the Army, and that in his hands it was about to be solved. But where are now the hopes that burned so brightly in the spring? Everybody knows how they have gradually died away, until at the close of the Session there is a feeling of general bewilderment as to what has and what has not been done to bring about the desired reforms. It would be most unfair to lay upon the Secretary for War the whole or even the chief responsibility for this grievous disappointment. During the Session, if we have learned nothing else, we have at least been allowed to see the nature of the obstacles against which a reformer at the War Office has to contend. We have seen Mr. Arnold-Forster openly flouted by some of his colleagues on the Treasury Bench; we have been told of the unrelenting opposition to his proposals that has been offered in high military and official quarters. To many of us it must appear that whatever may be the merits of his scheme he has never had a chance of winning for it the public favour which it must secure before it can be put into operation. Perhaps we have no right to be surprised in these circumstances by the fact that the author of the scheme himself, engaged in struggling for his very life against his highly placed antagonists, has seemed to some extent to have lost his grip upon his own proposals, and that at the end of the Session the country is left in a state of bewilderment as to what has and what has not been done to give us the military system which we are told is necessary to the national safety. It is clear, at any rate, that, so far as the achievements of last Session are concerned, the carrying of a scheme of Army reform is not to be counted amongst them. The recess may not impossibly prove more fruitful than the Session, and relieved from the embarrassments and provocations of constant debates, in which he had to face more formidable foes on his own than on the Opposition side of the House, Mr. Arnold-Forster may be able to make some real progress with his far-reaching plans. It is of course something to be able to hope that this may be the case, but it cannot remove the strong sense of disappointment which last Session has caused to all earnest friends of Army reform. It cannot change the fact that in the one department of public work in which friends as well as foes believed that Ministers might be able to redeem the failures of the past their victory is still to be achieved.

It is hardly necessary to spend much time upon the history of Mr. Chamberlain's Protectionist campaign during last month. I know that some of his friends believe that all is still for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and that his triumph, though slow in making its appearance, is as certain in the end as the St. Petersburg mob believes the ultimate victory of Russia to be in the war with Japan. But in the meantime to the ordinary observer it certainly appears that the crusade of the bread tax has 'fizzled out.' It no

longer fills the newspapers ; it is hardly heard of in railway carriages and other places in which the man in the street delights to air his opinions ; and where it is seriously discussed, as at the by-elections, the result is uniformly disastrous. Mr. Chamberlain himself addressed a long speech during the month to a great Protectionist gathering at Welbeck ; but no one pretended that the speech added anything to what he had already told us, and the greater part of his audience was utterly apathetic in consequence, probably, of being unable to hear what he said. In Parliament, it is true, he scored one distinct triumph. A vote of censure upon those Ministers who whilst accepting office in his reconstituted Protectionist Association had retained their seats in the Cabinet was defeated by a majority of 78. On the other hand he met also in Parliament with an unequivocal rebuff. He had proposed, as his latest expedient for keeping his agitation in being, that a conference representing the Colonies as well as the Mother Country should be summoned to consider the whole question of fiscal union within the Empire. Lord Rosebery, whilst declaring that a conference was not in itself objectionable, practically invited Mr. Chamberlain to say whether a food tax was to be one of the subjects of discussion, and the member for West Birmingham, falling into the trap, replied that it would be. Lord Rosebery retorted that this answer killed Mr. Chamberlain's own proposal, as it was clear that the country would not sanction a food tax. To invite the colonists to send delegates to discuss a proposal which Great Britain refused to accept would be nothing less than an insult. So the project of a conference fell through, but not before Mr. Balfour had stated in the House of Commons that the Government had no intention of summoning a gathering of the kind. Upon the whole, then, there have been no signs of progress in the cause of fiscal reform during the past month. Free Traders, indeed, may justly maintain that all the signs point in a different direction, though they cannot afford to forget the courage and resourcefulness of their powerful and determined opponent.

One need not take too seriously the angry demonstrations which marked the last days of the Session in the House of Lords. Similar demonstrations of a less pronounced character have been common enough before. The peers, not unnaturally, resent the way in which they are treated by successive Governments in the arrangement of business. It must be trying to the temper of any man who takes his position as a legislator seriously to find that he is expected to deal with important measures when there is literally no time for a proper examination or discussion of their merits, and when they must either be swallowed wholesale on the spur of the moment or summarily rejected. It is particularly galling to the peers, the overwhelming majority of whom are members of the Unionist party, to be treated in this way by a Government which they uniformly

support. This year the scandal, as the House of Lords considered it, has been worse than ever ; for in the House of Commons, owing to causes I have already glanced at, the arrangement of business has been grossly mismanaged, and the consequent block at the end of the Session has been more severe than ever. No wonder the working peers, who really like to take their full share in public affairs, were more angry than usual when they were denied time for the adequate discussion of the Bills sent to them. It is to be feared that in their eyes Mr. Balfour has not shone during the past Session as responsible leader of the lower Chamber. Obstruction may have accounted in part for his failure, but other causes, for which he was himself responsible, contributed still more directly to it.

So far as one important portion of the United Kingdom is concerned, by far the most striking event of the month has been the judgment of the House of Lords on what may be described briefly as the Free Church case. Under this judgment, if it were to remain without alteration, nothing less than a revolution in the social and ecclesiastical life of Scotland would be carried into effect. The Scotch people like to manage their own affairs, and are extremely jealous even of the criticisms of outsiders upon their way of doing so. Englishmen, on the other hand, whose natural bent of mind is by no means theological, have been only too glad to leave Scotsmen to attend to their own business in matters religious. But the judgment which at one fell swoop has deprived the United Free Kirk of Scotland of property worth more than a million of money, including its colleges, its churches, and its manse, and has left it to go out stripped and naked into the world, is an event in which even those who feel the least concerned in the disputes of theologians must take an interest. Nobody, except the two dozen ministers in the Highlands who have won an astounding victory over a religious body which is probably second only to the Church of England in Great Britain in power and wealth, pretends to dispute the fact that the judgment of the five members of the Appeal Court in the House of Lords, carried against the protest of two members of the court, is one that gravely and injuriously affects the public interest. Technically correct it may be assumed to be ; but there are occasions, happily few in number, when strict legality conflicts directly with the eternal sense of justice ; and for my part I am not surprised that in the opinion of the majority of the Scotch people the present is one of those occasions. It is to be feared that the ordinary Englishman of the present day knows very little of the history of the Free Church of Scotland. It is quite possible that some of the law peers, who constitute the highest legal court in the Empire, are not themselves familiar with that history. Certainly some of the observations of the Lord Chancellor in giving his judgment suggest that he has a very inadequate conception of the ecclesiastical

ideas and traditions which have prevailed for centuries on the other side of the Tweed. The Free Church of Scotland owes its existence to the revolt of the most distinguished members and the majority of the clergy and laity of the old Established Church, from the interference of the State in its affairs, and, above all, in the right of congregations to select their own ministers. Theoretically the men who, with Dr. Chalmers at their head, seceded from the Church of Scotland in 1843 were all in favour of a State Church, but it was to be a State Church in which the spiritual liberties of the people were to be duly respected; and it was because those liberties seemed to them to have been trampled upon that hundreds of ministers—the very flower of the Kirk of those days—retired from their livings and threw themselves upon the mercy of the world. Scotsmen of all parties are now agreed that these men took a noble and heroic step. They gave up their houses, their churches, their stipends, and appealed to their congregations to approve of what they had done. The congregations responded to their appeal in a way that was unique in the history of ecclesiastical disputes. The overwhelming majority stood by the seceding ministers. They opened their pockets with a freedom which is unjustly supposed to be rare among their race. In almost every parish in Scotland they raised churches and manses in place of those which had been given up by their spiritual leaders, and in an astonishingly short space of time provided a sustentation fund—in other words, an endowment—which put the new organisation, the Free Church as it was called, upon a footing that compared favourably with that of the old Establishment. Ever since then the Free Church has been by common admission the most powerful and prosperous religious communion in Scotland. It has established churches of its own in England and throughout the Colonies, and there can be no question of the fact that throughout the world it has furnished a rallying-point for all Scotsmen who cling to the Presbyterian faith and mode of worship. But in going out as they did from the comfort and security of the Establishment, the leaders of the Free Kirk made certain declarations of their principles. One of these was their adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith, a doctrine which, during the past sixty years, has faded almost as much out of the spiritual life of the Scotch people as the Athanasian Creed has faded out of that of the English. The other, and for the purposes of this controversy the more important, was their affirmation of their belief in the principle of a State Church. Dr. Chalmers and his brethren declared that they did not leave the Establishment because they had ceased to believe in that principle. They left it because they could not accept the principle of State patronage, holding that the Church ought to be its own master in all things that affected

the spiritual welfare of the congregations. For nearly sixty years the Free Church grew and prospered, and enlarged its boundaries on every hand. For many years during that period there had been a strong movement in the Church in favour of its union with another religious body, the United Presbyterian Church. This body held practically the same doctrinal views as the Free Church and adhered to the same Presbyterian form of government and organisation. Upon only one point was there any definite difference between the two communions. The United Presbyterians did not believe in the theory of a State Church. They held that the State and the Church had not, and ought not to have, any corporate relations. But, as a matter of fact, this difference in theory was of infinitesimal importance in reality, seeing that for more than half a century the Free Church had been as completely severed from any connection with the State as the United Presbyterian Church had always been. After prolonged discussion, and with the all but unanimous assent of both parties, the two Churches in 1900 resolved to amalgamate. The General Assembly of the Free Church agreed to the amalgamation by a majority of 643 to 27. In the United Presbyterian Church there was absolute unanimity in its favour. Before taking the decisive step the highest legal authorities in Scotland were consulted, and I believe I am correct in saying that they were unanimous in pronouncing in favour of its legality. But the small minority of twenty-seven, most of whom were ministers of Gaelic congregations in the Highlands, went to law. The Scotch courts, whose members happen to know what meaning is attached by Scotsmen to the word Church, decided in favour of the legality of the amalgamation. The Highland ministers, with what seems to have been a curious recklessness as to legal expenses, went to the House of Lords, and by five votes to two the House of Lords has decided in favour of the small minority, and has declared that they, and they alone, are the true representatives of the Free Church established in 1843 by the Scotch people. No one doubts that the House of Lords acted from a sense of duty, and on the highest and driest legal technicalities; but from the point of abstract justice, and of the interests of a great people, it is equally beyond dispute that the decision was absurd and impossible. If the majority of the House of Lords had been familiar with the well-known story attributed (though, I believe, wrongly) to Dean Ramsay, they might have paused before pronouncing a judgment that can only be called disastrous. The old lady who having denounced her minister for heterodoxy was told that she seemed to think that nobody but herself and her crony, John, would be saved, and replied, 'I'm no so sure of John,' seems to typify the plaintiffs in this remarkable action. It is useless to waste words over it in its present stage. The very unsympathetic attitude of Mr. Balfour when asked if the legislature would intervene to prevent what is for Scotland a national

calamity, points, however, to further developments. Lord Rosebery on a famous occasion declared that after a certain General Election a single first-class compartment would be sufficient to carry all the Scotch Conservative members up to London. It seems not improbable that his prediction will be realised on the next appeal to the country, unless, indeed, Scotland has ceased to take the keen interest which it once felt in its ecclesiastical affairs and its religious liberties.

More interesting, and on the whole more vitally important, than any questions of domestic policy has, however, been the story of Russia during last month. The great war in the Far East has reached a stage in which it threatens, by no means remotely, the peace of the world. Happily it does not appear that any person of standing in Russia really wishes to enlarge the boundaries of a conflict with which the Czar and his people already find it difficult to deal successfully, and there is certainly no desire on the part of Great Britain or the other Powers affected by Russian doctrines and pretensions to plunge into the life-and-death struggle which is being carried on in Asia. We may hope therefore that the diplomacy of the world will be able to avert a grave calamity; but undoubtedly during last month that calamity seemed at one time to be very near. The question of contraband of war is one that has often troubled the relations of States. To a country situated as ours is there is no need to say that it is a question of supreme importance. As the great naval Power of the world it is, above everything else, our interest to see that the legitimate rights of combatants waging war upon the seas are not unduly interfered with. But, with our vast commercial fleet and our insular position, it is also our duty to prevent any unfair extension of the rights of combatants in dealing with contraband carried in neutral bottoms. The authorities at St. Petersburg do not seem in the first instance to have appreciated the necessities which bind us to a certain line of policy, and they have acted with a high-handed disregard for the rights and interests of neutrals which, if it were to be persisted in, would cause a very grave crisis. It is not necessary to tell here the stories of the stoppage of British mail steamers on the high seas, of the interference with our commerce even in waters so near our own as the North Atlantic, or of the seizure and, in one case at least, the destruction of vessels suspected of carrying contraband. The whole mercantile commerce of Great Britain would be exposed to grave injury if we were to acquiesce in the Russian doctrine that neutral ships are liable to be stopped and searched anywhere outside the limits of their own waters. Nor is it conceivable that this country can acquiesce in so flagrant a violation of the Treaty of Paris as that involved in the passage of the so-called volunteer fleet through the Dardanelles, and its immediate transformation into an armed force intent upon stopping mercantile



traffic even in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Least of all can a country like ours acknowledge that food not intended for the use of armies but for non-combatants is to be regarded as contraband of war. These are the chief points of difference which have arisen between ourselves and Russia during the past month, and it is not necessary to emphasise their gravity. Fortunately the swollen pretensions of the authorities at St. Petersburg have been abated in consequence of the representations of our own and other Governments, and there seems to be reason to hope that the dangers which arose so suddenly a few weeks ago are now passing away. The English Cabinet has acted firmly, though happily not in a hostile spirit, and one of the most serious crises in our foreign relations which we have known for years past seems now to be subsiding. Probably the feeling on the subject in this country would not have been so intense but for the action of Germany, which made haste to profit by the difficulties which Russia threw in the way of our ships trading with Japan and the Far East in order to increase her own service of vessels to that part of the world.

But Russia herself has had other and graver matters than these questions to deal with during the month. At the end of July her chief statesman, M. de Plehve, the real author of the reactionary policy of recent years, was struck down in the streets of St. Petersburg in circumstances which recall the assassination of Alexander the Second. It was a staggering blow for the Czar and his administration, and its full significance has yet to be revealed. The course of the war has been during the month uniformly unfavourable to Russian arms. The Japanese have, in two severe naval engagements, practically destroyed both the Vladivostock and the Port Arthur squadrons, and their armies, after a series of desperate battles in which the loss of life on both sides has been enormous, have closed in upon Port Arthur, the fall of which may be expected at any moment. Further north in Manchuria the movements of the contending armies are still hidden from us, though there is no reason to suppose that the Japanese commander has abandoned his determination to cut off the retreat of General Kuropatkin and his army, or that the position of the latter is in any respect more favourable than it was a month ago. Altogether the position of Russia in Manchuria is one that may without exaggeration be described as desperate. The one gleam of sunshine that has fallen on the unhappy country is in the birth of an heir to the throne—a great-grandson of Queen Victoria. All the peoples of Europe will join in the prayer that this innocent babe may be spared to play his part in a regenerated Russia.

France during the month has lost her great statesman Waldeck-Rousseau; the United States are entering into the tumult of a Presidential election, and it does not seem that the candidature of

the Democratic candidate, Mr. Parker, will be the insignificant demonstration which Mr. Roosevelt's friends at one time imagined it would be ; the Australian Commonwealth has passed through a political crisis, which has resulted in the resignation of the recently formed Labour Ministry and in the formation of a Cabinet under Mr. Reid, the old leader of the Free Trade party. Our expedition to Tibet has succeeded in reaching the mysterious capital ; but the Dalai Lama has fled from Lhasa, and Colonel Younghusband, in his attempt to bring the negotiations with the Tibetans to a close, is once more hampered by their incurable love of excuses and delays. The reappointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India may be regarded as proof that the English Cabinet is in entire agreement with him on the subject of his policy in Tibet.

WEMYSS REID.

## LAST MONTH

## II

THE British public, unless I am much mistaken, do not trouble themselves greatly with elaborate investigations as to the electoral vicissitudes, the party conflicts, the Parliamentary debates and divisions which have signalised the Session now numbered with the dead. They are looking forwards, not backwards; they are not over-curious to ascertain the exact balance of Parliamentary profit and loss attaching either to the Ministry or to the Opposition; they are content to accept facts as they are, and they realise that the bottom fact of the situation is that the Unionist Government is still in office, and still commands the support of a formidable, though a diminished, majority. My readers, therefore, will not be disappointed if I do not attempt to discuss at any length the Licensing Bill, the Chinese immigration controversy, the Army reforms, the modification of our educational system, or the minor issues with which Parliament has been occupied, more or less unprofitably, ever since the opening of the Session. I shall content myself with dwelling on the general features of the Session which throw some light on future events, rather than on particular incidents of ephemeral interest.

• It has always seemed to me that partisans on either side have overlooked the main cause of the decline in popular favour which the Unionist party has undoubtedly sustained. I may, and do, doubt the magnitude of this decline, but I cannot honestly deny its existence. What I contend is that any Government would have suffered a like loss of popularity, whatever might have been their policy or whatever might have been their administrative ability. The plain truth is that we, as a nation, have, since the Boer war ended, been passing through the *mauvais quart d'heure* of Rabelais. The glamour of the war has passed away, the bill has had to be paid, and the British public, who has had to pay it, is out of temper, complains that the amount is excessive, and lays the blame upon the Administration under whose direction the debt was contracted. If Mr. Balfour had been, as Pitt was called by his admirers, a 'heaven-born' Minister, and if all his colleagues had been statesmen of exceptional ability, the Ministry would still have lost ground whenever the

country was called upon to make good the outlay required to bring the war to a successful termination. Owing to a variety of circumstances, most of which have little or nothing to do with the cost of the war, whether extravagant or otherwise, trade has been exceptionally stagnant for the last three years. Time after time we have seemed to be on the eve of a general recovery of public confidence, and, as a necessary consequence, of the resumption of industrial activity; and on each occasion our hopes have been blighted by some unforeseen occurrence. It is not in human nature to accept these disappointments with equanimity—and the nature of the British public is exceptionally human.

I am personally of opinion that this popular dissatisfaction would not have assumed so acute a form if a somewhat bolder line had been taken by the apologists of the Government both in the Press and in Parliament. Instead of dwelling upon the facts that the absolute necessity for the war had been proved by the course of the campaign, and that no other nation could have brought the war to a successful conclusion more rapidly or at a smaller outlay than was done by England, they took an apologetic tone and sanctioned the appointment of a commission of inquiry, which, in virtue of its composition and of our national dislike to follow the Napoleonic maxim as to 'washing dirty linen at home,' was certain to call public attention to any errors that may have been committed in the course of the campaign. Thus the country was led to believe that the war in South Africa had been a mistake, or that, even if it had been an absolute necessity, it had been conducted incompetently at an extravagant cost.

I need hardly say that the dissatisfaction of 'the man in the street' has been taken advantage of by the Opposition to undermine public confidence in the Unionist Administration. The policy adopted by the Liberals was in accordance with the rules of party government, though the party tactics of wilful misrepresentation, deliberate perversion of truth, and unjustifiable personal invective have been carried by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, his fellow-Liberals, and his Home Rule allies to an extent hitherto unprecedented in our Parliamentary annals. I, in common with my fellow-countrymen, cannot read the accounts of how all party recriminations are tabooed in Japan during the war with Russia, and compare it with the attitude adopted by our Opposition during the war with the Boer Republics, without feeling a sense of shame. For the time being the Japanese seem to have realised the ideal ascribed to the old Romans by Lord Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*, 'Then none was for a party; then all were for the State.' However, I console myself with the reflection that if government by party is once firmly established in Japan, the politicians of the Island Kingdom will soon rise—or fall—to our British standard of party warfare. Happily, there is a vast amount of what I may call 'suppressed good sense' amidst the British

public. They may be carried away by party clamour, but the aberration is temporary, and when they have been led into error they are not slow to realise and, if possible, to retrieve their mistakes.

The next fact to be borne in mind with regard to the past Session is that it has witnessed the collapse of the endeavour to form a cave within the Unionist party. The attempt of the Duke of Devonshire—or, more correctly speaking, of his personal followers—to bring about a schism in the Unionist party and to join the Liberals in resisting any attack upon the sacrosanct principles of Free Trade has resulted in a complete fiasco. The imbecile proposal to pass a vote of censure on the Government, which marked the end of the Session, must have dispelled any illusions which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his potential colleagues in a hypothetical Ministry may have entertained of securing the co-operation of the Liberal Unionists. Anything more preposterous cannot well be conceived than the assertion that the Ministry deserved censure because Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne had accepted seats in the Council of the Liberal Unionist Association as reorganised and reconstructed by Mr. Chamberlain. At the division, not more than one professed Liberal Unionist had the courage to vote against the Government. Indeed, the only open deserters from the Unionist cause who could screw themselves up to support the vote of censure openly in the division were the handful of Unionists who had already changed sides and removed their seats from the Ministerial benches. Amongst these malcontents the most prominent was Mr. Winston Churchill. The friends of his distinguished father, amongst whom I may venture to class myself, must feel extreme reluctance to say anything in disparagement of his son and heir; and this reluctance is increased by the fact that there is so much in the look and manner and speech of this ‘Will-o’-the-wisp’ of politics which recalls vividly to their memory the statesman whose career commenced so brilliantly and ended so tragically. Whatever his defects or failings may have been, Lord Randolph had a touch of genius rarely to be found among party politicians. Genius is not an hereditary possession which passes from father to son; and it would be unfair to disparage Mr. Winston Churchill because he has not as yet displayed the oratorical ability or the political insight which raised Lord Randolph almost at a bound to the leadership of the House of Commons. If I might venture to give advice, I would urge the member for Oldham to emulate his father’s power of laborious study, his talent of making himself master of any subject he was compelled to take up, and his art—if art it was—of winning the confidence and the affection of his friends and colleagues. I would also advise him to study not only the causes of his father’s success, but the causes of his father’s failure. The advice is sound, but I have lived too long in this world of ours to expect that advice, however sound, is likely to be followed. In

this connection I may perhaps be excused if I mention a personal experience. Shortly after the historic brawl in the House of Commons, when manual violence was resorted to by the Irish Home Rulers in order to enforce their contentions, I happened to be staying at the house of a common friend with Lord Randolph. He asked me to read a letter which he proposed sending to the *Times* on the subject of the attitude adopted by the Government in dealing with the disturbance. The contention of the letter, which, I may add, was singularly clear and well written, was to the effect that the course of procedure employed on this occasion had not been in accordance with constitutional precedents. As I knew that at this period of his career he was extremely anxious to effect a reconciliation with the Conservative party, and to resume office in the Conservative Ministry, I ventured to point out that the appearance in print of such a letter under his own name would, to say the least, not facilitate the objects he had in view. With the curious frankness which characterised his conversation with his friends, he said at once: 'I see you are right. I shall not send the letter.' Then, after a few minutes' silence, he went on to remark: 'I wish to heaven I had shown you every public letter I have ever written before dispatching it.' I may add this was the only occasion during the years subsequent to his resignation of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer that he ever alluded in conversation with me to the letter which he dispatched to the *Times* without having first communicated his intended resignation to Lord Salisbury. Looking back on the past, I cannot but fancy that when he made the remark I have quoted he had begun to realise that in signing this letter in question he had, personally as well as politically, signed his own death-warrant.

I allude to this incident because the recollection of the Irish brawl I refer to has been revived by the childish demonstration made by the Opposition in the closing days of the Session. Under the new Education Act the Municipal Councils are entrusted with the duty of paying the salaries of the teachers legally appointed in Voluntary as well as Board schools. This is the law of the land, and, while it remains the law, all local authorities are bound to obey its provisions. A certain number, however, of Welsh municipalities resent the discharge of this duty on the plea that they entertain a conscientious objection to paying salaries to teachers in Church schools, as by so doing they may indirectly encourage the spread of Church of England doctrines. If I were to refuse to pay my rates in my parish, because I objected to grants being made out of the rates to various denominational institutions, the views of these demoninations not being in accordance with my own, I should have my furniture seized and sold; and if I offered any active resistance to the officers of the court, I should certainly be fined, reprimanded, and possibly sent to prison. But then I am, unfortunately, an Englishman and not a Welshman,

a member of the Church of England and not a Nonconformist, conscientious or otherwise. In order to remedy a gross public scandal and a grave infraction of the law, the Government introduced a Bill which, to put the matter briefly, gives authority to the Board of Education, supposing the recalcitrant municipalities to remain obdurate, to pay any lawful expenses incurred by the voluntary schools in the discharge of their legitimate functions, and to deduct the amounts so paid from the annual grants made to the defaulting municipalities for the purposes of local education. It is difficult to conceive of a fairer or more considerate solution of a difficulty which must be solved at once, unless the authority of the law is to be openly defied. The Liberal representatives of the Principality, however, are up in arms against this outrage on the Nonconformist conscience, and their cause has been espoused by the bulk of the English Liberals. Every effort has been made to protract discussion and so to obstruct the passing of the Bill. When the closure was applied, the Opposition felt it their duty to make a solemn protest. On the extraordinary plea that sufficient time had not been allowed to discuss the question whether the arrangements for air and light in the Welsh schools were of a thoroughly satisfactory character, the Opposition wasted three mortal hours in wrangling with the Chairman in Committee for declining to prolong the debate after closure had been voted by a majority of eighty-four: a demand which he had absolutely no power even to take into consideration. The brunt of the wrangle with the Chair was borne by Mr. Lloyd-George, who rumour says is to be President of the Board of Trade, if not of the Board of Education, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman or Lord Rosebery becomes Prime Minister; by Mr. Guest, who was chosen member for Plymouth at the General Election as a staunch Unionist; by his cousin Mr. Winston Churchill; and by Mr. Bright, whose recent election for Oswestry is the crowning achievement of the Opposition. When the division was called, the Opposition refused as a body to leave their seats and take part in the voting. For this violation of Parliamentary procedure a number of members were named by the Chairman. If they had still declined to quit their seats, they would have had to be forcibly removed by the officials of the House. But at this prospect the courage of the Liberal stalwarts oozed away. Mr. Asquith—*qu'allait-il donc faire dans cette galère?*—suggested that instead of being removed by force they should march out of the House 'and take no further part in the discussion'—a sorry ending to a feeble demonstration. During the Chancellorship of Lord Eldon a deputation of dissenting ministers waited upon his lordship to protest against the Test Act. When they had finished a lengthy statement of their objections, the great Tory judge simply replied, 'Gentlemen, you have made your protest, and having made it the best thing you can do is to go home to bed.' Such, I suspect, must have been the comment made in his heart by poor Mr. Asquith

when he marched out at the head of the Welsh Nonconformists, after having solemnly assured them 'that he entirely sympathised with Mr. Lloyd-George and those who were associated with him in the protest they had made.'

I am told on every side that the Liberals are regaining the confidence of the British public. I am heartsick of the flowing tide metaphor invented by Mr. Gladstone and repeated parrot-like by his followers. When I ask for proof, I am reminded of the baker's dozen of seats which the Opposition have won from the Ministerialists, and my attention is particularly directed to the latest Liberal victories at Oswestry and Reading. In racing questions I never pay any heed to arguments trying to show that the horse which came in second ought by rights to have come in first. The stakes go to the winner, and after that there is no more to be said. The same rule applies to politics, and the elaborate mathematical calculations by which the *Westminster Gazette* endeavours—through a comparison of the rate of increase or decrease in the votes polled at any by-election—to establish the probable results of a General Election seem to me an example of perverted ingenuity. Supposing I had the time or inclination I could prove to demonstration that if the elections of this year are taken as standards of the rate at which the Liberal minority in Parliament will increase, and the Unionist majority will decrease, the Government is not likely to be defeated till long after its period of Parliamentary existence has been brought to a close by the efflux of time. I am well aware that my arithmetical calculations would be unsound, but they would not be a whit more unsound than the ingenious theories by which prognostications of the political future are based upon isolated facts, such as the return of Mr. Rufus Isaacs for Reading by a smaller majority than his Liberal predecessor. I should be personally obliged if the anonymous writer who contributes weekly articles to the *Westminster Gazette* under the signature of 'Greville Minor'—should it not be 'Minimus'?—and who professes to be in intimate relations with the leaders of the Liberal party, would inform me what is to be the policy of the Liberals when they present themselves before the constituencies at the General Election, whose advent he has assured us week after week was an imminent contingency.

The strength of the present Ministry consists, I am bound to admit, quite as much in the demerits of the Opposition as in their own intrinsic merits. We all know what the policy of the Government has been in the past, and will be in the future. We may approve or disapprove of their policy, but we are in no doubt as to its general character. Both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain have made no secret of their intentions. We know that the former proposes at the next election to ask the constituencies to confer upon him authority to impose retaliatory duties. If the country refuses to grant the



authority demanded, there is an end for the time being both of the Ministry and of the fiscal controversy. If the permission should be accorded, the Ministry will remain in office and proceed to consider how far they can adopt Mr. Chamberlain's views as to the consolidation of the British Empire by means of Preferential duties in favour of the British colonies. The Prime Minister has given the country clearly to understand that in principle he shares the opinions of his late colleague, but he declines to pledge himself definitely to any positive alteration in our fiscal system, based, as it is, upon Free Trade, until he has ascertained, by an appeal to the constituencies, whether the country is or is not prepared to sanction the imposition of retaliatory duties, which, whether desirable or undesirable, is manifestly a first step in the path of Protection. All this is clear, open, and above-board. But as to the policy of the Liberal party in the event of their succeeding to office after the coming election, we are left utterly in the dark. All we are permitted to know is that the Liberals intend to keep our present fiscal system unchanged; to allow foreign countries to exclude us from their own markets, while they deluge us with goods produced in their own bounty-protected factories; to refuse all overtures made by our British colonies for closer trade relations with the Mother Country; to see our own native industries decline and to take the decline lying down; to encourage alien immigration and thus to cheapen the wages of the home-born British labourer; and, in short, to act on the general principle that for England, under Free Trade, everything is already for the best in the best of possible worlds. Such a policy may be welcomed by the Cobden Club, who believe that the era of fiscal reform was closed for ever when Cobden persuaded the British nation to adopt the principle of unrestricted competition on the faith of assurances every one of which has been falsified by the event. But, unless I am mistaken, it will never commend itself permanently to the good sense of my fellow-countrymen. So far the policy of the Liberal party is of a purely negative character, but the Liberals, before they can aspire to take up the administration of public affairs, must produce a positive as well as a negative programme. It is no use assuring us that at Brooks's, the Reform Club, the Devonshire, the Eighty Club, and at the Fabian Society, supposing it to be still in existence, the Liberals are all of one mind, have sunk all sectional differences, and are unanimous in favour of declining to propound any policy till they are installed in office. Now, on a variety of issues—such as Home Rule, Disestablishment, secular education, an hereditary Legislature, municipal trading, the Licensing Act—issues in which the great public take far more interest than they do in the dogmas of Free Trade, the Opposition is known to be divided into discordant sections, antagonistic to one another. We are still left completely in the dark as to which of these sections is to dictate the policy or decide the composition

of the next Liberal Administration. The utterances of the Liberal party organs are as vague and unsatisfactory as those of the Delphic oracles. To the question 'under which king, Bezonian?' we can obtain no answer, except that the coming Premier is to be the one best fitted to reunite all sections of the Liberal party into one harmonious whole. But as to who is to be the leader, whether Lord Rosebery, Lord Spencer, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, Mr. John Morley, or Mr. Lloyd-George, we know no more than the man in the moon. All I can say is that the amalgamation of the Liberal party is a work of far greater difficulty than the amalgamation of the Kimberley mines, which won for Cecil Rhodes the appellation of the Great Amalgamator. I may also add that it would be difficult to find out half-a-dozen public men of ability possessed of the peculiar qualities which enabled Mr. Rhodes to reconcile conflicting interests and to create order out of chaos. With the Session now ended, there is little prospect of any pronunciamiento being made by the Opposition. The 'era of good feeling,' to quote a well-known phrase of American political history, will probably last till a General Election is nearer at hand than it seems to be as yet. For the moment we must content ourselves with the declaration that the Liberal party is unanimously in favour of peace and harmony within its serried ranks. The fires of faction are, I fear, only hid from view, and will burst out with increased ardour as soon as the prospect of obtaining office comes within the domain of practical politics.

If proof were needed of the utter disorganisation of the Liberal party, it would be supplied by the correspondence which was exchanged last month between Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain on the suggestion thrown out by the latter that a Colonial Conference should be convoked to consider whether fiscal union be practicable. Now, for years past we have been assured by Lord Rosebery and his political adherents that they, and not the Unionists, were the sole original and genuine authors of Imperialism. His lordship was the leader of the so-called 'Liberal Imperialists.' It was, therefore, to be expected that he would support any proposal calculated to ascertain the opinion of our colonies on the question of Preferential duties. This expectation was not fulfilled. The ex-Premier lost no time in stating in the columns of the *Times* that he welcomed the abstract idea of a Colonial Conference between the Prime Ministers of our self-governing colonies and the Imperial Government. He also intimated that the credit of this idea ought by rights to be ascribed to himself, not to the late Colonial Minister. This somewhat ungracious acceptance of the Conference idea was practically withdrawn in the self-same letter by which it was conveyed. The 'certain limitations' which Lord Rosebery attached to his approval, put into clear language, amounted to a proposal that the meeting of the Conference should be made conditional on a formal understanding that its members should not be

permitted to take into consideration any change in the fiscal system which has existed in the United Kingdom since the repeal of the Corn Laws. There is no disputing the force of the comment made by the President of the Liberal Unionist Association on this extraordinary limitation. To quote Mr. Chamberlain's own words in reply to Lord Rosebery's letter: 'To suggest' (to the colonies) 'a Conference on Preference, while rigidly excluding all reference to taxes on food, would be in present circumstances a childish and almost an insulting proposition.' Lord Rosebery is far too able a man not to realise the truth of Mr. Chamberlain's retort. What, it may be asked, could have induced a statesman with a distinguished past, and possibly a distinguished future, to stultify himself by so inane a proposition? The answer is obvious enough. His lordship, in common with all the other potential candidates for the leadership of the Liberal party, had come to the conclusion that the only cry on which a Liberal majority could possibly be obtained at the impending appeal to the electorate was the unpopularity of any tax which might conceivably raise the price of bread, the staple article of the working classes' food. He felt it, therefore, incumbent upon him to go one better than any of his rivals, and to announce that the taxation of bread-stuffs was a subject upon which no discussion could be allowed under a Liberal Ministry. He had also learnt that his reputation as an Imperialist was a stumbling-block in the way of his acceptance as leader by the Radical wing of the Liberal party, who regard Imperialism as an unpardonable sin. In order to establish his orthodoxy as a staunch believer in Free Trade, and to avoid giving offence to 'Little Englanders,' he had to repudiate all connection with the pestilent heresies of Protection and of England's Imperial mission. The example thus set will be followed doubtless by other leading Liberals who are candidates for office. But I think, when it comes to swallowing every fad of latter-day Liberalism, from the abolition of the House of Lords down to passive resistance and anti-vaccination, no one of his former colleagues will surpass Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the power of prompt and wholesale deglutition. It is with such leaders, and such allies, and such a following, that the Liberals still hope to march into power within the next few months. I doubt their success. I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy. All things, however improbable, are possible, and it may well be that before next Session is over we may see the Liberals once more in office.

I confess that theological controversies are matters 'too high for me.' But I have of late been much interested in the judgment of the House of Lords in the question at issue between the Free Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterians, and the Gaelic branch of the Free Church, as a survival of a bygone era. I speak with diffidence, as a simple-minded Englishman. But in as far as I can learn from my Scotch friends, the dogmatic differences which separate the Old

Kirk from its offshoots are of the most minute and unintelligible character. The original secession took place sixty years ago, on a question of ecclesiastical patronage. I have also been unable to ascertain what differentiated an United Presbyterian from a member of the Free Kirk. All I can learn is that a movement in favour of the reunion between these two bodies was carried by an overwhelming majority of both sects. There was, however, a small minority of malcontent Free Kirkers, chiefly Highlanders, who objected to this reunion, and contended that the vote in its favour was *ultra vires*. The Scotch courts decided in favour of the majority. The British Court of Appeal has reversed this decision, and has declared that the minority was within its rights in protesting against this reunion as a breach of trust, and that the funds, lands, and manses of the Free Kirk belong, as a matter of law, to the dissentient minority. The property of the Free Kirk, in accordance with the terms of the trust, will, therefore, be awarded to two dozen Free Church ministers residing in Highland parishes, where Gaelic is still the spoken tongue; while some seven hundred Lowland ministers are thereby deprived of their manses and, pecuniarily speaking, 'left out in the cold.' All this turmoil and trouble—based, to British apprehension, upon some obscure difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the dogma of Predestination—takes place in the present year of grace. Our fellow-countrymen north of the Tweed have too much common-sense not to come to a practical compromise on a moot point of law. But the fact that in the twentieth century—the era, as I am assured by my Liberal teachers, of enlightenment and toleration—Scotland should be convulsed by a controversy about the precise significance of Predestination fills me with awe and wonder. I trust I may not be considered cynical in congratulating myself that I was born in a land where there is a State Church with an established hierarchy, where we have archbishops, bishops, deans, priests, and deacons, where our services are conducted with dignity and propriety, and where I and all my fellow-Churchmen can entertain and profess our own opinions without being catechised by ministers or elders.

Another incident of last month which I cannot allow to pass without notice is the arrival of Dr. Jameson in London for the first time since his accession to the Premiership of the Cape Colony. By common consent he has carried out the traditions of Cecil Rhodes' policy, has established British supremacy in the Cape Parliament, has upheld the interests of Great Britain in the greatest of her South African colonies, and has done much to acquire the confidence and good will of the Dutch population. When I recall the days of the Raid, of the trial at Bar, of Jameson's conviction and imprisonment; when I remember how even liberal-minded papers, such as the *Spectator*, joined in the well-nigh universal outcry in the English Press against the mad folly and wickedness of the Raid; when I recollect

how with one consent publicists and politicians at home agreed that, whatever might occur, neither Cecil Rhodes nor Jameson could ever take part again in public life or even return to South Africa, I cannot but feel a personal satisfaction at having been one of a small number of writers who ventured to assert that the Raid might have been a mistake but was certainly not a crime; that the indignation at the Raid expressed in England, whether honestly or otherwise, was not shared in South Africa; and that the public career of Rhodes and Jameson in South Africa was, to use the words of the former, 'not ended, but only just beginning.' Cecil Rhodes had recovered the leadership of the Progressive party in the Cape before his untimely death; and Jameson is now Prime Minister of the Cape. It would be well, I think, if before his leaving England to return to his arduous task, some public recognition could be given to 'Dr. Jim' in reparation for the wrongs he sustained at the hands of British justice, and of the loyalty with which he has since served his country in South Africa. The British public is sometimes, as in the case of the Jameson Raid, carried away by prejudice and passion, but it is never in the long run unjust or ungenerous in its judgments.

EDWARD DICEY.

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The Editor has received the subjoined letter from the office of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*: he prints it as it was received, though he considers it to be an erroneous interpretation of Mr. Fisher's words.

Westgate Road, Newcastle upon Tyne:  
9th August, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—We have to draw your attention to an article which appears in the current number of 'the Nineteenth Century & After' entitled "Liberal Members & the Liberal Party," in which it is stated that "In Newcastle, that old pillar of earnest Radicalism, has gone, the 'Newcastle Daily Chronicle' having been squeezed out," &c. The writer evidently means the "Newcastle Daily Leader," which was bought up by the "Mail" at the end of last year. We shall be glad if you will make this correction in your next issue.

I remain, yours truly  
p. pro. Proprietors  
JOSEPH REED.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXXII.—OCTOBER 1904

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*HOW RUSSIA BROUGHT ON WAR*

*A COMPLETE HISTORY*

[*Concluded*]

At the period alluded to in the closing paragraph of Part I. of this article, the peace negotiations had begun to assume concrete form. China had throughout evinced a willingness to accede to reasonable demands, and towards the end of August 1900 Prince Chiñg and Li Hung-Chang were nominated as her co-plenipotentiaries. Views were actively interchanged between the Powers, and matters had progressed so far that in October the Chinese plenipotentiaries submitted a Memorandum for the consideration of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking. In this, among other things, China acknowledged her fault in laying siege to the Foreign Legations, and promised that it should never occur again; admitted her liability to pay an adequate indemnity; and showed a readiness to revise commercial treaties. Eventually, by the combined efforts of the Ministers of the Powers, a joint note was agreed upon and presented to the Chinese

Government, toward the latter part of December, embodying twelve demands, the fulfilment of which was deemed necessary for the restoration of normal relations between China and the Powers.

Russia was, of course, a party to all these proceedings, but she secretly cherished the idea of independently making a great stroke herself which was extremely well calculated to thwart and paralyse the concerted policy of the Powers in general in at least one portion of the Celestial Empire. This design crystallised into the so-called Manchurian Agreement.

The hole-and-corner arrangement which it was sought to carry through was actually entered into at Mukden by a subordinate of Tseng, the Tartar General stationed there—a person with no authority whatever to make such a treaty, as the Chinese Government rightly complained—with a representative of Admiral Alexéieff, viz. General Korostovitch, and the purport of it all was first disclosed to an astonished world by a telegram published in the *London Times* from its correspondent in Peking, dated the last day of 1900. It was an enumeration of conditions which were dictated, as is credibly reported, to the accompaniment of very significant threats from the Russian side, leaving absolutely no alternative for the Chinese but to acquiesce, and only upon compliance with which would Russia consent to allow the Tartar General and the Chinese officials to resume the civil government of Manchuria.

These new conditions, plus the concessions previously acquired, were tantamount to an annexation of Manchuria. It may be remembered that soon after the Chino-Japan war Russia seized the opportunity and, by successive machinations, partly by threats and partly by gilding the pills in many ways, chiefly at the cost of Japan and England, exacted from China, under the so-called Cassini convention and others, not only a concession of the right of constructing the Trans-Manchurian railway line, having no other credible object than a military one, right across Manchuria to Vladivostok, which she utilised in substitution of her own trans-Siberian line, but also a similar right of construction from Harbin down to Port Arthur and Talienwan, and also that of stationing all necessary troops nominally for the protection of these railways. Add to these the new concessions embodied in the Manchurian convention, and it could not amount to other than a consummation of Russia's long-cherished designs. Hence the next step taken by her was to seek to obtain recognition of the compact by the supreme authority at Peking, and to have it embodied in the form of a recognised treaty, and this demand was forthwith pressed upon the Chinese Government at the capital with all imaginable vehemence and persistency.

Diplomatic correspondence immediately followed the disclosure of Russia's secret endeavours, and the utmost alacrity was shown by the Governments of America, Britain, Germany, and Japan in dealing

with the question. The Russian Government pretended that the Agreement had no more than a local significance and application, but it was like trying to smother the electric light under a fold of crape, for the real meaning of the compact was always visible. The successive communications and replies that Russia made to the Powers in response to their protests were all alike. Here is one which Count Lamsdorff telegraphed to M. Iswolsky, then Russian Minister at Tokio :

You are authorised to deny most categorically the false reports about a treaty between Russia and China concerning an alleged protectorate in Manchuria. Negotiations which are yet to take place between the Russian and Chinese Governments will bear on the manifold questions relating to the installation of Chinese Administration in Manchuria and the establishment in this province of permanent order capable of insuring the tranquillity of our [Russia's] extensive borderland, as well as the construction of the railway, which is the object of a special Russo-Chinese Convention. As to the Agreement signed between the Chief of our [Russian] forces and the Dziandjem of Mukden, it is but a temporary arrangement laying down rules for the relations between the local authorities and the Russian troops while those are still in Manchuria. The aforesaid false reports are particularly malignant at the present juncture, when the Russian Government is about to hand over Manchuria to China, in harmony with Russia's previous declarations.

There was, however, another and very pregnant allusion in this telegram, which was handed by M. Iswolsky to Mr. Kato, then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, but as it bore upon a somewhat different branch of the subject, reference will be made to it later on.

Here is another, which was sent to the Marquis of Lansdowne by the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and, with the full consent and cognisance of the Russian Government, presented at the time to the British Parliament :

Count Lamsdorff said that the Emperor had no intention of departing in any way from the assurances which he had publicly given that Manchuria would be entirely restored to its former condition in the Chinese Empire as soon as circumstances admitted of it. "Russia," he added, "was in the same position with regard to fixing a final date for evacuating Manchuria as the allies found themselves with regard to the evacuation of Peking and the province of Pe-chi-li. When it came to the final and complete evacuation of Manchuria, the Russian Government would be obliged to obtain from the Central Government of China an effective guarantee against the recurrence of the recent attack on the frontier and the destruction of her railway, but had no intention of seeking this guarantee in any acquisition of territory or of any actual or virtual protectorate of Manchuria. Manchuria would be restored to China, when all the temporary measures taken by the Russian military authorities would cease, and everything at Newchwang and elsewhere would be replaced in its former position."

All these asseverations and protestations of Russia were ostensibly genuine, but in reality they little corresponded with her actions. Remonstrances from the aggrieved nations continued, and China was herself by no means inclined to concede the Russian demands.



She sought the conjoint mediation between herself and Russia of America, Germany, Great Britain, and Japan. It was at this critical moment that the Emperor of China, ruler of a huge empire with 400,000,000 of inhabitants, made in an Imperial Edict the following truly pitiable avowal :

Russia proposes an Agreement of twelve articles. We have authorised our plenipotentiary to amend and modify them, so as to preserve our right of sovereignty. The foreign representatives also advise China not to accept them. But in reflecting upon the present situation, though we are grateful for the advice of the foreign representatives, *it is impossible for China alone to incur the displeasure of Russia by remaining firm.* This is not only a question for China to study with all possible care in order that it may be solved without any danger to her, but also a question in which the foreign Governments interested should maintain the balance of power.

Meanwhile the suggestion, or rather complaint, had been made by Count Lamsdorff that garbled versions of the Agreement made at Mukden were being circulated by the Chinese Government in order to create dissension between the Powers, but this was all a farce. The Emperor of China speaks in his solemn edict of the twelve demands of the Russians, and we have here in full the actual document as translated from the Chinese by no less an authority than Sir Ernest Satow, who succeeded Sir Claude Macdonald in Peking. He stated that the Chinese version had evidently been translated direct from the Russian text.

(1) The Emperor of Russia, being anxious to give evidence of his friendly feeling towards China, is willing to forget the hostile acts committed in Manchuria, and to hand back the whole of that country to China—its administration to be carried on as heretofore.

(2) Under Article 6 of the Manchurian Railway Agreement the Administration is authorised to maintain troops for the protection of the line. The country, however, being at present in an unsettled condition, and such troops few in number, a body of soldiers must be retained until order is restored, and until China shall have carried out the provisions of the last four articles of the present Convention.

(3) In the event of grave disturbances the Russian garrisons will afford China every assistance in suppressing the same that lies in their power.

(4) In the recent attacks against Russia, Chinese troops having taken a prominent part, China agrees, pending the completion of the line and its opening to traffic, not to establish an army in those provinces. She will consult with Russia as to the number of troops she may subsequently wish to establish there. The importation of munitions of war into Manchuria is prohibited.

(5) With a view to safeguarding the interests of the territory in question, China will, on representations being made by Russia, at once deprive of office any military governor or other high official whose conduct of affairs may prove antagonistic to the maintenance of friendly relations.

A police force, consisting of mounted and unmounted units, may be organised in the interior of Manchuria. Its numbers shall be determined after consultation with Russia, and from its armament artillery shall be excluded. The services of the subjects of any other Power shall not be employed in connection therewith.

(6) In conformity with the undertaking given by China at an earlier date, she will not employ the subjects of any other Power in training Chinese soldiers or sailors in North China.

(7) The neighbouring local authorities will, in the interests of peace and order, draw up new special regulations with reference to the neutral zone (see Agreement of the 27th of March, 1898) treated of in Article 5 of the Agreement relating to the lease of part of the Liao-tung Peninsula.

China's autonomous rights in the city of Chinchou (Kinchau, near Port Arthur), secured to her by Article 4 of the Special Agreement of the 7th of May, 1898, are hereby abrogated.

(8) China shall not, without the consent of Russia, grant to any other Power, or the subjects thereof, privileges with regard to mines, railroads, or other matters in conterminous [*i.e.* with Russia] regions, such as Manchuria, Mongolia, and the sections of the new dominion known as Tarbagati, Ili, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten. Nor shall China, without Russia's consent, construct railroads there herself.

Except as far as Newchwang is concerned, no leases of land shall be granted to the subjects of any other Power.

(9) China being under obligation to pay Russia's war expenses and the claims of other Powers, arising out of the recent troubles, the amount of the indemnity presented in the name of Russia, the period within which it will have to be paid, and the security therefor, will all be arranged in concert with the other Powers.

(10) The compensation to be paid for the destruction of the railway lines, for the robbery of property belonging to the railway administration and its employés, as well as claims for delay in carrying on the construction of the lines, will form subject of arrangement between China and the Administration.

(11) The above-mentioned claims may, by agreement with the Administration, either in part or in whole, be commuted for other privileges. The grant of such privileges would involve a complete revision of the previous agreement.

(12) In conformity with the undertaking previously given by China, it is agreed that a line may be constructed for either the trunk line or the branch line [of the Manchurian railway] in the direction of Peking up to the Great Wall, its administration to be governed by the regulations at present in force.

Although in some respects a little difference in the form and scope is to be perceived between this version of the Convention and one which had been telegraphed to the *Times* by its Peking representative, their purport is substantially the same. In any case, however, China was bound hand and foot under the heel of Russia, and that, too, contrary to Russia's solemn pledge to maintain concord with other Powers.

The strenuous opposition of the Powers interested continued, however, and at last, in April 1901, Russia had to abandon the project. On the 5th of that month the Government of St. Petersburg published an official *communiqué* in the *Official Messenger*, which explained her position at great length, interspersed with the usual protestations to the effect that in every case the course which she had adopted was a temporary measure, and that she meant to withdraw her troops from Manchuria when order had been permanently restored, and everything possible had been done to safeguard the railway, *provided that no obstacle was placed in the way by other Powers*. The motive of this

qualifying phrase will be obvious to my readers. The *communiqué* went on to declare that the reported Agreement was only intended to serve as a starting-point towards the realisation of the restoration of Manchuria, but owing to obstacles having been put in the way of the conclusion of that Agreement it became impossible for her to immediately take the contemplated measures of evacuation, and that, remaining true to her original programme, she would quietly await the further progress of events.

Subsequently to the publication of this *communiqué* on the 8th of April, M. Iswolsky handed at Tokio to Mr. Kato a *Note Verbale*, which, after it had announced Russia's abandonment of the project, viz. the Manchurian agreement, on a plea similar to that advanced in the *communiqué*, proceeded thus :

Divers information having shown that under the actual circumstances such an understanding might cause all sorts of difficulties to the neighbouring Empire instead of serving to clearly show the friendly intentions of Russia with regard to the interests of China, Russia would not only *not insist, vis-à-vis* the Chinese Government, upon the conclusion of this understanding, but even renounce all further negotiations on the subject.

A similar announcement was, of course, made to the other Powers. Here we have Russia affecting to ride off in dudgeon upon her high horse, whilst retaining in her own hands that which was the actual object of dispute—viz. the possession of Manchuria.

I might here perhaps venture to recall to the remembrance of my readers that prior to the middle of January 1901, Russia, as far as her Foreign Office was concerned, consistently held that a state of war did not exist between the Powers and China, but that *subsequent* to that date she began to insinuate that she had the right to hold Manchuria as a result of conquest. Thus we see that on the 4th of July, 1900, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a despatch reporting to the Marquis of Salisbury the particulars of an interview with Count Lamsdorff, said : 'There was one point on which Count Lamsdorff laid particular stress in his conversation with me, and it was that the European Powers should proceed on the assumption that they were not in a state of war with the constituted Government of China, but with rebels and anarchists.' Again, on the 29th of August, 1900, Count Lamsdorff said to the British Ambassador : 'We had been proceeding . . . on the assumption hitherto that we were not in a formal state of war with the recognised Government of China, but with a nation in a state of rebellion.' On the 27th of September Count Lamsdorff said to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* that 'his view was that there had never been any rupture of diplomatic relations [between the Powers and China], as had been strikingly proved by the fact that a new German Minister had been appointed.' Then came, in January, 1901, a faint suggestion of the *ballon d'essai* in the next recorded expression of

Count Lamsdorff's informal but candid opinion, as telegraphed by the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg to Mr. Kato at Tokio. The Russian Minister declared that 'the Russian occupation of Manchuria being the result of self-defence on the part of Russia against the Chinese aggression upon her frontiers, she would be in perfect right even if she should choose to make the occupation permanent, but in point of fact she entertains no intention of exercising the right of conquest.' And in the telegram handed by M. Iswolsky to Mr. Kato—to which previous reference has been made as embodying an allusion of much significance—Count Lamsdorff declared that Russia, in harmony with her previous declarations, was about to hand over Manchuria to China, 'instead of possessing herself by right of conquest of this province [Manchuria], from which came an attack on her boundaries.' As to the Russian military authorities, they have, from almost the very moment that opportunities for increased activity in the Far East presented themselves—after the Boxer rising—made pretensions, as we have seen already, to these so-called rights of conquest, shadowy in the extreme as they must have known such rights to be.

While, on the one hand, Russia had been giving interminable trouble to the Powers by her action in the railway and Tien-tsin incidents, and her intrigues in connection with the Manchurian Agreement, the real peace negotiations, on the other hand, between China and the Powers, Russia included, had made satisfactory progress, and the final Peking Protocol was signed on the 7th of September, 1901, wherein the Powers declared that the international forces should evacuate Peking itself on the 17th of September and the province of Pe-chi-li five days later, save for certain trifling exceptions provided for in the protocol. The Chinese Court returned from Hsi-An-Fu, to which city it had resorted on the approach of the Allies to Peking, and the old order of things was revived at the Chinese capital in January 1902. It may be remembered that by this protocol the importation of arms into China was forbidden for two years, with a proviso to the effect that this term might be prolonged if requisite, according to circumstances. In the course of the discussion of the terms of the protocol a sub-committee of the Conference of Ministers of the Powers had proposed that the period of prohibition should be five years. But the American, Belgian, and Japanese delegates held to the opinion that two years, with a proviso, would suffice. This view prevailed, and before the clause was finally embodied in the protocol China had published an Imperial Edict in anticipation. The Russian delegate, however, was of opinion that the term should be *ten* years. This marked divergence of Russia's views from those entertained by other Powers was eminently suggestive, now that we can calmly reflect upon it, of some lurking sinister motive.

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In the meantime Russia was eagerly engaged in an intrigue for the revival of that objectionable Manchurian Agreement which she professed to have abandoned months before. Her diplomacy on this occasion was precisely similar in its base and cynical disregard of all moral obligations to that she had employed decades before in depriving China of the 'Maritime Province.' The Marquis of Lansdowne was apprised in August 1901 of the fact that, despite her denial thereof, Russia was seeking to obtain China's signature to a Manchurian Agreement, and a week later it was definitely stated in reliable quarters that as soon as the final Peking Protocol should be signed, Russia's negotiations concerning Manchuria would be recommenced at Peking or St. Petersburg. The protocol was, as we have seen, signed on the 7th of September, and it is to be presumed that thenceforward Russia was busily occupied with the furtherance of her schemes.

It was at this juncture that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of alliance took practical shape, and was signed in London on the 30th of January, 1902, it being entered into between Great Britain and Japan solely from a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Extreme East. This Agreement is to remain in full force for five years, and is terminable after the expiration of that period at one year's notice. When, however, one of the Allies happens, in the meantime, to be engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded. The aims and motives of the Agreement were admirably summed up in an eminently statesmanlike despatch from the Marquis of Lansdowne to Sir Claude Macdonald at Tokio, as is well known to the students of history.

The publication of this Agreement was followed on the 16th of March by the issue of a Russo-French Memorandum, being communicated in due course to the Powers concerned. It ran as under :

The Allied Governments of Russia and France have received a copy of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of the 30th January, 1902, concluded with the object of maintaining the *status quo* and the general peace in the Far East, and preserving the independence of China and Korea, which are to remain open to the commerce and industry of all nations, and have been fully satisfied to find therein affirmed the fundamental principles which they have themselves, on several occasions, declared to form the basis of their policy, and which still remain so.

The two Governments consider that the observance of these principles is at the same time a guarantee of their special interests in the Far East. Nevertheless, being obliged themselves also to take into consideration the case in which either the aggressive action of third Powers, or the recurrence of disturbances in China, jeopardising the integrity and free development of that Power, might become a menace to their own interests, the two Allied Governments reserve to themselves the right to consult in that contingency as to the means to be adopted for securing those interests.

Simultaneously with the issue of this Memorandum was published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 20th of March an official

*communiqué*, omitting to consider how and why it came about that an Anglo-Japanese Agreement came to be entered into, and insinuating that two of the eleven Powers (Britain and Japan being meant) which had quite recently signed the Peking Protocol were seeking to separate themselves from the others, and to place themselves in a 'special situation in respect to the Celestial Empire,' and after repeating the usual rigmarole about Russia's guiding principles and desire for peace, wound up with the assertion that the French and Russian Governments found it needful to formulate their views owing to 'the ever-persistent agitation concerning the Anglo-Japanese Arrangement.'

France appears to have felt some sort of reluctance to associate herself with the Russian policy in the Far East, but she was persuaded to do so on account of Russia being most studious in making her believe that the Muscovite Government were sincere as to their intention of evacuation.

What America thought of these matters was to be seen from Secretary Hay's Memorandum, which, after expressing America's gratification on finding in both the Anglo-Japanese Agreement and the Russo-French Memorandum renewed assurances of the concurrence of their views with those held by America in respect of Far Eastern affairs, ended thus :

With regard to the concluding paragraph of the Russian Memorandum, the Government of the United States, while sharing the views therein expressed as to the continuance of the Open Door policy against possible encroachment from whatever quarter, and while equally solicitous for the unfettered development of independent China, reserves for itself entire liberty of action should circumstances unexpectedly arise whereby the policy and interests of the United States in China and Korea might be disturbed or impaired.

This was an indirect way of telling Russia that America was not to be inveigled into any sanction or acceptance of 'suitable means' to be devised by her, and it is not difficult to understand how little trust was at that time placed by America in Russian avowals. Indeed, the American people were just then irritated by the friction which had arisen between the Russians and the American consular and naval authorities, as well as the American mercantile community at large, owing to the iniquitous retention by the Russian military authorities of the treaty port of Newchwang and the resultant interference with telegraphic and mail facilities, and obstacles to commerce at large, in consequence of which America had several times made representations to the St. Petersburg Government, to say nothing of the many anxieties concerning graver subjects created by Russia's policy.

At the very moment when the Russo-French Memorandum was being circulated, Russia was, in point of fact, maturing her second Manchurian Convention, which was as objectionable as the first one. Mr. Conger, the American Minister in Peking, had in December 1901

reported to Washington that Prince Ching had returned to Peking armed with authority to sign a Manchurian Convention, and also that the British and Japanese Ministers were warning China not to enter into it. He asked for instructions as to the course he should take, giving the substance of the provisions of this proposed Convention which had come to his knowledge.

Mr. Hay thereupon instructed Mr. Conger to advise Prince Ching that America trusted and expected that no arrangement which would permanently impair the territorial integrity of China, injure the legitimate interests of the United States, or impair the ability of China to meet her international obligations, would be made with any single Power. Prince Ching, in assenting, said he would insist on the Russian evacuation in one year instead of three, that matters concerning Chinese troops should be left to China herself to arrange, and likewise as to guarding the railways or building railway bridges. Russia's claim for expenses in repairing and maintaining the railway would not be paid if it was found that it had been covered by the general indemnity. But Mr. Conger confessed that he had grave doubts regarding the Prince's ability to secure consent to the terms he proposed.

Mr. Tower, the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was then instructed by Mr. Hay to remonstrate with the Russian Government on the ground that by permitting or creating any monopoly by one Power of the trade of the region, China would contravene the provisions of the treaties with other Powers, and such action would infallibly lead to the impairment of Chinese sovereignty, and tend to diminish the ability of China to meet its obligations; and further that other Powers as well might be expected to seek similar exclusive advantages in different parts of the Chinese Empire. This would be destructive of the policy of equal treatment for all the Powers, and contrary to Russian assurances regarding the preservation of an 'open door' in China. Mr. Conger was simultaneously directed to warn the Chinese Government still further.

The Russian reply to America was handed to Mr. Tower on the 9th of February, and it must be characterised as one of the most remarkable of Russia's many remarkable despatches. After declaring that Russia was fully disposed to remove the causes of anxiety to the American Cabinet, but that it felt bound at the same time to assert that negotiations carried on between two entirely independent States were not subject to be submitted to other Powers, it proceeded thus :

There is no thought of attacking the principle of the 'open door,' as that principle is understood by the Imperial Government of Russia, and Russia has no intention whatever to change the policy followed by her in that respect up to the present time.

If the Russo-Chinese Bank should obtain concessions in China, the agreements of a private character relating to them would not differ from those

heretofore concluded by so many other foreign corporations. But would it not be very strange if the 'door' that is 'open' to certain nations should be closed to Russia, whose frontier adjoins that of Manchuria, and who has been forced by recent events to send her troops into that province to re-establish order in the plain and common interest of all nations? It is true that Russia has conquered Manchuria, but she still maintains her firm determination to restore it to China and recall her troops as soon as the conditions of evacuation shall have been agreed upon and the necessary steps taken to prevent a fresh outbreak of troubles in the neighbouring territory.

It is impossible to deny to an independent State the right to grant to others such concessions as it is free to dispose of, and I have every reason to believe that the demands of the Russo-Chinese Bank do not in the least exceed those that have been so often formulated by other foreign companies, and I feel that under the circumstances it would not be easy for the Imperial Government to deny to Russian companies that support which is given by other Governments to companies and syndicates of their own nationalities.

And it concludes by stating that there is not, nor can there be, any question of the contradiction of the assurances which had been given by Russia under the orders of the Emperor. Was it not a scandalous thing that Russia, the promulgator of the so-called 'fundamental principles,' should have the hardihood to claim for her clandestine negotiations with China that they were no concern of the other Powers? Was it not positively outrageous that Russia, whose contention it had been that the Powers were not at war with the constituted Government of China, should declare, when it suited her purpose and in a formal State document, that she had a claim on Manchuria by conquest?

It will be remembered that the Powers which took most interest in the affair at this period were Britain, America, and Japan. As to Germany, she seems to have made the best use of the Anglo-German Agreement during the peace negotiations with China, as shown by the report of Mr. Rockhill, the American Commissioner, to his Government, which states that 'the position of Germany on the question of the indemnity was most uncompromising,' and that 'the urgent necessity for Great Britain to maintain her *entente* with Germany in China was responsible for the numerous concessions that she had made to Germany's insistence on being paid the last cent of her expenses.' Germany, however, soon showed herself lukewarm, and in March 1901 Count von Bülow announced in the Reichstag that her interpretation of the Agreement was that it had no application to Manchuria! He even went so far, in an attempt to minimise its scope, as to designate it 'the Yang-tse Convention'!—not, however, without evoking much comment and surprise, nay, even some suspicion, in England and elsewhere. Such being the German attitude, the Imperial Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag on the 3rd of March, 1902, in reference to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement, remarked quite unconcernedly that no exception could be taken to it by Germany as it did not in any way interfere with the Anglo-German



Agreement of the 16th of October, 1900, *with regard to the Yang-tse Valley*, or with declarations exchanged by the several Powers with regard to the 'open door.'

Russia continued to exert the utmost pressure at Peking, and on the 8th of April, 1902, the Manchurian Convention was signed at Peking by the Russian and Chinese Plenipotentiaries. The *Journal Officiel* of St. Petersburg published the text of it four days later, and this veritably Satanic triumph was crowned by China formally expressing her obligations to the Powers whose counsel she had sought, viz. America, Britain, and Japan. True it was that the terms were perhaps more favourable to China than she would have secured had she been left entirely to the tender mercies of Russia, but they were, in all conscience, onerous and degrading enough. The truth was that China's helplessness to resist Russian coercion was coupled with an intense anxiety on the part of the Manchu Court to regain possession of that part of the empire which, for dynastic reasons, was most dear to it. The dilemma in which the Chinese Court found itself is well illustrated in a report by Mr. Conger to the American Government, dated the 29th of January, in which he states :

On the 27th I had a conference with Prince Ching, who informed me, substantially, that he was in a most difficult position. He had used, he said, every effort in his power to come to some agreement with Russia whereby the evacuation of Manchuria might be secured without the great sacrifice, on the part of China, which Li Hung-Chang had agreed to. He had, he said, secured some very material concessions on the part of Russia, but they would yield no further, and he was convinced, if China held out longer, that they would never again secure terms as lenient ; that the Russians were in full possession of the territory, and their treatment of the Chinese was so aggravating that longer occupation was intolerable ; that they must be got out, and that the only way left for China to accomplish this was to make the best possible terms. The only terms that Russia would consent to was the signing of both the Convention and the Russo-Chinese Bank Agreement.

Accompanying the text of the Agreement there was published in the Russian official organ an explanatory communication to the effect that, having been 'repaid the material expenses to which she was put by her military operations in China,' Russia saw no necessity thenceforward 'for leaving armed forces within the confines of the neighbouring territory,' and therefore this Agreement had been made by Imperial will. The stipulations of this Convention are tolerably well known, but they may be briefly stated :

The right to exercise authority in Manchuria to be restored to China, and the Russian troops, within six months after signature—i.e. 8th of October, 1902—to be withdrawn from the South-West Province up to the Liao River, and the railways handed over to China.

[Prince Ching said he thought Newchwang was included, but, as the sequel showed, the Russians thought otherwise.]

Within the following six months the remainder of the Mukden

Province, plus the Kirin Province, to be evacuated, and finally, within another six months, to quit Hei-Lung-Chiang; thus all three provinces were to be restored to the Chinese Empire by, at the latest, the 8th of October, 1903.

Of course, as a set-off to this magnanimous return of wrongly acquired property, Russia laid a number of restrictions on China.

She was limited as to the numbers and disposition of the troops she was to place in Manchuria.

She was to protect the Russian railways there, and the persons employed thereon, in their various undertakings.

Nor might she invite any Power to participate in protecting, constructing, or working her own railway—viz. that from Shan-hai-Kwan to Newchwang and Hsin-Min-tsun—nor allow any other Power to occupy the territory vacated by the Russians.

China might neither extend nor reconstruct, nor erect a bridge nor remove the terminus, at Newchwang, without first discussing the matter with the Russian Government.

Finally, China was to pay Russia's expenses incurred in the working and repair of the Chinese railway in Manchuria, which sums, it was declared, were not included in the total of the previous claim.

Could any rational being fail to perceive that in these stipulations there were direct infringements of the sovereignty and integrity of an independent State? They evoked, indeed, on all sides, the severest criticism. Yet because it was presumed that Russia would keep her word on the essential points—the evacuation by given dates of the three occupied provinces—the Powers were willing, it would seem, to acquiesce.

I may here remark in passing that the Russian share of the indemnity included not only the expenses incurred by her in Pe-chi-li but also in Manchuria. For all that it was altogether exorbitant, as was much commented upon at the time, when compared with the claims of other Powers, not to speak of the extreme moderation of Japan's claim, which was actually recognised by the British Government in a telegram to Sir Ernest Satow. Now that Russia insisted on claiming an extra indemnity on account of railway, the iniquity of it all became the more glaring.

For some time after this things appeared to be going on tolerably well, though some anxiety was felt in certain quarters as to Russia's sincerity. The 8th of October, 1902, was the day on which the first part of the Russian evacuation was to be completed, and towards the end of that month the Chinese Government was enabled to announce the restoration of the south-west portion of Mukden Province, and all the Chinese railways outside the Great Wall, as previously stipulated. Then came the second part of the evacuation—Newchwang included—which had to be carried out by the 8th of April, 1903. Not only did the Russians not evacuate Newchwang and other parts of the

territory as agreed upon, but signs were perceptible that they had altogether changed their programme. Rumours began to circulate that Russian troops were being moved towards the Korean frontier. On the 17th of April the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne, 'There is a growing feeling here that either the evacuation will not take place or that Russia is exacting conditions.' When inquiry was made about it at St. Petersburg by the Chinese Minister, both Count Lamsdorff and M. de Witte assured him that, as to the movement of troops, neither the Imperial Government nor the Russo-Chinese Bank had any interest whatever in any timber concessions which private individuals might have acquired, and they repudiated the idea that troops had been sent there to guard these concessions which were said to have been obtained from China and Korea. General Kuropatkin, then War Minister, did not deny, however, that M. Besobrazoff had acquired certain forest rights in Manchuria, and thought it possible that Admiral Alexeieff had 'granted' some soldiers to protect these rights. The Chinese Minister, who persisted in his inquiries, was assured that the delay of the second stage of the evacuation was but temporary, and was caused by the presence of foreign ships at Newchwang; Admiral Alexeieff feared, so he said, that the Chinese might admit some other Power as soon as the Russians had gone away. Count Lamsdorff was nevertheless positive in affirming that the Emperor's commands would be fulfilled. By this time, however, things had begun to assume a very alarming aspect in Peking, for in reality the Russian representative was once more vigorously pressing there his daring new 'seven demands,' the purport of which could not for long be hidden from the diplomatic circle there, and the British *Chargé d'Affaires* briefly outlined their scope in a telegram on the 23rd of April, 1903, to his Government. They comprised :

(1) A demand that no portion of the territory restored to China by Russia, especially at Newchwang, should be leased or sold, under any circumstances, to any other Power.

(2) The system of government actually existing throughout Mongolia should not be altered.

(3) China to engage herself not to open new ports or towns in Manchuria without notice to Russia, nor permit foreign Consuls to reside at such ports or towns.

(4) Foreigners engaged by China for the administration of any affairs shall exert no authority in the northern provinces, where Russia has predominant interests.

(5) As long as a telegraph line may exist at Newchwang and Port Arthur, the Newchwang and Peking line must be maintained, as the telegraph at Newchwang and Port Arthur and throughout Shing-King Province is under Russia's control, and its connection with her line on the Chinese telegraph poles at Newchwang, Port Arthur, and Peking is of the utmost importance.

(6) After the restoration of Newchwang to China, the Customs receipts shall, as at present, be deposited with the Russo-Chinese Bank.

(7) No rights which have been acquired in Manchuria by Russian subjects or foreign companies during the Russian occupation shall be affected by the evacuation. Quarantine to be established in Newchwang against the spread of epidemics to the northern provinces. Russians only eligible for Commissioner-ship of Customs at ports or the post of Customs Physician, under control of Inspector-General of Maritime Customs. Permanent Sanitary Board under presidency of Customs Tao-tai to be instituted.

All of these demands were not divulged at first, but what leaked out was bad enough, and diplomatic activity was stimulated to the highest pitch, though mainly by Britain, America, and Japan. China herself wished to reject the demands *in toto*, and at the same time solicited the support of these three Powers, which at once was promised. Russia, on the other hand, exerted all her craft and subtlety to gain her ends, but in vain. On the 29th of April the Chinese Government finally intimated its refusal to comply. M. Plançon, the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires*, continued to grumble, and insisted that his Government should be 'reassured' that (a) there was no intention of assimilating the administration of Mongolia to that of China proper; (b) that no cession of territory to a foreign Power in the Liao River region was in contemplation; and (c) that no foreign consuls were to be appointed in other places in Manchuria, even with China's consent. Prince Ching told M. Plançon point-blank that there had never been any intention of ceding territory—that no alteration of the administrative system of Mongolia was for the present under consideration, and that the extent to which trade might be developed would alone decide the question of the opening of treaty ports and the appointment of consuls. M. Plançon promised the Prince that this answer, which he insisted was to be given as a note, should be transmitted to the St. Petersburg Government, and he then volunteered to state, with much apparent candour, that the delays of the evacuation had been brought about by the military party in Russia, and that this reply by the Prince would go far to allay anxiety, so that, in his opinion, Newchwang would shortly be evacuated. As will presently be seen, this proceeding was simply a farce.

The report of a movement of Russian troops towards the Korean frontier was only too true. Some time previously a timber-cutting concession had been extracted by Russia from China, as regarded the right bank of the Yalu, and from Korea as to the left, nominally on behalf of some private individuals who transferred their rights to M. Besobrazoff. But, as the world came eventually to know, Admiral Alexeieff, certain Grand Dukes, and even the highest personages in the Muscovite Empire, were implicated in this transaction. Private and public concerns were thus intermingled, and the movement of Russian troops to the Yalu banks was undoubtedly connected therewith. And though Russia had for decades coveted the Korean peninsula, it was by this means that the affairs of Manchuria and Korea were

artfully blended, and the military forces were brought to bear to further the ends both of private avarice and the unscrupulous territorial aggrandisement of Russia.

As before shown, the time limit for the second stage of the evacuation of Manchuria was the 8th of April, 1903. At Mukden the Russian troops once made a feint of evacuation; they even actually did withdraw, in part, but the remainder simply marched to the railway station and marched back again to their old quarters, without entraining. At Newchwang too, they once appeared as though they were preparing for evacuation; but the aspect of affairs suddenly changed when the 8th of April arrived, and it was urged in excuse for the troops' retention that the Tao-tai was not present to have the place handed over to him. This was the crowning impudence, for the Russians themselves had the Tao-tai safely in their own hands at Mukden. Simultaneously, M. Plançon was trying hard at Peking to get his demands acceded to; true, he once told Prince Ching, on the 29th of April, that the evacuation would probably be proceeded with; but next day the cloven hoof peeped out, for in returning to the charge with his seven demands M. Plançon allowed himself to say that if they were not acceded to there would be no evacuation at all!

From that time Russia's military activity grew apace. At the Yalu the Chunchuses were enlisted by her ostensibly as 'forest police' for the timber-cutting district, and coals and munitions of war were brought to Yongampho, at the mouth of the river, in vessels specially chartered, be it observed, by the *Russian military authorities*. Here a settlement was quickly formed, to which was given the title of Port Nicholas, and this was used thenceforward in all official documents.

• Parenthetically it may be mentioned that, in accordance with Article 11 of the Peking Protocol, England negotiated with China and concluded a new Anglo-Chinese Commercial Treaty in September of the preceding year 1902. Then America, and some time afterwards Japan, were likewise in negotiation with China. As, however, the opening of Antung and Mukden was included in the project of the Chino-American Treaty, and of Ta-tung-Kau and Mukden in the Chino-Japanese Treaty, to which also a provision for the concession of a 'settlement' was attached, the Russian representative at Peking repeatedly opposed it, at times indirectly, and at others directly; and as the Chinese Government was anxious first of all to see Manchuria freed from Russian domination, the definite conclusion of the Treaties was put off for a time. While these tricks were being played by Russian agents in the East, at St. Petersburg the most plausible tales were being told as usual to the Powers' representatives. Count Lamsdorff declared solemnly that no demands were being made at Peking, and that China was simply endeavouring by her tortuous diplomacy to sow discord between the Powers. At another time it was that Russia merely sought to obtain guarantees, and that

there was no idea of excluding the consuls or obstructing foreign commerce.

But on the 19th of May, on the British *Chargé d'Affaires* paying a call at the Russian Legation in Peking, it being the Tsar's birthday, M. de Plançon at once 'took occasion to speak about the existing state of affairs at Newchwang. He represented that the port could not be held to be included in that part of Manchuria which should have been evacuated during the last month, since it more properly formed part of the section evacuated in October last, and was held by the Russians much as Tien-tsin was formerly held by the Powers.' Needless to say, M. de Plançon's visitor was astounded at this proposition. For it had been at Russia's own instance that Newchwang had been placed outside the sphere which formed the first part of the evacuation provided for in the Agreement. Perfidy could no farther go! M. Lessar returned to Peking, but there was no change of Russian diplomacy! And now Russia found it time to shift her ground once more, as the discrepancy between promises and actions had become too pronounced for even her lax notions of diplomatic morality. So Count Benckendorff called on the Marquis of Lansdowne in London and assured him that (a) whatever might be the outcome of the pending Russo-Chinese negotiations, Russia had no intention of opposing the *gradual* opening of some towns in Manchuria as commercial relations might develop, excluding, however, the right to establish 'settlements.' But (b) this declaration was not to apply to Harbin. That town, being within the limits of the concession for the 'Eastern Chinese Railway,' said he, was not unrestrictedly subject to China, and the establishment of foreign consuls there must depend on the consent of the Russian Government. Lord Lansdowne frankly told the Russian Ambassador that this was a qualification of Russia's previous assurances, and that the exclusion of Harbin was something quite new. Russia's representative begged that Britain would discourage Chinese opposition to Russia's demands; but Lord Lansdowne plainly said that England must first be fully informed of the nature of those demands. A few days later Count Lamsdorff, who had been informed of this answer, observed in conversation with the British *Chargé d'Affaires* that this desire for information was natural, but he could not supply it until General Kuropatkin's return from the East, whither he had been on a visit. General Kuropatkin did, in fact, at this time visit the East. He went to Japan by way of Manchuria, ostensibly on a pleasure trip only, but no doubt in reality to form his opinion of her naval and military strength and resources, and on his return westwards he called at Port Arthur, and held the now famous conference with Admiral Alexeieff and M. Besobrazoff.

On the 29th of July, 1903, the Russian Ambassador in London once more approached Lord Lansdowne with a view of coming to an understanding with Great Britain, saying that it might be arrived at

by Russia's not opposing England in the Yang-tse Valley. To this Lord Lansdowne peremptorily replied that the British difficulty with Russia lay more in the Manchurian question. As to the Yang-tse Valley, his impression was that by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1897 a partial understanding had already been arrived at, and that unless the British Government were more frankly made acquainted with the terms Russia was endeavouring to obtain from China no hope existed of coming to an understanding.

At this juncture her first approach to Russia, which led to the subsequent negotiations, was made by Japan—viz. on the 28th of July, 1903; but of this more anon.

The conference at Port Arthur had had no pacific tendency. On the contrary, whilst the Russian Ambassador was suggesting to Lord Lansdowne an utterly unacceptable *modus vivendi* on the one hand, and entering to all appearances willingly upon negotiations with Japan on the other, the Russian Government was planning the audacious *coup d'état* embodied in the Imperial ukase of the 12th of August (the 30th of July, O.S.), 1903, creating a Russian Vice-gerency out of the Amur and Kwan-Tung territories. By this the Tsar's representative was invested with full administrative control, the command of both military and naval forces, and supreme power for the maintenance of order and security in 'the zone of the Eastern Railway of China,' as well as with the duty of providing for the needs of the Russian populations in 'the frontier possessions beyond the Imperial Lieutenancy.' He was also given control of the diplomatic relations of these provinces with neighbouring States. By the same ukase a special committee under the presidency of the Emperor was appointed to control the Viceroy, thus making the office independent of any Ministry or Department, and Admiral Alexeieff was nominated Viceroy. This, of course, was Russia's defiant intimation to the world that she meant to hold Manchuria in perpetuity.

Early in the ensuing month of September 1903 the Russian Minister at Peking made five new demands as conditions of evacuation. Briefly these were that :

(1) Assurances should be given by China that the three provinces should never be ceded to any other Power, nor any scrap of land therein pledged, leased, or disposed of in any way whatever.

(2) Russia should construct wharves at several points along the Sungari, and should station troops for the protection of the telegraph lines along the river and of the vessels plying thereon. Russia should also establish stations at various points on the roads between Tsitsihar, Mergen, and Blagovestchenak.

(3) No specially heavy duty to be imposed on goods carried by railway, nor any heavier duties to be levied on goods conveyed into Manchuria by rail from one station to another than on those transported overland or by waterways.

(4) The branch offices of the Russo-Chinese Bank in various parts of Manchuria to be protected by the troops of the Tartar General of Mukden, the expense of lodging such troops to be defrayed by the Bank.

(5) Needful sanitary measures, similar to those in Shanghai and Tien-tain,

to be taken by the Chinese authorities in order to prevent the importation of plague through Newchwang; and within the territories appertaining to the Chinese Eastern Railway, Russia to adopt the necessary measures. Where the Taotai has charge of these measures a Russian physician to be appointed, so as to secure due accord between the steps to be taken by the Chinese and Russian authorities respectively.

The Russian Minister further demanded a prolongation of the period for evacuation, representing to Prince Ching that on these conditions Russia would withdraw her troops from Newchwang and other places within the province of Mukden on the 8th of October, 1903, from the province of Kirin within four months, and from that of Hei-Lung-Chiang within one year. The creation of foreign settlements was still, however, objected to, and there was, according to a report emanating from a source deserving of all confidence, another proposal, designed to overthrow the provisions contained in Article VIII., section 10, of the Mackey Treaty, by the establishment of a separate Inspectorate of Customs for Manchuria, to be presided over and manned exclusively by Russian officials.

The more one examines these proposals the more one realises the gravity of their purport. Had China accepted them, as Prince Ching observed to Sir Ernest Satow, and Russia had nominally withdrawn, the Russians would still have remained in actual possession, to all intents and purposes, of Manchuria. Prince Ching, however, animated by the assurances of America, Britain, and Japan, on the 25th of September finally refused the Russian demands, at the same time pointing out that by a solemn convention entered into by plenipotentiaries of both Powers, and ratified by their respective Sovereigns, Russia was bound to complete the second stage of the evacuation by the 8th of April, which in reality had already passed, and the third by the 8th of October, 1903. China was willing, he said, to discuss international matters needing settlement as soon as the evacuation had been completed in accord with that convention; and on the 6th of October the Chinese Government formally requested the Russian Minister to carry out the promised evacuation by the 8th, to which the answer given by him was that unless China accepted the Russian conditions the evacuation was not practicable.

The new Chino-American Treaty, and also the Chino-Japanese Treaty, were signed, despite Russian opposition, simultaneously with the expiration of the third term of the Manchurian evacuation, and, by virtue of these treaties, Antung, Tatungkau, and Mukden were opened to foreign commerce. China's original wish was to sign these treaties subsequently to the Russian evacuation, so as to give Russia no offence; but the Russian threat that, unless the new conditions she proposed were accepted, the evacuation would be impracticable, decided the Chinese statesmen to wait no longer.

The day that the Chino-American Treaty was signed the Russian



Minister actually wrote to Prince Ching upbraiding him, and threatening that unless he reconsidered his action Russia would herself carry out the projects contained in the five proposals, and from that day forth the military and naval activities of Russia, which had been for more than half a year before incessantly pursued, were redoubled in intensity. Forts were constructed, additional warships were sent out from Europe, more troops were moved to the Korean borders, and in one way and another the Manchurian and Korean affairs were inextricably blended, and everything assumed a most warlike and menacing aspect.

On the 28th of October Russian troops occupied the Chinese castle and palace of Mukden, possessed themselves of the public offices and archives, and next day imprisoned the Tartar General. The castle gates were guarded by Russians, the telegraphs seized. The pretext for all this was that a Chunchus bandit, one of those enlisted by Russia for service at the Yalu, had been condemned to death for an offence against Chinese law by the Tao-tai's chief aide-de-camp. The Russians demanded that the latter should himself be beheaded and the Tao-tai dismissed.

On the Korean side of the Yalu Russian aggression became particularly noticeable. The Government of Seoul was pressed to grant a lease of Yongampho similar to that extorted from China for Port Arthur. Telegraph lines were set up without consulting Korea at all, and, without waiting for an answer about Yongampho, forts were begun. (One of the first completed was reported at the beginning of October, by a military *attaché* sent from the Japanese Legation at Seoul to investigate matters, to be twenty metres in height, with three embrasures for guns.) Koreans having business connections with Japanese were arrested without cause, timber which the Japanese residents had found floating down the Yalu and had brought to bank for their own use was violently wrested from them on the plea that every fragment belonged of right to the Russian concessionnaires, and things had become so unbearable to the Japanese that they were preparing to quit when Mr. Hagiwara, Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Seoul, was despatched to investigate and report on the condition of affairs in general. The Russians refused to let him land at Yongampho from the steamer, and he was obliged to return with his mission unachieved, though later on the Russian Minister at Seoul acknowledged that his people had been indiscreet. All these high-handed proceedings could have no other object than that of securing the Russian position beforehand, in defiance of international obligations and solemn pledges, and with the express purpose of driving Japan to extremities. Both the United States and Japan had strongly advocated the opening of Yongampho to the trade of all nations. The opinion of the British representative at Seoul was similar; but this course was systematically and strenuously opposed by Russia.

We now come to the stage of the purely Russo-Japanese negotiations, but as my article is already of great length, and, moreover, as I have already given full details of this branch of the subject, I will simply give the substance thereof in brief.

Japan had always, from time immemorial, possessed large interests in Korea, and it was in the determination to uphold her rights there that she did not hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to the Chinese ten years ago, at a time when China's naval and military strength was considered by many to be far superior to that of Japan. She staked her existence on the result then, and she has done so now for much the same cause, with the additional reason that she has interests in Manchuria likewise which she cannot afford to sacrifice. More than all, the presence of any foreign Power in Manchuria tends to become a constant menace to Korea, and the territorial integrity of the peninsular kingdom is absolutely indispensable to Japan's safety. Russia's ambitions had for years run counter to this, and thus it was that in Japan there was perpetual anxiety and unrest. When matters in Manchuria and Korea began to assume the unmistakable character which has been described in the foregoing pages, and which was totally at variance with all the pledges Russia had given, not to Japan alone, but to the whole world, it was high time that Japan paid some attention to her own interests and allowed herself to be actuated by the instinct of self-preservation. She therefore addressed herself to Russia direct, in the early autumn of last year, and sought to open up negotiations with the aim of bringing about a more desirable condition of things both in Korea and Manchuria, in order that the advantages of a permanent peace might be secured for all.

Japan was willing from the first to recognise Russia's special interests in Manchuria in so far as they had been acquired by legitimate means, but she desired that Russia should keep her word by entering into an international compact with Japan to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China in respect of those provinces, as being vital to Japan's special position in Korea, and which, in its turn, was vital to the Japanese Empire's own existence.

Japan's demands were presented only when the most careful consideration had been given to every phase of the question, and after the interests of other Powers as well as her own had been taken into account. Russia had all along perfectly understood Japan's position, and there was absolutely nothing in the Japanese demands that was new or extravagant. In their extreme moderation they scarcely satisfied the aspirations of the nation, but it was the Government's aim to avoid any disturbance of the peace of the Far East. Russia had pledged herself, in her various communications at different times to the Powers, to accord practically everything that Japan asked for, but when it came to a request that the Russian avowals should be embodied in an international compact she practically ignored all.

After this barefaced avowal it was plain to Japan that Russia would have to be kept up to the mark if the promises that had been given so freely were not to become a dead letter.

The negotiations were by Russia made to drag on month by month, whilst she was unremitting in her efforts to strengthen her armaments in the Far East by land and sea, until Japan's patience was exhausted and an answer to her final inquiry was requested by a certain day, the only response being a further irritating postponement.

To conclude, I have, I hope, fairly set forth in this and my previous article all that is necessary to show how Russia brought on war. My aim has been to show how she was prolific in self-denying ordinances, but resolute in her practice of ignoring them as soon as they could be supposed to have served her turn. And from all that I have urged it will be plain that the present war in the Far East is not in reality a conflict which has arisen merely out of a dispute between the two combatants. It is rather to be ascribed to the general revolt of all the civilised peoples of the earth against the perfidy and insincerity of Russia, who for many years past has sought to outwit the other Powers. It was because Japan felt all along that her interests, more than those of any other country, were involved, and because China's helplessness to cope with her own calamity was out of the question, that Japan, little as she is, at last resolved that she would take up the cudgels, and was content to do battle with Russia single-handed, in advance of the other nations whose prospects were similarly jeopardised. It cannot be too often pointed out that in so doing Japan risked her very existence as a nation, and this is why we demand so boldly, as I am sure we are entitled to do, the common sympathy of the world at large in our huge undertaking, on which we embarked in the interests of justice and humanity. It is my proud privilege to perceive that, excepting in certain quarters, which have reasons of their own for the attitude they adopt, this sympathy has from the very beginning been cordially and universally extended to us.

SUYEMATSU.

## *ROME OR THE REFORMATION*

Is there an alternative? It is my belief that there is none, and that when the certainty of there being no alternative has been conclusively proved, many who have associated themselves with the Ritualistic movement will draw back and refuse to aid further in a campaign against the life and liberties of our Church. I believe that the success of the Ritualistic movement is very greatly due to the fact that large numbers of people imagine it to be possible to indulge in a modified Romanism without joining the Church of Rome, and in the following pages I would attempt to prove the impossibility of realising this ideal.

Two systems are striving for the mastery in the Church of England; one or the other must in the end prevail. The one, the party of the Reformation, claim possession of a title undisputed for over three hundred years; claim for the Reformed Church of England a lineal descent in unbroken line from the English Church of the earliest ages; claim the right of that Church, as a national Church, to have reformed itself and to have established its own government; claim that its doctrines are true to those Scriptures which it holds to be the final court of appeal; take their stand, in short, on the Reformation, and entirely repudiate the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome.

The other party, the advocates of the other system, maintain that the event called the Reformation, in so far as it is insisted and dwelt upon, constitutes a breach of the continuity of the Catholic Church, and they desire to restrict that event solely to a rejection of the supremacy of the Pope. They seek to prove that mediæval doctrines have a place in our Church, and that our Prayer-book allows of them, with a view of bringing about eventually some reunion with the Church of Rome on terms not yet defined. They are apparently not discouraged at the uncompromising attitude taken by the Church of Rome, which ought to leave them in no doubt as to the nature of these terms.

These two systems, however, if we come to look more closely into the matter, proceed from two fundamentally different and irreconcilable principles, one of which is bound to claim and obtain the

obedience of every thinking person: principles which, if worked out logically, will be found to enrol people in opposing camps. The question resolves itself into a question of authority.

There are but two sources of authority for men in matters of faith—namely, the Church and the Bible. The Church of Rome holds that the authority of the Church is superior to that of the Bible; she does not altogether abandon Scripture as the source of her faith, but she places it in an altogether subordinate position. It must be Scripture as expounded by the Church, no private interpretation of the Scripture being allowed. The free circulation of the Scriptures is looked upon as a danger, and the high-water mark of Roman Catholicism is the extent of the jealous guard placed on that book. The Roman Church holds that the Holy Spirit is with the Church, and continually inspires her as to what she should believe; and consequently the Church defines the Faith, and from time to time adds articles which must be accepted on peril of eternal damnation. We find this principle drives us to the doctrine, expounded by Newman, of development, so that the Church's faith to-day is not the faith of to-morrow, and the doctrines which are *de fide* to-day were not held by the Church of a former age. The Sinless Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, only recently discovered, but now obligatory on the faithful, and the Infallibility of the Pope, are doctrines which countless generations of Christians have lived and died without holding, and similarly all the characteristic doctrines of the Church of Rome, repudiated by us, were not held by that Church itself in earlier ages, but were merely adopted from time to time as exigency, or, as they would term it, as the Holy Ghost required. This principle, once admitted, places us under the authority of a Church in which there is no limit to the possible development of dogma, no doctrine the acceptance of which may not be required at the hands of its members, but a Church, at the same time, which sets an absolute barrier to all independent thought, which stifles inquiry and prohibits discussion. It is a logical position, if not a true one.

The other authority, and that to which we and other Reformed Churches appeal, is that of Scripture, absolute, alone and unfettered. The position is that which is asserted in our own Article, that nothing which cannot be proved from the Scripture is to be accepted as an article of faith. Acting on this principle, our Reformers, separated from the Church of Rome, deliberately expunged from our formularies every word that could in the remotest manner be supposed to infer a belief in the characteristic doctrines of that Church. The Reformation thus brought about was in no sense a breach with the Catholic Church; rather was it a return from mediævalism to those primitive ages when alone the Church could claim to be truly Catholic. The Roman Church has no claim to catholicity if we rightly interpret the word, for her doctrines have never been universally held. But

the Reformation, and the work of the Reformers, seems forgotten in England to-day. What do we know about it? For the most part, people's knowledge is vague, and mainly confined to the fact that men and women were burnt at the stake because they refused to believe certain doctrines which were held by the Church of Rome. Traditions of Bloody Mary, and the horrors of the Inquisition on the Continent, linger in people's minds, but they are apt to be ascribed to the temper of a barbarous and cruel age, and a repetition of such sanguinary and persecuting methods is held to be impossible in any country at the time of the world's history at which we have arrived.

As to our own Reformation, there are not wanting authorities who will assure us that the breach with Rome was mainly due to the desire of an autocratic sovereign to gratify his sensual inclinations, and that Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were influenced by political and not religious motives in the policy which they carried to a successful issue; whilst others would have us believe that the only object of the Reformation was to free England from the supremacy of the Pope, and that it in no sense aimed at altering the doctrines of our Church.

If the first allegation were true, and the Reformation was only due to the desire of Henry VIII. to get rid of one wife and marry another, then indeed it would be difficult to see why the martyrs should have died, or to explain the reason why liberty, prosperity, and expansion have marked the career of this country from the moment that the Reformation was an accomplished fact; whilst, if the Reformation was nothing but a rejection of the interference of the Pope in the affairs of our Church or country, it is not easy to account for the fact that our Prayer-book, which was compiled by these very martyrs, in the most explicit manner rejects those pre-Reformation doctrines and in our Articles stigmatises them as blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. The fact is that both these allegations are made by men who desire to upset the Reformation, and who are hard pressed to find any standing-ground on which to rest whilst they convert the country to their views, or any arguments to justify them in their unpatriotic and thankless task. It is difficult to know whether to marvel most at the fact that Englishmen should be found capable of discrediting the work of men, who, in the truest sense, may be described as the makers of England, men who loved not their lives unto the death, in their heroic efforts to free our country from the bonds of superstition and priestly tyranny, or at the credulity which is content without examination to accept of such shallow arguments to undo a work rightly described by one of our own bishops as the greatest event in the world's history since the time of the Apostles. The Reformation cannot be explained by any of these causes. It was entirely an appeal to Scripture as the source of authority. It was a denial that the Church, apart from Scripture, could claim the obedience of men.

Except on the principle of the supremacy of Scripture, of its being an authority superior to that of the Church, there was absolutely no justification for the line of action taken by our Reformers. The Church of England is either justified in her appeal to Scripture, or else she is, as has been well said, in a meaningless schism. The position, therefore, of our Reformed Church is a logical one, and, as we hold, a true one. But the two principles are opposed to each other. One of them must be supreme. It must be either the Church or the Bible which is the ultimate court of appeal. It is easy to see that these are principles which lead to roads that must diverge ever farther and farther, for they touch springs which reach down to the depths of human thought and action. The one is the principle of authority, and demands absolute and unreasoning submission of every faculty; the other gives play to all the God-given powers of the soul.

If we now apply these two principles to the matter in hand, what do we find? We find the Ritualist leaders engaged in the hopeless task of reconciling the irreconcilable. They are striving to develop in the Church of England, a Church which stands on the Scriptural principle, that creed and system which belong only to the Church of Rome. Rome, on the authority of the Church, has promulgated certain doctrines which we, on the authority of Scripture, reject. If Rome is right, and the authority of the Church is the one to which God would have us yield obedience, then those who accept this authority, and these doctrines on that authority, are sinning against their consciences and all light in not yielding obedience to her. It is only on the supposition that her claim to define doctrine is an unlawful one that we are justified in our independent position. These men, therefore, are not only illogical, but they are sinning perversely, and Rome has a perfect right to say that they are dissenters and schismatics, for they hold her doctrines, acknowledge her principle of Church authority, and yet do not submit to her control. And while they are dissenters as regards the Church of Rome, they are equally dissenters from our own Church, and worse, for while their sin against Rome is the sin of rebellion and schism, their sin against the Church in which they find themselves is the sin of disloyalty and deception. They cannot shut their eyes to the fact that our Church, taking Scripture as its authority, shuts the door, on almost every page of its Prayer-book, to the beliefs they hold and teach. They hold Masses for the dead, and we search in vain there for a prayer for the dead: they pray to the Virgin and Saints, and we find not one such prayer in that book. They teach the doctrine of the Mass, whilst using a Communion office drawn up by men who died at the stake to reject it and banish it for ever. To such plights are they reduced that the Roman Missal has to be surreptitiously dovetailed into the English Communion Service. So lost are they to all sense of the propriety of human conduct that they do not find it impossible to tell us that

they offer the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, whilst reading words from our Prayer-book which tell of the Saviour who came 'to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world'; nor to invite people, in the words of our Communion Service, to 'draw near and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort,' and, further on in the service, to thank God for 'that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries,' when the religious ceremony has been a Mass without communicants, and where there has been nothing but a wafer held up for the adoration of the people. It is utterly impossible that such a moral deception, which constitutes an outrage, not only on our sense of honour but on our intelligence, should continue long to disgrace our churches. If men want the Mass, let them have the courage to discard the English Prayer-book altogether, for it is an insult on the compilers of a book which is the glory of our Church to degrade it into a cloak for doctrines which it exists to condemn.

Logic, honesty, and common sense must ere long compel those who hold the creed of the Church of Rome to see that our English Prayer-book cannot satisfy them, and that it is the height of folly and disingenuousness to remain where they are, luring people on to a position from which there is but one possible exit, and that out of our Church into the Church of Rome.

We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that the leaders of this party have an object in view in their present line of action and in pursuing a course which to us seems so wanting in honesty. They can hardly themselves be under the delusion that Roman doctrines can be held apart from submission to the Roman Church. It would be almost as easy to prove that black is white, or that two and two make five, as to believe that the formularies of the English Church do not repudiate in the clearest manner the doctrines of the Church of Rome. But they have to persuade their followers that there is no impossibility in this position. Their task is a difficult one. They have to do with a large mass of uninformed opinion, a flock which must be gently led from one pasturage to another, until it can be herded in the fold of what they hold to be the true Church. For them, therefore, the fiction and phrase of Catholic doctrines and practices within the Church of their baptism has been invented and coined, and very large numbers of unthinking people imagine that this discovery of a Roman paradise in England is as real and tangible as was the discovery of the New World to the explorers of the Far West. But in this case a mirage is taking the place of a continent, and the poor travellers will find to their cost that they have forsaken the land of their birth to be cast as exiles on the inhospitable shores of a foreign people. But for the nonce they are swimming in smooth waters, fondly



believing under the tuition given them—a tuition which, we regret to say, is afforded unlimited scope and opportunity through the strange blindness of some in authority and the apathy of the general public—that the Reformation is but a bad dream, that their churches and services may take their colour from those in Roman lands, and that ere long they may communicate indifferently at friendly altars.

The unthinking public in England who are toying with Ritualism are altogether unaware of the edifice that they are unconsciously rearing, of the web they are weaving round themselves, of the fetters they are forging. They indulge in it because there is something so fascinating to some minds in ritual and ceremonial, something so pleasing in the care and concern which the priests evince over the affairs of people's souls; it is so pleasant to be under direction and guidance, to have the Church always busying itself about you, whether you are alive or dead. 'May we not,' say they, 'have just a little of the best part of Romanism, just the incense and candles and beautiful vestments, just a little of the confessional, just the prayers for the dead, and the reverence for the Blessed Virgin? The alternative is so unpleasing, so cold and unattractive; nothing to aid devotion, nothing to stimulate affection. We have no idea of going over to Rome, we love our Church too well; we only want to see her graced with all the ceremonial which a Puritanical generation deprived her of.'

People thus persuade themselves that they are culling the fair flowers of the Church of Rome without running the risk of any of the dangers which lurk around the system, those echoes of a far-off past when that Church was guilty of corruptions which even they can hardly condone. Even they cannot fail to see there is a difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant countries, that England is more blessed in many respects; and although they incline to attribute our better condition to our natural good qualities rather than to anything connected with our religion, yet they would for the most part rather not see the Church of Rome again established in England. For them, therefore, this Ritualist system is as balm to the soul. Little do these unconscious victims of the halfway-house system realise the nature of their temporary shelter, which has been erected for them by men who know well its frail and feeble structure, and only intend it to last until it is full enough to allow of its removal.

The mass of the Ritualist world is walking in a fool's paradise; they are like people who are lost in the mist on some mountain-side. It has descended all around them, shutting out of their horizon the goal towards which they are hastening. The road behind them is completely blotted out, the perspective is blurred and indistinct. All they can behold is the figure of the guide close at hand, on whom they blindly rely to conduct them to safety. It is well for such people if

the mist suddenly rises and shows them the precipice they are nearing. To dispel the mental fog in which so many are now wandering, a concrete issue, such as the title of this paper suggests, may not be without effect.

If proof were needed that modern Anglicanism is but the wicket-gate to Rome, it must surely be supplied by the history of those who, in recent years, have seceded from our Church and joined that other communion. In a book recently published, entitled *Roads to Rome*, we have the autobiographies of some sixty persons who have taken this step, and with almost wearisome monotony they tell us the mental process through which they passed, and how in that process they reached a point where no other course was open to them but to join the Church of Rome. Each writer enlarges upon the peace of mind then attained, and marvels that he or she could so long have hesitated on the brink; but the reason for this peace of mind is to be found rather in the mental surrender, in the cessation of conflict, and in the fact that their beliefs and environment were no longer contradictory, than in any virtue belonging to the faith itself. A far larger number would seek this haven of rest but for the attitude of their guides. The object of these men is not individual secessions, which hinder the general advance by creating alarm and checking the movement. Those who are bold enough to obey the dictates of conscience in this respect are treated with coldness, and held to have played the part of traitors. The entire party is gradually to be brought to a position where a crisis will accomplish the rest. Meanwhile, for the benefit of the general public, the Ritualist leaders and Rome play the part of lovers coquetting with each other. At times they vow that no power on earth could bring them together; that terms of unconditional surrender on the one hand, and feelings of national antipathy on the other, must for ever keep them apart; while secretly, in their heart of hearts, they long for a closer embrace, and, in spite of acts and words, know well that they are destined for each other. Each, with consummate skill, is playing into the hands of the other, while persuading the outside world that nothing is further from their intention than a union of forces.

Both are adopting the same methods, and those are the capture of the children. Rome is deliberately working for the conversion of England, and is planting her schools and seminaries all over the country. An enormous influx of monks and nuns from abroad is enabling her to put forth fresh efforts in this direction, and from all quarters of England and Wales come accounts of buildings and properties passing into the hands of the Roman Orders, who have but one object in view, and that is, through the education of the young, to bring back England to obedience to the Roman Church. The recent Education Act has conferred upon them immense facilities for this work, and they are well aware of it, and intend to avail them-

selves of them to the full. A correspondent in the *Tablet* of the 20th of August writes as follows :

All these advantages of the Act fade into insignificance beside the great apostolical opportunity the Act gives us, in that contact with the whole nation to which it introduces our educational system. For the first time we are in direct and immediate communication with every part of the country. We can no longer be ignored ; we touch the people everywhere, in the school and in the home ; officially and unofficially, the Catholic Church has entered into the life blood of England. The contact has been like to the meeting of fire and water. In many cases the splutter of indignation has raised a vast amount of heat and smoke, and it proves how completely and successfully the mass of the people have lived apart from us. Stolid Dissenters, dry Agnostics, to their surprise, have found themselves within the walls of a Catholic school, compelled to tolerate images, and to study Catholic feelings and modes of thought. It has been an upheaval in their lives. . . . Providence has opened a door for us ; let us not shut it. If we shut it we shall not have it opened again, at least in our generation, if at all. That the people are compelled to speak to us is our opportunity to speak to them. If they can enter our schools, our teachers and children can show them the beauty, the purity, the solidity of Catholic education.

In this manner is the Roman propaganda being carried on ; in this manner are we as a country helping it forward. In short, we are confronted with the extraordinary and almost incredible fact that whilst foreign countries are all, in a greater or less degree, revolting from the domination of the Roman Church, curbing its power, rejecting its faith, we with open arms are welcoming its emissaries and facilitating its work. An innate conviction of our absolute safety from any danger of a national return to Rome is to a great extent responsible for this attitude of mind on the part of the public ; but it is a dangerous experiment and one that is novel that we are trying, in allowing unlimited scope for the inculcation of the Romish faith in the children of the country.

This danger, which is not an imaginary one, is rendered ten times greater by the party in our own Church, which is heading for Rome. The leaders of this party, while persuading the adult world that Romanism without the Pope is the true interpretation of the position of the Church of England, are devoting their whole attention to the task of bringing up the young in such a manner that the transition to Rome will present no difficulties whatever in the course of another few years. The catechisms and manuals which they publish would form a small library, and they teach, for the most part, all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome, or such an amount of them as must place the learner in harmony with that Church. \*

In a little book entitled *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*,<sup>1</sup> which has reached the fifth edition, we have the Litany to the Blessed Virgin in Latin, with the doctrine of the Immaculate

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.

Conception taught, the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, with the five Joyful and Sorrowful Mysteries, such services as the Adoration of the Reserved Sacrament, the Devotions of the Sacred Heart, the Devotions to the Precious Blood, the *Bona Mors*, the Litany for the Faithful Departed. But, superstitious and false as we hold all this teaching to be, it fades into insignificance before that given on the subject of the Holy Communion, which is equivalent to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that root and foundation of Romanism. Lord Halifax, in his recent speech at the annual meeting of the E.C.U., after enumerating various items of the creed of the Ritualist school, used these words: 'It is the Mass that matters.' And he is perfectly right, for the battle of the Reformation was fought on the doctrine of the Mass. The Reformation changed the Mass into the Communion, and Rome and the Reformation are distinguished one from the other by these two words. The Mass is the sacrifice offered by the priest of Christ Himself, into Whose Body and Blood, by the uttering of certain words, he has changed the bread and wine; the Communion is the reception, by means of the sacred elements, of the Body and Blood of Christ through faith, in remembrance of that sacrifice. There is the whole difference between the mediæval and primitive Church in the two ideas; the whole difference between priestcraft and sacerdotalism and spiritual freedom and liberty. The object, then, of this party being to re-establish the Mass in England, the method which they are adopting is gradually to wean people from our Morning Prayer, by substituting for it a constant repetition of the service of the Holy Communion. All their ritual and ceremonial will be found to centre round this service, which they are daily more and more approximating to the Roman Mass. Hampered as yet by the repugnance of the English people to the Mass, by their deep attachment to our Morning Prayer, to which for generations they have been accustomed, and, above all, by our English Prayer-book, which so plainly provides for its due observance and so clearly repudiates the Roman rite, they are nevertheless gradually and surely bringing about the change by means of familiarising the children with this service. It is becoming an established practice in parishes under Ritualistic clergy to take the Sunday-school children *en masse* to the Holy Communion, and frequently to this alone. Instead of the custom, which up till recent years was universal, of bringing the children to Morning Prayer and dismissing them after the sermon along with such members of the congregation as did not wish to partake of the Holy Communion, they are now brought in to what is made an entirely separate service, commencing with the Commandments and going on without interruption to the celebration of Holy Communion. This service is termed variously the Holy Communion, Choral Eucharist, sung Mass, or Holy Sacrifice, according to the level of Ritualistic practices to which that particular parish has attained; but by whatever name it

is called, it bears no similarity to our Communion service, and in many churches could hardly be identified with it. The children are supplied by their teachers with manuals, the Prayer-book apparently not being considered sufficient to emphasise the doctrine it is desired to impart to them, and these manuals teach the children, in language suited to their understanding, the doctrine of the change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ.

In a little manual entitled *Altar-book for Children*,<sup>2</sup> the child is told :

Jesus is coming, the church will soon be filled with angels, He will see me, I must try to be very quiet, I must ask Him as well as I can for . . .

Again, after the prayer of consecration :

This is the most solemn part of the service, try and be very still ; Jesus is now coming, the angels are round the Altar. . . . Hail, ever Blessed Body of Jesus ! . . . Remember you are now in the presence of Jesus, keep very still, and say this—O Lord Jesu, I adore Thee, I worship Thee, Jesus, on Thy Altar. I worship Thy Body and Thy Blood.

In another manual, entitled *Book for the Children of God*,<sup>3</sup> we read the following words :

When the Priest begins the Prayer, that which is on the Altar is Bread and Wine ; when the Priest ends the Prayer, that which is on the Altar is Christ's Body and Blood ; it is Jesus ; it is God. Who does this ? The Priest acting for Jesus in the power of the Holy Ghost. How does he do it ? I cannot tell you ; he does not know himself how he does it ; but it is done. It is a work of God, and no one knows how God works. If you were to ask the great St. Michael, he could not tell you. If you were to ask the Blessed Mary, she could not tell you. . . . We go to the Altar and kneel down, and the Priest comes to us with the Blessed Sacrament. We receive That which looks like bread, and tastes like bread ; we receive That which looks like wine, and which tastes like wine ; but That which we receive is the Body and Blood of Christ, it is Jesus Himself, it is Almighty God.

In another, entitled *Catholic Devotions for Young People*,<sup>4</sup> we find, with regard to the Holy Communion, the same doctrine taught :

After the words of Consecration, the bread and wine are really *changed* into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, though they still look, and taste, and feel the same. Jesus Himself is hidden there under the outward forms of Bread and Wine. Some people refuse to believe this, just as they refuse to believe our Lord is *God* as well as *Man*, but the teaching of the Church is the only true teaching, and all false doctrine comes from the devil, who is the father of lies.

<sup>2</sup> *Altar-book for Children*. Mowbray & Co., 64 Farringdon Street, E.C.

<sup>3</sup> *A Book for the Children of God*. 2nd Edition. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.

<sup>4</sup> *Catholic Devotions for Young People*. Church Review Co., Ltd., 11 Burleigh Street, Strand, W.C.

Again, in a manual entitled *Hosanna : A Mass-book for Children*,<sup>5</sup> we read :

O Blessed Lord Jesus, Thou art coming from Heaven to be with us in this church. The priest is going to make this bread to be Thy Body, and this wine to be Thy Blood. Very soon Thou wilt be here. . . . Hail ! true Body of Jesus, offered for me upon the Cross, Thou art here, and I adore Thee. Hail ! true Blood of Jesus, shed for me upon the Cross, Thou art here, and I adore Thee.

And in *The Praises of Jesus : A Hymn-book for Children*,<sup>6</sup> among other hymns to the Blessed Sacrament, we find one containing this verse :

O see, within a creature's hand  
The vast Creator deigns to be,  
Reposing, infant-like, as though  
On Joseph's arm, or Mary's knee.

For all practical purposes this is equivalent to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. However much the leaders of the Ritualist party may try to persuade the adult world that they teach only what they call the 'Real Presence,' and insist on the vast difference between that and Transubstantiation, the children are taught to believe in a localised Christ present on the altar, obedient to the word of the priest.

While, then, this doctrine of Transubstantiation is being gradually implanted in the minds of the children, that other great engine of the Church of Rome, the practice of confession, is being sedulously taught. In a book entitled *The First Communion*, we read the following words :

And now a few words of warning, and of encouragement. Be honest in your confession. Keep nothing back that you feel you ought to confess. Don't hurry over the worst things, in hopes that the priest won't hear or won't notice them. If anything is very hard to own, take particular pains to be most clear in owning it. Unless you mean to make a perfectly true confession of all the sins you remember, you had better far get up and go out of church, and not make your confession and communion at all ; better that you should die without ever making your communion, than mock God by wilfully making a bad confession. A communion made after a bad confession deserves hell. And now for a little encouragement. There is nothing really dreadful in confession. The devil tries to make you afraid of it, but there is no need. God knows all your sins, and He is full of mercy, and the priest who hears you is the minister of Jesus, and the grace of Jesus makes him kind. You need not think that he will scold you or be angry with you. He cannot do so, for he is acting on behalf of God, Who is always gentle with us when we are sorry for our sins. If there is something that you ought to confess, but you don't know how to say it, stop when you come to that part of confession, and say, 'Father, there is something that I don't know how to confess.' Then the priest will give you the help you need.

<sup>5</sup> *Hosanna : A Mass-book for Children*. Preface by the Rev. R. A. J. Suckling, 2nd Edition. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn.

<sup>6</sup> *The Praises of Jesus : A Hymn-book for Children*. Church Printing Co.

Also, in a book entitled *Confession*,<sup>7</sup> by a committee of clergy, we find :

You must tell the priest all the sins that you remember to have committed ; God absolutely requires this. If through pride or shame you were so unhappy as to hide a sin on purpose, you would commit a very grave fault, you would make a very bad confession ; not only your sins would not be forgiven you, but you would be far more guilty than before. You had better not confess at all than make such a bad and sacrilegious confession. There have been persons who have wilfully concealed their sins in confession for years. They were very unhappy, were tormented with remorse, and if they had died in that state their souls would certainly have been in the greatest danger of everlasting death.

Again, in *A Little Catechism for Little Catholics*,<sup>8</sup> these words occur :

What does 'to repent' mean ?

To repent means we must (1) be very sorry for our sins, (2) tell our sins to God before His priest, (3) do all we can to make amends.

How does the priest forgive sins ?

The priest forgives sins by the power of God when he says, 'I absolve thee from all thy sins in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

This is the spade work which is being carried on amongst the children, which is ensuring a harvest for the Church of Rome, but which is being done so quietly that no one troubles about it. Occupied with business or pleasure, the world gives but slight heed to a work which, if allowed a few more years of uninterrupted, will have created a condition of things beyond remedy. It is occasionally aroused to take a languid interest in the account of some service more outrageously Roman in character than usual, but for the most part it is tired of the controversy, willing that religious work should be done by any agency, rather than not at all, and thinks that it has done all that can be expected of it in the matter of religious education when it enunciates the plausible theory that children should be brought up in their parents' faith, and passes a conscience clause protecting any child from compulsion in the matter of religious teaching. No greater fallacy ever was propounded than that of the parents' right. Amongst the poor, we must say it regretfully, not one in a hundred troubles what the children are taught. Occupied with the struggle for existence, the man goes to his work without a thought as to the religious teaching of the child ; the wife, only too glad to rid the cottage of the presence of the small band of children, sends them off to the nearest school, and the parson occupying the position of vantage, and being able to render material aid to the poor in the matter of treats, relief, and assistance of all kinds, secures the flock without question. Once he has the children, he has gained all he wants. There is no saying more profoundly true than that ascribed to Cardinal Manning, 'Give me a child till he is six, and you may do what you

<sup>7</sup> *Confession*. By a Committee of Clergy. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn.

<sup>8</sup> *A Little Catechism for Little Catholics*. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn.

like with him after.' What is learnt as a child is never forgotten, and in some curious incomprehensible manner, no matter how the tedium of these Masses may pall on the children, nor how incredible the doctrines may appear when, later on, the child comes in contact with other views, the teaching will stick to him, or else be discarded in favour of some pronounced form of unbelief. This is the invariable result in all Roman Catholic countries, and one can see no reason why England's fate should be different.

While all this is apparent to those who are engaged in defending the cause of the Reformation, there is one difficulty under which they labour, and that is that, while doctrine is the real danger, the only vulnerable point of attack which the Ritualists present to them is to be found in the apparently unimportant field of ritual. The intimate connection between ritual and doctrine is not apparent to many minds. It is through ritual that the whole ground has been gained by this party, but, in being driven to select this field of battle, the Protestant leaders have been placed at a great disadvantage. What harm, says the world, can there be in an ornate ritual, in incense, in vestments, let alone such trivialities as eastward position, mixed chalice, and lights, especially when they are indulged in by men whose lives bear witness to sanctity, devotion, and energy? So wise and broad-minded a statesman and Churchman as the late Lord Selborne, the last man in the world to have any sympathy with Romanism, could yet be found to express his view on the unimportance of ritual, in writing to Sir Arthur Gordon,<sup>9</sup> in the following words :

For my own part I am entirely of one mind with you in thinking that, under present circumstances, it is much better to submit to and acquiesce in deviations (even if they seem ever so wrongheaded) from the Act of Uniformity, as interpreted by the authorised Courts, on matters of dress, posture, and forms of ritual, than either to break up the Church, or to drive out of it Bishops, clergymen, or laymen, who are otherwise good men, good Christians, and doing good work. . . . Perhaps it may also be true that, independently even of our present circumstances, the Act of Uniformity is more rigid about these formal matters than it ought to have been; they are all, in comparison with spiritual and organic unity (at least in my judgment) inexpressibly trivial and unimportant, and it might be well if some distinction had been drawn by the law between great things and small, and if dispensing power had been lodged somewhere.

And yet it is through these same 'inexpressibly trivial and unimportant' details that we have been brought to the present state of things, to see in English churches all over the land services which are indistinguishable from those in Roman churches, services in which Romanists themselves can detect no difference between them and their own, whilst an angered and embittered laity is watching, with melancholy gaze, the threatened downfall of the Church at the hands of the Nonconformists and Secularists. .

<sup>9</sup> *Memorials, Personal and Political: Earl of Selborne.* Vol. i. p. 401.



If we, then, the party of the Reformation, are justified in our contention that there is no *via media* between fidelity to the Scriptural position of the Church of England and complete surrender to Rome—in short, that Ritualism is but the jumping-board for Rome; if we can point to the alarming manner in which the extreme party in our Church and the Church of Rome herself are, through the education of the young, bringing near a surrender to the Church of Rome, may we not plead for two practical considerations with regard to the Reformation movement—namely, what it did for the country and what it did for the Church? Well may we ask, why does England to-day occupy the foremost position amongst the nations of the world? Why is it that the English people possess a genius for governing inferior races to such a degree that to be under British rule is synonymous with good government, even justice, and righteous laws? Why is England the cradle of philanthropy, the heart of missionary effort, the very home of individual freedom and liberty? Why have we been free from the cataclysms and revolutions that have submerged foreign nations, the frantic efforts of people striving to be free, which have let loose forces destructive of the very elements of social order and religious truth? Why has religion been a power in this country which has moulded the character of the people, and made truthfulness, honour, and industry the foundations of national life? If cause and effect are indissolubly bound together, there can be but one answer to these questions. It is to the Reformation and to the men of that time that England owes all it possesses to-day, blessings denied to the countries untouched by that event, and blessings which only a fidelity to that event can retain.

But what is the secret in the Reformation of its mighty power to regenerate, to set free, to provide that impetus to national effort which has not ceased to operate from that time till now? What is the key to the whole movement? Whence came that inspiration which enabled men to die, content if by their death they might contribute to the demolition of falsehood and add one stone to the edifice of truth? It was not primarily Papal supremacy, priestly tyranny, national or individual bondage, it was not ritual and ceremonial, which were the objects of attack; all these were the resultants, not the first causes, of the system which the Reformation doomed to extinction; but as these things were the inevitable consequences, so were they the necessary adjuncts of a faith which owed both its existence and its maintenance to the suppression of all individual thought and opinion.

The secret was the Word long buried but at last regained, that Bible which gave utterance to the Divine Voice, calling men from formalism and ceremonialism, from superstition and from darkness, from priests, Virgin, and Saints, to the faith of children at liberty in their Father's house, needing no go-between, no middleman between them and the Father, no Intercessor but the Saviour who had called

them brethren and who had completed the work of salvation. The work of the sacrificing and confessing priests was gone, the people were free ; in this world they could approach the Throne without them, in the next they could attain heavenly bliss without their prayers. No wonder the priesthood struggled hard ; they would not surrender without an effort the illimitable power which their system had conferred upon them. Not only power but wealth was gone. The money of the people had been poured without stint into the coffers of the Church. The entrance into Heaven was in the hands of the Church, it was not to be unlocked without money. The richer you were the sooner the door would be opened, but the poorest must contribute in order to enter. Money, from the time the Romish system was first imposed on human credulity up to the present hour, is the key to the Kingdom of Heaven for a benighted people, and to affluence for the Church and its dignitaries. But those who had been touched with that Divine inspiration were able to defy the threats and fulminations and persecutions of an expiring tyranny. Henceforth England was free. No priest could control the home by bringing its womenfolk into the confessional, or dominate the State by his claim to vast and supernatural powers. England was free, and in that newborn freedom her naval heroes went forth, with their Bible in one pocket and their military text-book in the other, to inaugurate that era of conquest which, beginning with the destruction of Philip of Spain, with the discovery and absorption of a new hemisphere, has continued with uninterrupted progress down to the present day, when it is not too much to say our country is in many respects the envy and admiration of the world.

And if we ask why the Reformation has procured for us a position of such undeniable pre-eminence, it seems clear that it is due to the effect of the Reformed Faith on the character of men. With the disappearance of the priest as a necessary factor in salvation came a deeper sense of personal responsibility to God. The false excuses of the Confessional, by which priests could be hoodwinked and men's consciences deceived, were of no avail in the eyes of an all-seeing God, and consequently that groundwork of all national progress, absolute truthfulness and honesty of purpose, became an essential and marked characteristic of the English people. And as with truthfulness, so with self-reliance and courage. Men found that they must lean on God, and trust to their own right arm and their own resources, and in that personal communion with Him they formed that character of grit and endurance which has enabled Englishmen to accomplish the deeds by which the Empire was won.

And if the Reformation did so much for the nation, what did it do for the Church ? It made the Church the exponent of the nation's highest life and thought. It was the Church itself that gave expression to the pent-up feelings of two hundred years that were welling up in the nation, ideas of freedom and expansion and purity of faith. It

was the Church itself that threw off the fetters that were holding the country down, cramping its powers and arresting its development. There was no attempt on the part of the Church to curb and check the new forces that were coming into operation, or to restrict education in some narrow channel. The Church led the way in the path of liberty, and consequently became interwoven with the life and history of the country. We have but to look to Roman Catholic countries to see the opposite of this picture, to see national development only effected in the teeth of the opposition of the Church, to see the Church looked upon as the greatest foe to progress, to education, and to all that conduces to national greatness, and consequently to witness all the irrepressible aspirations of a country forced into antagonism to the power upon which depends the religious life of the people.

It will be a sad day for England if our Church ceases to express the religious convictions of the country. When that day arrives the Church is doomed. There is no fear for the Protestantism of England; the day is past and gone when priestcraft can govern in the land. The fear is that the Church of England, or that any large portion of it, should be so altered in its character as to be utterly out of harmony with England herself, should fall from its high estate as the Church of the people and become the Church of a small and insignificant minority, whose latter days will be spent in an ignominious surrender to the Church of Rome. The moment for decision, then, has come. It must be either Rome or the Reformation. There is no other alternative. Either we must be true to the Reformers, protesting for the supremacy of Scripture, rejecting all doctrines which cannot be proved from that Book, or we must submit to the authority of the Church of Rome, and blindly place ourselves in the hands of a power which, however much it may protest to the contrary, must for ever, as the very essence of its faith, as the very condition of its existence, as the very object of its aspirations, set itself against all freedom of thought, all intellectual advance, and, as a consequence, against all progress and development of national life, all spiritual power in the hearts of men. The choice must be made. We are now in a condition of religious thought which cannot long continue. However much statesmen and lawyers may argue on the legal aspects of ritual, on their relation to Acts of Uniformity, or on the importance of an Ornaments Rubric, the question will in the end be decided by none of these things. The question which men must answer is, Are we going to take the authority of the Church or that of the Bible? And on the answer which Church people make to this question will depend, not perhaps the Protestantism of England, but certainly the question as to whether this Church of ours is to remain a power for God, not only in this country, but in those vast dominions beyond the seas over which, in the Providence of God, we are called upon to rule.

CORNELIA WIMBORNE.

## *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS*

THE International Socialist Congress of 1904 will be remembered as that at which a new phase of Socialist activity was definitely entered upon. The one question which was discussed with any degree of fulness was the tactics to be pursued by Socialist politicians, the controversy mainly raging round the point at which the Revolutionist should abdicate in favour of the Statesman. Revolution has always been maintained as an essential part of Socialist propaganda, although of late there has been a tendency to give the term an esoteric or philosophic rather than a popular meaning, or at least to qualify it with a 'mental reservation,' as Scotch Presbyterian ministers do when swearing allegiance to the Westminster Confession of Faith. Revolution is no longer meant to connote the barricade-and-bullet method of propagating Socialism, but simply the change in the social order which the introduction of Socialism implies. In its political sense Revolution is meant to express the view that, since Socialist propaganda is based upon an irreconcilable and ever-increasing antagonism of interests between the property-less and the propertied classes, the conflict being waged is really in the nature of warfare, and admits of no participation by the representatives of labour in any system of government which does not aim at the overthrow of the existing order of society and methods of wealth production and distribution. It was the tactics based on this theory which was assailed at Amsterdam. Revolution by force having dropped out of sight, the further stage has now been reached of considering whether the political method is to remain revolutionary in spirit and action or become frankly evolutionary. The marvellous growth of the movement in recent years and its success at the polls has forced the question into the arena for discussion, and the result is already a foregone conclusion. Socialist human nature is, after all, but a slice from the common stock, and is not cast in any ultra-heroic mould.

The *personnel* of the Congress was, as usual, full of interest. Amnestied French Communards from New Caledonia, escaped Russian Nihilists from Siberia, tortured and pardoned Spanish Anarchists from the dark dungeons of Montjuich, Saxon and Dane, the inflammable

Latin, and the stolid Teuton : for scores of these men and women life is one continuous conflict with despotic authority. All, however, were intent on planning that new order of society in which class rule shall have ended and Altruism reign supreme. Theirs is a great faith, a noble enthusiasm. To many of them—political exiles, the overflow of the seething caldron of Continental revolutionism, victims of Governmental despotism who see no way of escape save that which the rifle can open out—the discussion on what degree of latitude is permissible in co-operating with Bourgeois Governments must have seemed weirdly unreal. Nowhere in all that vast assembly was there, however, any trace left of the old Utopianism of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, or Robert Owen. Despite divergence of opinion as to methods, Revolutionist and Evolutionist were at one in their agreement that Socialism cannot be developed as an isolated phenomenon by means of colonies or phalansteries. Whatever their favourite method of hastening its coming, they one and all see in Socialism but the next stage in the progressive evolution of a more ordered state of society in which all will be free and equal.

The personality which attracted most attention was the quiet, grey, slightly limping form of Vera Zassulitch. It seems hard to believe that this is the intrepid Nihilist who, in 1878 and in broad daylight, killed the head of the Russian police and successfully pleaded justification for the deed. Her shot rang right across the Continent, and was the signal for the beginning of that reign of terror and propaganda by deed which men still think of with a shudder. What perhaps lends special interest to her presence at the Congress is the fact that it was her brother, General Zassulitch, whose death at the front was such a blow to Russian hopes in the early stages of the war with Japan.

August Bebel, who since the death of Liebknecht is the recognised leader of the Socialist party in Germany, was there, but only intervened in debate when questions deeply concerning the movement were being discussed. M. Jaurès, the brilliant French lawyer and parliamentarian, was the opponent whom Bebel laid himself out to match. So far as applause indicates anything, Bebel was the undeniable favourite. He belongs to the old guard, and has endured much. Emile Vandervelde, Enrico Ferri, and Dr. Adler represented Belgium, Italy, and Austria respectively, and are all men of note. It is a notable fact that the largest delegation at the Congress was the British. The Independent Labour party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society were there as a matter of course, being Socialist organisations ; but, in addition, there were the representatives of the Labour Representation Committee, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Metalworkers. Though they took little part in the proceedings, it was recognised their influence was a force which would require to be reckoned with in future Congresses.

To understand the situation as it presented itself to the Amsterdam Congress it is necessary to trace its development. In 1874 the International Working Men's Association went to pieces, rent and torn by internecine strife between the Anarchists under Bakounine, a Russian aristocrat of great force of character and a born Revolutionist, and the State Socialists under Karl Marx. Following its dissolution there was a lull for a time in the International movement. Organised Socialism was at that time non-existent in Great Britain, and on the Continent outside of Germany the revolutionary Anarchist element had the upper hand. Of a real democratic movement there was none. Revolution has the rule of the strong inherent in itself; it cannot exist otherwise, and a democratic movement which has to burrow underground is doomed. The conflict between Marx and Bakounine and other opponents was the strife of intellectual giants waged in Titanic fashion, and the outcome of their conflict was the shattering of the organisation which each sought to control. Both were autocrats, although Marx was the more shrewd and also the saner spirit of the two.

In 1847 Karl Marx, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, had drawn up a manifesto as an expression of the principles of the Communists' League, and this became the recognised basis and groundwork of Socialistic propaganda. This document, strangely enough, was as acceptable to the Anarchists as it was to the Communists. True each placed their own interpretation upon it, and gave a different meaning to the practical application of their common creed. Marx declared the State under democratic control to be necessary for the preservation of the liberty of the subject under Socialism; whereas Bakounine saw in the State only an engine of oppression which would render Socialism of non-effect. Further, both parties were, when occasion served, frankly revolutionary. Marx wanted a revolution for the overthrow of the Bourgeois and the establishment of a Social Democratic State; Bakounine for the overthrow of the State altogether. For a moment it is important to remember that the Communist manifesto of 1847 was drafted by Revolutionaries to meet a state of affairs in which revolution was the only method by which the voteless proletariat could enforce their demands. It was, in fact, as Engels frankly stated many years after, intended as a counterblast and an antidote to the Utopian schemes of those who thought that Socialism could be ushered in by such peaceful methods as the forming of colonies or the setting-up of national workshops. It was an exposition of scientific as opposed to Utopian Socialism. Strange enough, the phrases and methods set forth in the manifesto still form the basis of Socialist tactics in most countries, and the proceedings at Amsterdam were also dominated by the spirit of that interesting historical document. This being so, it will assist the reader to a better understanding of what follows if I give here the summary of it as given

by Engels himself in his preface to the English edition. The summary states

That in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeois—without at the same time and once and for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction, and class struggles.

On this frankly materialistic conception of history and evolution the Socialist movement of the world has been, in theory at least, founded, and arising out of it has grown the dogma that under no circumstances should Socialists countenance any form of Bourgeois Government, since to do so would be to lend support to the existing order of society and retard the coming of Socialism. Further, it is assumed that the lot of the worker under capitalism must be one of increasing misery, and the more he is oppressed and downtrodden, the more anxious will he be to throw off the system that oppresses him, and that therefore any palliatives put forward by Bourgeois Governments can only be intended to relieve the pressure somewhat, and make the proletarian contented with his lot, and blind him to his true position; and these also, therefore, must be classified in the category of hindrances to Socialism. It was to a great cataclysmal upheaval in society that the men who penned the manifesto looked for the bringing-in of Socialism, and that idea still perpetuates itself, in the minds of those who, in practice, have long since overthrown its method. For, as I shall show presently, even the most rigid adherents of the Marxian theory are among its greatest offenders when acting as politicians.

The resuscitation of the Congress, after the fall of the Red International, was due to German initiative, and, as was inevitable, the movement for a time bore the impress of Teutonic bureaucracy. At each succeeding Congress after 1887, the Anarchist element declined in numbers and influence until, at the London meeting in 1896, a resolution was carried which excluded them altogether, and Socialism was definitely committed to parliamentary and constitutional methods. But the seeming harmony thus attained was only on the surface, and at Paris in 1900 a fresh element of discord was discovered which marked a further stage in the evolution towards a progressive interpretation. The new cause of alarm came from France, where M. Millerand, a Socialist Deputy, had, in consequence of the Dreyfus affair and with the concurrence of a majority of his colleagues, accepted

a portfolio in the Ministry of M. Waldeck-Rousseau. Socialist opinion in France was divided on the wisdom of this step, and at the International gathering of 1900 it was the subject of a long and animated debate. In the end, a resolution, moved by Herr Kautsky on behalf of the German delegation, was carried, reaffirming the class war and declaring that no Socialist could enter a Bourgeois Ministry save as the delegate of his party, and only for a definite and particular object, and that he should withdraw so soon as the object in view had been attained. On the face of it, this was a lowering of the flag and a temporising with principle, and a departure from the strict interpretation of the class-war theory. It was, in fact, an admission that there were occasions when it might be incumbent on a Socialist party to assist in saving Bourgeois society as the lesser of two evils. After this admission, as the wiser heads foresaw, it only became a question of where the line should be drawn, and it was a certainty that the mark would tend to recede as the Socialist movement neared the goal of its operations. Meanwhile, the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry was shooting down striking workmen, and receiving the Czar of Russia as if he were a Heaven-sent saviour of society, and M. Millerand could not escape the odium which attached itself to these acts. Feeling kept steadily rising against him, despite his efforts in the cause of labour reform, and finally a resolution of no confidence was carried, and he resigned his portfolio, but not his seat in the Chamber of Deputies. The trouble did not end there; during the four years which have elapsed since 1900, the malady of which M. Millerand's portfolio was but a symptom has become widespread and assumed many varied forms.

The growth of political Socialism during the past ten years has been phenomenal, not only in Germany, but in Italy, France, Belgium, and to a lesser degree other countries where the Socialists have grown from an insignificant faction into a powerful and well-ordered force, with a controlling influence in the Parliaments. The functions and responsibilities of a regular opposition have to be met by them, and this is bringing with it a changing outlook. They are no longer in the mere propagandist stage, where a destructive criticism of the existing order of society serves as material enough for speeches. If they are to continue to grow, constructive statesmanship must supplement criticism. A mere negative will no longer serve. The break-up of old political parties and combinations is revolutionising the political situation, and with the passing of the old-time theory of a cataclysmal introduction of the Socialist *régime* there has come also a widening of the political outlook and a freer interpretation of Socialist dogma. Not only is the irreconcilable intransigent being driven to the rear, but the philosophic interpretation of the basis of the Socialist creed is expressed in different terms. It is no longer universally held that the growing poverty of the masses is the best assurance for the speedy



realisation of Socialism, or that reforms are, even if a Bourgeois class meant them to be so, hindrances to the spread of the movement. When Socialism comes, say the new men, it will be as the result of the growing intelligence and comfort of the masses, and not their growing poverty and despair. The theory of the 'increasing misery' of the working class, long one of the bulwarks of Socialism, is no longer tenable, and has given way to the commonplace that 'the gap between the working class and the rich class to-day is greater than ever before.' The value of human thought as a solvent of class prejudices, and even of interests, may also be considered a new factor in the situation. In a word, the Hegelian interpretation of history, on which Marx founded his theory of Socialist evolution, is now either discredited or at least disregarded. As a natural corollary to this new outlook, there has grown up a feeling that the Socialist parties should, whilst rigidly adhering to their ideal and independence, be prepared to co-operate with other parties for certain well-defined and specific purposes, or when by so doing they can save the country from reaction. It has not generally, at least, been conceded that Socialists should take office in coalition Governments, although it is evident that this is a logical sequence which is bound to follow joint action on the floor of the Chamber. To neither of these tendencies will the leaders of the old German guard lend the slightest countenance. They will tolerate no revision or even reconsideration of the tactics adopted to meet the situation as it existed half a century ago. Intransigent revolutionists they have always been, and so, they assert, they will always remain, and until recently they would have been supported by the practically unanimous voice and vote of the Congress in this resolve; but at Amsterdam they found themselves almost alone among European nations with parliamentary institutions. The times and the situation have moved, German thought has stood still.

But even in Germany the new leaven is at work. . The Revisionists, as the new school of thought has been named, have been making their influence felt of late, and although the party conference can always be relied upon to carry any resolution on policy which has the support of Herr Bebel, still in action the party keeps moving further away from the old Revolutionary standard. The election address, for example, on which the German party won its magnificent success eighteen months ago might, with the deleting only of some thirty-five words towards the end, quite well form a model for Liberal candidates in Great Britain at next election. Army expenditure, protection, expenditure on the Colonies, taxes on beer and tobacco, the fiscal fleecing of the poor, the neglect of domestic and social reforms, for which the Government can find no money, and so on, are all commented on and denounced, and it is only in the concluding lines that Socialism is named. On the second ballots, too, it is becoming common for the Socialist vote to be given to Radical candidates, whilst partici-

pation in municipal administration is now admitted as permissible. The influence of the Volmar-David-Bernstein section is growing, and the tactics of the party are being modified in consequence. In Belgium the Socialists and the Radicals have practically come to terms, and will not only support each other's candidates as against the reactionary Clericals at next election, but will co-operate with them in working for such an amendment of the franchise laws as will abolish the fancy franchises now existing and secure universal suffrage. In Italy Signor Turratti proposes to co-operate with the Radicals in securing a number of immediate administrative and social reforms, and at a special conference of the party held at Bologna in April this year to consider the question of policy, attended by twelve hundred delegates, the Revolutionaries, under Enrico Ferri, only won by a few votes, and through obtaining the support of the semi-Anarchist southern branches where the Socialist movement is weak. In all these cases Revolutionary Socialism is giving way to Evolutionary. The ideal is the same, but the methods or tactics are themselves undergoing a change which can only be described as revolutionary.

But it was France that once more supplied the Amsterdam Congress with a concrete case. The fall of the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry and the withdrawal of M. Millerand from the Cabinet have not been followed by any change of tactics on the part of the French Socialist party, and the Government of M. Combes is as much dependent upon, and as freely receives, Socialist support as that of his predecessor, M. Waldeck-Rousseau. In addition to all this there was the British section and its special position. Since the formation of the Labour Representation Committee the Independent Labour party has been committed to supporting trade-union candidates standing as such and without Socialism being a factor in the contest. True, the I.L.P. has never accepted the Marxist interpretation of Socialism or Socialist tactics, and a few years ago its alliance with the Trade Unionists on a non-Socialistic basis would undoubtedly have been considered damning evidence against its claim to be considered a Socialist organisation at all. The British Colonists, who, together, were recognised as one separate nationality at the Congress, were in a like position. In the Australasian Colonies the Labour party is not troubled about theory, but confines itself strictly to practical questions of the hour. The number of avowed Socialists in the ranks of the Labour party is not large, but the work accomplished proves unmistakably that Socialism may be won quite apart altogether from theories of 'class consciousness,' or any of the dogmas by which the Marxists set such store. They, too, therefore had a position to defend against the Germans. It was, therefore, not without some anxiety that Herr Bebel and his colleagues met with the representatives of International Socialism and Trade Unionism at Amsterdam.

At the Dresden Congress of the German party in 1901 a resolution was carried, after considerable debate, in which the Revisionists were smitten hip and thigh. Subsequently that section of the French movement which is led by MM. Vaillant and Guesde, which dissents from the tactics of M. Jaurès, adopted the same resolution and forwarded it to the International Congress so as to have the whole question of tactics raised there. The Dresden resolution affirms in its most uncompromising form the class-war revolutionary theory—always bearing the mental reservation in mind—of the Marxist doctrine, and condemns all and sundry who in any way seek to modify its terms or question its wisdom. In true dogmatic fashion it assumes that the wells of truth and wisdom were exhausted when the Communists' manifesto was framed in 1847, and that all who gainsay this are heretics fit only for excommunication. Even the errors of that historical document, abandoned by Herr Bebel, are re-enunciated with all the acclaim of verbal inspiration. For three days at Amsterdam a mixed commission considered the Dresden resolution, and finally, after rejecting an amendment moved by Vandervelde (Belgium) and Adler (Austria), passed it on to the Congress by twenty votes to sixteen. By this time everyone knew that the resolution was primarily a declaration against Jaurès in France and the Revisionists in Germany. Towards the end of the debate it concentrated itself upon Jaurès. The brilliant Frenchman, however, did not take it 'lying down.' In a forty-five minutes' speech he carried the war into the enemies' camp, and taunted the Germans with their impotence despite their big 3,000,000 vote. In France they could show a Republic saved and some social legislation achieved as a result of their policy. But the German party was still barren of results. They were even in doubt as to whether it would be safe to invite a few fellow Socialists from other lands to meet them in Congress. Bebel replied. Was the French Republic, after all, worth saving? If Jaurès had won social reforms by his tactics, they in Germany had forced them from the Government, who hoped thereby to wean the workers from Socialism. Before they could be an effective party in Germany they must increase their vote to 7,000,000. Others took part in the debate, but the interest had evaporated when the two leading opponents had said their say. The resolution of condemnation was as follows :

The Congress condemns to the fullest extent possible the efforts of the Revisionists, which have for their object the modification of our tried and victorious policy based on the class war, and the substitution, for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeoisie, of a policy of concession to the established order of society.

The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to turn a party striving for the most speedy transformation possible of bourgeois society into Socialist society—a party therefore revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party satisfied with the reform of bourgeois society.

For this reason the Congress, convinced, in opposition to revisionist tenden

cies, that class antagonisms, far from diminishing, continually increase in bitterness, declares :

I. That the party rejects all responsibility of any sort under the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and therefore can in no wise countenance any measure tending to maintain in power the dominant class.

II. The Social Democracy can accept no participation in the Government under bourgeois society, this decision being in accordance with the Kautsky resolution passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

The Congress further condemns every attempt to mask the ever-growing class antagonisms, in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties.

The Congress relies upon the Socialist Parliamentary group to use its power, increased by the number of its members and by the great accession of electors who support it, to persevere in its propaganda towards the final object of Socialism and, in conformity with our programme, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of political liberties, in order to obtain equal rights for all; to carry on more vigorously than ever the fight against militarism, against the imperialist and colonial policy, against injustice, domination, and exploitation of every kind; and, finally, to exert itself to the utmost to perfect social legislation and to enable the working class to fulfil its political and civilising mission.

The Vandervelde-Adler amendment, which followed the resolution in its affirmations concerning Socialism, but left out all the condemnations of Revisionism, was fathered in the Congress by the British section, and was first voted on. The numbers showed a tie, twenty-one for, twenty-one against. Thereafter, the Dresden resolution was carried, twenty-five votes being given for it, five against, and twelve nations abstaining. The Revolutionists cheered, but their leaders knew that they had gained but a Pyrrhic victory. The future is not theirs.

An analysis of the voting on the Vandervelde-Adler amendment reveals the strength of the Revisionist position. Each nation had two votes. Those supporting the amendment were : Great Britain two, the British Colonies two, Argentina two, Sweden two, Austria two, Belgium two, Denmark two, Holland two, Switzerland two, and France one, Norway one, Poland one; total twenty-one. Opposed to the amendment were : Germany two, Bohemia two, Bulgaria two, Spain two, United States two, Hungary two, Italy two, Japan two, Russia two, and France, Norway, and Poland one vote each; total twenty-one. The most superficial glance at this list is sufficient to show that, with the exceptions of Germany and Italy, wherever Socialism is a political force, Revisionism is the policy favoured. Even in Italy, as already stated, one half, and that by far the more representative of the party, is with Jaurès, although at the Congress both votes went against the amendment. In countries without Parliamentary institutions, or where they are of the most rudimentary kind, the trend of the movement is necessarily Revolutionist. The one French vote cast for the amendment represented forty members of the Chamber of Deputies against eleven deputies

on the other side. The case of the United States requires a special word of explanation. For half a century the Socialist movement there was confined almost exclusively to the Germans, who, with a devotion and fidelity to a great cause all too rare, kept their Socialist clubs going, and waged continual warfare against capital. But all in vain. They insisted on telling the well-fed, free-born American worker that he was a poor, down-trodden slave; they expounded the class war, and called for class consciousness in a country where, at that time, the words had no meaning, and so they made no headway. But now the conditions are rapidly changing. In no country in the world has the capitalist system of production developed so rapidly as in the United States of America, and now all the evil social conditions which haunt the older nations of Europe like a nightmare are reproducing themselves in an aggravated form in that vast continent. As a natural consequence the American workmen are taking to Socialism with avidity. Already the Socialist party boasts of a financial membership of 25,000, which will probably mean a vote of 250,000 at the coming Presidential election. But as yet the American Socialists, beyond a few small successes in local elections, have not become a political party. The movement, although strong and rapidly growing, is still in the early propaganda stage, and still dominated by a stern Marxism. True, it has shaken itself free from the incubus of some of the logical extremists who formerly terrorised it, but it has not yet gained confidence or courage enough to think for itself. Time, however, and a growing sense of strength will rid it of that enslavement to phrases and dogmas by which it is still enthralled. Briefly, the situation as revealed by the voting at Amsterdam is this; wherever free parliamentary institutions exist, and where Socialism has attained the status of being recognised as a party, dogmatic absolutism is giving way before the advent of a more practical set of working principles. The schoolman is being displaced by the statesman.

When the alternative is borne in mind, the growth of the new tactics ceases to be matter for wonder. The idea which seems to dominate the Revolutionaries is that, whilst Capitalist society is going to pieces from its own inherent rottenness, and political parties and institutions as organs of Capitalism are dissolving with it, Socialism shall go on building up a new party, bringing with it a new system, and that when the old order and the old parties can no longer keep themselves erect, the new party and the new system will supersede them. The whole thing is reminiscent of the *One-Horse Shay*. As a theory it may be perfect; in practice it is unthinkable. It only shows how the old traditional idea of a physical-force revolution still perpetuates itself with a certain order of mind.

In statesmanship, more probably than in any other sphere of human activity, it is difficult to carry a theory, however logical, into

the field of action. The crowd which to-day cheers the philosopher enunciating some abstract proposition will to-morrow vote for his opponent who promises them something immediately practical. And the crowd is right both times. The old taunt alleged against Socialism, and not without reason, was that whilst its professors were agreed in a merely negative denunciation of the existing order of society, no two of them could keep from fighting when they sought common ground of action in building up the new order. If the coming of Socialism is to be evolutionary and not cataclysmal, that of itself implies a long process of experimental legislation. The famished multitudes cannot, and will not, wait for a Socialist majority to give them relief through a complete change of system, and if Socialists will not co-operate with those who are prepared to aid them in their social schemes, then the proletariat will turn from them and look elsewhere for the relief they so much need. Men, however earnest, who are not themselves feeling the pinch, can afford to be philosophic and logical; but the mind of the working class has a practical bent, and their condition is a sad bar to their too rigid adherence to logical principles. In Italy it is a moot-point whether the Radicals will not seriously undermine the position of the Socialists in coming forward with a strong social programme.

There is, too, a touch of the humorous in the situation. Those who monopolised the forum at the Congress did not lend much countenance to the theory that Socialism is a movement of the class-conscious proletariat for its own emancipation from the bondage of Bourgeoisism. When doctors of medicine and of law, learned university professors, successful business men, wealthy stockbrokers, and rebellious aristocrats loudly proclaim their class consciousness, and their determination to wage the class war without compromise, there is a touch of the ludicrous and an air of unreality about it all. Not that they are not sincere—far from that; but, after all, they are not the proletariat, conscious or other.

The results of the new movement are to be tested. That mistakes will occur, and that they will be made the most of, is inevitable. It may also be regarded as certain to occur that minorities in each country will remain irreconcilable, and break away from the main body of the party. This is already the case in France, and is threatened in Belgium. Had the Revolutionaries been defeated at the recent Congress of the party in Italy, a split there would have occurred at once. It may come as it is. It may even be that the International itself will again be rent in twain for a time. But these risks will all have to be faced. No one who has watched the movement could miss seeing that some such crisis as the present could not be long delayed. It is not any man's doing or seeking. It comes as the natural outcome of the growth of the movement. Herr Kautsky, one of the ablest and most single-minded men there are in the Socialist

movement, and Guesde, may have precipitated it by their narrow determination to stamp out its beginnings ; but its coming was inevitable. Socialism may keep out of politics and be frankly revolutionary, but it cannot enter politics and remain so. Socialism is and must ever remain the greatest revolutionary change the world has seen, but if it is to be accomplished by peaceful methods its supporters must adapt themselves to parliamentary tactics, and the moment this is admitted the revolutionary ideal must be put aside. The change will not all be gain, and the danger is that the agitation, by becoming flabby, will lose its greatest value as a force for regenerating the character of the democracy. Here all the argument is on the side of the extremists. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down for the application of the new methods, but generally speaking, where the Socialist propaganda has so far succeeded as to have built up a strong party in the State, and where the ties which kept the older parties together have so far been dissolved that there is no longer an effective reform party remaining, there the Socialists may be expected to lend their aid in creating a new combination of such progressive forces as give an intellectual assent to Socialism, and are prepared to co-operate in waging war against reaction and in rallying the forces of democracy. When this can be done so as in no way to impair the freedom of action of the Socialist party or to blur the vision of the Socialist ideal, it would appear as if the movement had really no option but to accept its share of the responsibility of guiding the State. Then, just in proportion as Socialism grows, so will the influence of its representatives in the national councils increase, and the world may wake up one morning to find that Socialism has come, that the long-dreaded revolution is over, and that the dreamers are already in quest of a new ideal for the regeneration of the race.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

MR. HARRISON'S HISTORICAL ROMANCE<sup>1</sup>

## I

THE last occasion when I made bold to write for the readers of this Review (February 1892) about a literary achievement of Mr. Harrison's, was on the appearance of that remarkable volume, the *New Calendar of Great Men*, a dozen years ago. I ventured at some length to question the omission from the list of those heirs of the Roman Empire in the East who, on any sound estimate, must be held to have performed in more ways than one services of the first magnitude in saving civilisation in the West. The omission was Comte's fault—so far as fault it was—and not that of his distinguished adherent. Hannibal has a place in this famous calendar; so have Harun-al-Raschid, the caliph of Bagdad, and Abd-al-Rahman, the caliph of Cordova. Charles Martel had a place for the glory of stemming the torrent of Mussulman invasion at Tours. Yet the battle of Tours (732) was only a victory over a plundering expedition of Spanish Arabs, whereas the repulse of the Saracens before Constantinople by Leo the Third (718) was what first drove back the tide. Still Leo and the other great champions at Byzantium were held unworthy of canonisation. Of course the heroes of New Rome were schismatic in the eyes of the Popes of Old Rome, and it is not irreverent to the great name of Comte to suppose it natural for him to take up the Pope's grievances against the Greek schism, along with some other pontifical attributes. In truth, Comte had broad reasons of his own. The dominant fact in the mediæval West was in his eyes the separation of spiritual from temporal power. In the Eastern Rome the two powers were essentially one; military concentration was a necessity of existence; and the Church was, as it is in Russia to-day, and as Napoleon intended it to be in France a century ago, the instrument of the State. The other vital element, again, in Comte's view of the normal evolution of the Middle Ages, was feudalism, and feudalism was inconsistent with the military requirements of Byzantine power. In consideration, therefore, of these two ruling factors, the series of events dealt with in *Theophano* was regarded by Comte as moving outside of the main stream of the progress of mankind.

<sup>1</sup> *Theophano: the Crusade of the Tenth Century. A Romantic Monograph.* By Frederic Harrison. London: Chapman & Hall.



Whatever defect there may have been in his master's appreciation of Byzantine influence on our world, Mr. Harrison has, at any rate, in his new volume as well as in other pieces, made it strenuously good. His Rede lecture at Cambridge four years since is a singularly comprehensive, just, and eloquent statement and vindication of the modern case. The chapters upon Constantinople in his volume on the meaning of history abound in brilliant description and in reflections at once deep and precise. The scholar, the politician, and the general reader who happens to be little of either politician or scholar, will find both pleasure and food for thought in those sixty admirable pages.<sup>2</sup> His present story Mr. Harrison describes as an attempt, under the form of romance, to give the history of one of the most striking episodes in the annals of what used to be called the Dark Ages. His aim is to paint a general picture of the South and East of Europe, and of the relations of that portion of Christendom to the advancing power of Islam, in the tenth century. His first design was a prose narrative, with no larger use of imagination than is as truly indispensable in history, as it is declared to be in the fields of natural science.

Some of his readers may possibly wish that to this design he had adhered, for the mixture of history with romance, of real actors and known events with avowed fiction, has not always been a successful experiment. No novelist has ever had so much of the genius of history as Scott, that great writer and true-hearted man; and if it be unluckily true that Scott is no longer widely read, we may be quite sure that it is so much the worse for the common knowledge of history. Apart from the stimulating contribution to historic knowledge in *Ivanhoe*, it may be suspected in the palace of truth that a majority of people who would fairly pass for cultivated, owe all they know of such figures as Louis the Eleventh and Charles the Bold to *Quentin Durward*. Scott tried his hand at a Byzantine story, but he made nothing of it; he knew little of the ground, for not even Gibbon had perceived the full bearing of the stupendous events of which Constantinople was the centre between the time of Justinian and the time of Richard Cœur de Lion. When Scott wrote *Count Robert of Paris* (1830), the noble brain that had peopled the world's gallery with so many incomparable figures, such vivid scenes, such moving interests, was at last itself outworn, and the gallant man could only liken himself in a mournful image to a leaking vessel out at sea in the pitch-dark.

If anybody chooses to say that *Theophano* is old-fashioned, assuredly a fashion set by *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward* has something to say for itself. In *Hypatia* the genius of Kingsley, who had less of the historic sense than any other professor that ever sat in a chair of history, brought out some aspects of the fifth century with enchanting

<sup>2</sup> *The Meaning of History, and other Historical Pieces* (Macmillan, 1894); *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages* (Macmillan, 1900).

success. None, again, of Bulwer's romances stood higher in popularity than *Rienzi*, and to this day some foreign writers do justice to his admirable mixture of intrigue proper for a story with historic narrative, his animated description—among other things of the plague of Florence—though less scrupulous in respect for his authorities than might have been expected from his severe treatment of the errors of some other writers.<sup>3</sup> Catherine the Second of Russia might appear a theme of grand promise, and the experiment has been in a certain fashion tried, but with indifferent result.<sup>4</sup> Lucrezia Borgia, as we all know, has been set to music, but the libretto is sadly unhistoric, for Lucrezia, it now seems, if not absolutely blameless, was still an excellent woman, and died in an entirely respectable confinement. Chateaubriand's once famous *Martyrs* (1802-9) was a romance of the persecutions of Diocletian and Galerius. Though without verse, it is poetry and not history. Its prose has the melody of plaintive song, and a fluent harmony that prose has never surpassed. The emotions with which it so deeply stirred a generation early in our last century, arose, as Aristotle said they should, not merely from scenery and spectacle, but from the inner structure of the piece. They arose, too, from the burning association, in the minds of the readers of the time, of the sufferings of the Church at the hands of Galerius with the fresh persecution of the children of the same Church at the hands of Chateaubriand and the firebrands of revolution. All this gives a pathos and poetic tenderness to the tale of Eudore and Cymodocée that is hardly to be conceived in dealing with Theophano and Nicephorus. Here warm thoughts and free spirits must give way to

The Iron-pointed pen  
That notes the Tragic Doomes of men.

In this dire conflict of faith and race and rival empires, we need a firmer and sterner chord. Mr. Harrison has naturally felt an artistic compulsion to introduce the relief of gentler episodes. Some may find these episodes less suited to his silver trumpet of a style, than pageant, landscape, battle, fervid councils, stirring scenes of high historic fate.

In the works that I have named, history is secondary to romance. In *Theophano* this is reversed. It is primarily and really history, an attempt to relate authentic facts in deep colour, not verifiable in every detail out of written documents, yet wholly true to the historic tones. No piece of diletantism, it is the production of one, now long well known as an accomplished scholar, a traveller, a powerful writer, who has kept himself well abreast of the acquisitions of new learning and new culture, and who, in this case, has both thoroughly worked the contemporary records at first hand, and laboriously

<sup>3</sup> See Rodocanachi's *Cola di Rienzo*, p. xi., 1888.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Roman d'une Impératrice*, K. Waliszewski, 1893.

mastered the mass of elucidation and dissertation due to an army of specialists.

Of course most people would admit the noblest piece of tragedy in all written history to be the retreat of the beaten Athenians from Syracuse. 'Is it or is it not,' wrote Gray to Wharton, 'the finest thing you ever read in your life?' Macaulay said: 'I do assure you that there is no prose composition in the world that I place so high as the seventh book of Thucydides. . . . Tacitus was a great man, but he was not up to the Sicilian expedition.'<sup>5</sup> But it would be absurd to compare the original history of Thucydides, Herodotus, Caesar, Machiavelli, Guicciardini with the composite narrative of even the greatest of literary historians. Gibbon's description of the capture of Constantinople is indeed magnificent, but the gorgeous art of this splendid composition is fatal to the profoundest kind of dramatic effect upon our inmost minds, and conveys none of that tragic impression which stirs us not less deeply than even the grandest of stage-plays, and makes the reader, now more than two thousand years since these events, hold his breath in that profoundest pity which is pity without tears, as he watches the agony of the sea-fight in the great harbour, the panic and misery of the march, the horrors by the river, the death of Nicias—of all Hellenes least deserving of an end so wretched—the dreadful sufferings of the prisoners in the stone-quarries, fleet and army perishing from the face of the earth, and of the many who had gone forth few ever returning home. Here is indeed the supreme model of tragic prose.

It was inevitable that a story of Byzantium in the tenth century should take a shape not so much of tragedy as of melodrama, and the author has thrown himself into the melodramatic elements of his tale with extraordinary force and spirit. He has not always resisted the temptation to overdo these elements, and to push animation to violence. Still, the temper of the age was in essence barbaric, and any narrative without a sort of violence would be untrue to local and historic colour, just as it would be in a romance of Petersburg or Belgrade at certain moments of the nineteenth century. Every competent judge will admire the energy with which the high and strenuous pitch is from beginning to end swiftly and unfalteringly sustained. Mr. Harrison is a recognised master of language; not always wholly free from excess, but direct, powerful, plain, with none of our latter-day nonsense of mincing and posturing, of elliptic brevities, cryptic phrase, vapid trick, and the hundred affectations and devices of ambitious insincerity. He has the signal merit of looking his readers in the eye; his periods, even when we most dissent from their substance, are alive with the strong and manly pulse of the writer's own personality. Whether Theophano and Nicephorus and Otto and Gerbert and Luitprand and the rest will be found 'con-

<sup>5</sup> *Trevelyan*, i. 440, 449.

vincing' or not, heaven knows; I have never been able to attach any definite significance whatever to that favourite word in our new critical vocabulary. Let this be as it may, the result of the author's industry, skill, and many talents is a book abundant at once in dramatic interest, in sound knowledge, and in historical instruction: a fine panorama of the long secular strife between East and West, between Islam and the two rival and mutually infuriated forms of Christian faith.

## II

I should like to be allowed a single moment of digression on an issue that needs hours. With graceful propriety, the book is dedicated to the Professor of History at Cambridge, whose studies of the Byzantine period 'so greatly inspired and enlarged' our monograph. We may be sure that Professor Bury will both appreciate the compliment thus paid to him, and will enjoy the illumination diffused by these flashing pages over the sombre landscape that he has himself so laboriously explored. I even permit myself for an instant to wonder whether it may not melt the learned and accomplished professor to soften a little of the severity with which, in his memorable introductory lecture at Cambridge last year, he spoke of the time-honoured association of literature with history acting 'as a sort of vague cloud, half concealing from men's eyes the new position in the heavens.' So long as history, he told his hearers, was regarded as an art, the sanctions of truth and accuracy would not be severe. Why? He reminded them that 'history is not a branch of literature.' He adjured them to observe that Ranke's famous saying that 'he would only say how a thing actually was' ought to be even more widely accepted as 'a warning against transgressing the province of facts.' Perhaps some of Professor Bury's more youthful listeners, with the presumption of their years, may have asked themselves whether the historian is to present all the facts of his period or his subject; if not, whether he will not be forced to select; if he must select, then how can he do it, how can he group, how can he fix the relations of facts to one another, how weigh their comparative importance, without some sort of guiding principle, conception, or preconception? In short, he will find himself outside of 'the province of facts' before he knows where he is, and this is what actually happens to some of the most eminent members of the school. The lecturer himself in truth speedily abated the rigour of his limitation, and added to the collection, discovery, and classification of facts the further duty of interpreting them. But when does not the historian's interpretation govern from first to last his collection and his classification? Take what case you will. Father Paul tells the facts of the Council of Trent one way, Pallavicino tells them in another way. The annals of the Papacy—in some respects the most fascinating and important of all the chapters of modern history—

are one thing in the hands of Pastor the Catholic, another thing to Creighton the Anglican, a third thing to Möller the Lutheran, and something again quite different to writers of more secular stamp like Gregorovius and Reumont. It is not merely difference in documents that makes the history of the French Revolution one story to Thiers or Mignet, and a story wholly different to Louis Blanc or to Taine. Talk of history being a science as loudly as ever we like, the writer of it will continue to approach his chests of archives with the bunch of keys in his hand. When examined, all these adjurations really mean little more—and this is a great deal—than that sources, documents, authorities are sometimes good and sometimes bad, sometimes first-rate and sometimes second-rate; that the student should know the difference; that he should be systematic and minute and definite and precise; that he should not regard a statement as certain unless he has scrutinised the evidence. All admirable and indispensable and scientific rules, but hardly constituting a brand-new science; or banishing ‘the time-honoured association of history with literature’ from which the reflective or ethical writer is warned off; or reducing Clio, the muse, to the level of the kitchen drudge who supplies her meals, and cashiering the architect in favour of the honest bricklayer and stonemason. A science means a good deal more than this, and even something different from this. Dumas wittily said that Lamartine’s famous book on the Girondins raised history to the dignity of romance. Lamartine doubtless exalted the arts of literature rather high, as did the illustrious Dumas himself; but after all it does a book no harm to be readable; and I believe Byzantine students, including Professor Bury—the most eminent and thorough of them all, and (if I may say so without offence) the most readable and enjoyable—will be grateful to Mr. Harrison for attracting interest to a field whither Heyd, Kopf, Hirsch, Schlumberger, Salzenberg, Paspates, Van Millingen, and Dr. Krumbacher have hitherto failed to allure more than the esoteric and the elect.

### III

What we may call the reclamation of the low-lying lands of the Byzantine period is in some respects the most remarkable literary (or scientific) event of our day. Voltaire called Byzantine history ‘a repertory of declamation and miracles, disgraceful to the human mind.’ Our limpid Rationalist, Mr. Lecky, talks of it as the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilisation has yet assumed. Hegel again says ‘the history of the highly civilised Eastern Empire—where, as we might suppose, the Spirit of Christianity could be taken up in its truth and purity—exhibits to us a millennial series of uninterrupted crimes, weaknesses, basenesses, and want of principle; a most repulsive, and consequently a most uninteresting picture.’

De Maistre, the ultra-Catholic, was as bitter as Voltaire, the ultra non-Catholic. 'Byzantium,' he cries with characteristic energy, 'would make us believe in the system of climates, or in exhalations peculiar to certain spots. . . . Ransack universal history, nowhere can you find a dynasty more wretched. Either feeble or furious, or both at the same time, these insupportable princes especially turned their demented interests on the side of theology, of which their despotism took possession to overthrow it. One would say that the French language meant to do justice on their empire 'by styling it as *Bas Empire*. It perished as it had lived, in the thick of a disputation. Mahomet the Second burst open the gates of the capital while sophists were wrangling about the glory of Mount Tabor.'<sup>6</sup> On a lower level than Voltaire, Hegel, and De Maistre,—during the frenzy of the Crimean War, a writer in a patriotic periodical exulted over the time 'when the last of the Byzantine historians was blown into the air by our brave allies the Turks.'

It was Finlay with whom, among serious students, the reaction began. In 1843—one of the three or four continuous decades in which the new era of intellectual life of the nineteenth century in England was most active—Finlay published the first of the works that came to an end eighteen years later, presenting twenty centuries of the life of the Greek nation 'in Roman subjection, Byzantine servitude, and Turkish slavery.' He brought a great mass of new knowledge, and he lighted up new knowledge with fresh reflections and considerations that constituted one of the most striking chapters in the history of European civilisation on history's amplest scale. Finlay's case is interesting and significant. He did not hunt for a literary subject. He was the purchaser of a landed estate in Attica, endeavoured to improve it, lost his money and his labour, and then in a philosophic spirit turned to study the conditions of the country and its people, tracing back link by link the long chain of political, social, ecclesiastical, racial, and above all economic events, that explained the Attic peasant of to-day and of all the ages intervening since the peasant of Alexander the Great. Of this vast operation, what the world will pretty surely persist in calling the Byzantine Empire soon became the dominating centre; he could not tell the Greek story without the Byzantine story, and it is Finlay who first unfolded what the Byzantine Empire was, and first vindicated its share in the growth of Western civilisation and the forms of the modern world.

These volumes kindled the ardent admiration of Freeman (1855). He called them the greatest work that British historical literature had produced since the days of Gibbon, and even the most thoroughly original history in our language. No work, he said, from either an ordinary scholar or an ordinary politician, could ever come near to the native strength and originality of the work of the solitary thinker,

<sup>6</sup> *Du Pape*, Bk. iv. ch. 9.

studying, musing on, and recording the events of two thousand years, in order to solve the problems that he saw at his own door. Nobody has ever grasped more effectively than Freeman the truth that is the main-spring of Mr. Harrison's monograph: 'If there had been Turks at Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries, the names Europe and Christendom could never have had so nearly the same meaning as they have had for ages.' This truth, first derived from Finlay, corroborated and fitted in with the two cardinal principles that Freeman never wearied of preaching to the studious minority of mankind: the unity of history, and the fatal error of drawing lines between ancient and modern. The doctrine about the Byzantine Empire, which he propagated with characteristic tenacity and an iteration that to the carnal man was almost tiresome, became the inspiration of a new school in this country, and in that school there has been no such diligent and fruitful worker as Professor Bury.

Even those who discern most clearly the title of the more important of the many various stages of Byzantine power to a marked place in history, discern also some of the reasons why the tale of them has been found, until our last half-century, so unattractive or even repellent, so darkly tarnished, so remote from the ordinary track of literary or historic curiosity. Mr. Harrison's own vivid and energetic presentation itself helps to explain. It is hard either to produce or feel the charm, emotion, sentiment, of romance, where scene and personage are on a plane of civilisation so alien to our own. Flaubert's story of *Salammbô* was thought by French critics to find comparatively few friends, for this among other good reasons, that readers in Paris or in London could have no sympathy, and could be conscious of no affinity, with a world where the cruel abominations imputed to Carthage made the normal life of the community.<sup>7</sup> Christian Constantinople in the tenth century was certainly not so far off in ways of life and modes of thought as Carthage is supposed to have been. Yet, if not wholly Eastern, it certainly was not Western. A fierce controversy raged in the ninth century between Slav and German clergy, whether God could be adored in any language save Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, these being the three sacred tongues of the inscription placed upon the Cross.<sup>8</sup> Whatever we may think of the right or wrong of the trilingual heresy, it is certain that alike by the long stream of Western institutions, and by all our unbroken systems of literary education, it is with Hebrew things and notions, and Greek and Roman things and notions, in the antique world that we are most at home. If into the antique world we must be taken at the close quarters that a romance requires, the Byzantine State presented old practice and

<sup>7</sup> Francis W. Newman, with his turn for siding with minorities (see vol. i. of his *Miscellanies*, pp. 278-304), once delivered what was thought an effective lecture entitled *Punica Vindicta*.

<sup>8</sup> *Cyrille et Méthode*, par Louis Leger, 1868, p. 96.

idea in such unfamiliar association as to hide any sense of affinity and to shut out either sympathy or charm. The author of *Theophano* faces this, and valiantly makes head against it. The signal peculiarities that account for that alienation of common curiosity or feeling from Byzantine history, which Mr. Harrison has so boldly confronted, are pretty obvious. They have been often enumerated before now. The Eastern Empire was a conservative State, not a progressive State. It is the story of administration and law, not of letters, philosophy, or liberty; in spite of Hellenic vanities, it is the story of a government, not of a nation. The leading exercises of mind lay in fields from which all intellectual interest has long ebbed away. It was a Christian Father who said of Constantinople in the fourth century, 'This city is full of handicraftsmen and slaves, who are all profound theologians, and preach in their workshops and in the streets. If you want a man to change a piece of silver, he instructs you in what consists the distinction between the Father and the Son; if you ask the price of a loaf of bread, you get for answer that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you ask whether the bread is ready, the rejoinder is that the genesis of the Son is from Nothing.' Just as the religious fanaticism inspired by the Koran put out in the twelfth century the light of intellectual development among the Spanish Arabs, so the odious and contemptible disputes of superstition at Constantinople arrested all progressive movements of either Greek or Roman genius. What Professor Bury himself says<sup>9</sup> of the seventh century at Byzantium was not less true of many other centuries: 'Men who professed to be educated believed in the most ridiculous miracles; and the law of natural cause and effect, which, however inadequately recognised, has generally maintained some sort of ascendancy in human reason, became at this period practically obsolete.' By such periods men will never be attracted. These futile and sanguinary wrangles, in spite of the social and political problems involved in some of them, make us wonder whether Comte, Voltaire, Hegel, and De Maistre were not in the right after all.

In one of the most brilliant of his pieces<sup>10</sup> Mr. Harrison has described what he truly calls the painful majesty of the first sight of Athens; has reminded us that Attica is hardly bigger than the Isle of Wight, and that the city of the violet crown itself would easily stand in the area of Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens; yet what undying dramas were played upon that narrow stage! One main reason why these dramas can never die is that, as Pericles and Nicias boasted in Athenian polity, every man was free to lead his daily life, and free to think his own thoughts. In Byzantium the stream never purified itself or flowed clear. No fresh tributary of living water flowed into it from the main currents of intellectual life in Europe. The service, on the other hand, of Byzantium to Europe—without

<sup>9</sup> *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 387.

<sup>10</sup> *Meanings of History*, ch. x.



approaching the vexed questions of architecture and secondary decorative arts—was in the first place military and defensive ; secondly, it was preservative of the fruits of an intellectual life supremely different from its own. Nobody has described this second service more justly than Mr. Harrison in a passage of his Rede lecture :

The peculiar, indispensable service of Byzantine literature was the preservation of the language, philology, and archæology of Greece. It is impossible to see how our knowledge of ancient literature or civilisation could have been recovered if Constantinople had not nursed through the early Middle Ages the vast accumulations of Greek learning in the schools of Alexandria, Athens, and Asia Minor ; . . . if indefatigable copyists had not toiled in multiplying the texts of ancient Greece. Pedantic, dull, blundering as they are too often, they are indispensable. We pick precious truths and knowledge out of their garrulities and stupidities, for they preserve what otherwise would have been lost for ever. . . . Dunces and pedants as they were, they servilely repeated the words of the immortals. Had they not done so the immortals would have died long ago.<sup>11</sup>

Besides this great service in the capacity, as it has been called, of 'librarian to the human race,' a more important claim is made, that Byzantium was for the Slav world what Rome was for the Germanic world. It was Byzantium that out of Bulgarian, Magyar, Croat hordes made Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary. It transmitted or imposed the Christian religion from Hungary to Armenia and Abyssinia. It initiated a literary language among Slavs and Goths. It established the first centres of literary civilisation. It gave them ideas and methods of government.<sup>12</sup> In comparison with the more highly organised States of the Western world, the result may seem only a moderate improvement upon anarchy, but in comparison with what went before, even the South-Eastern lands of Europe are cosmos.

If it be true that an epic ought to have a beginning and an end, we may say on the other hand, without paradox, that history is most interesting when it is part of a tale that is continuous and has no end. The close of the Eastern Empire, on a superficial glance, has the look of a dark, squalid, and sanguinary *cul-de-sac*. When the Latins and the Turks together brought it to its doom, Europe was indeed conscious of a tremendous shock ; but it was not the shock of tragedy, for the Westerns felt little pity or sympathy for the immediate victims, though Europe was not without fear for herself, and not without some belated indignation or remorse at a catastrophe due to the bigotry, cupidity, and selfishness masked under Western Christianity. It was Rome that gave Constantinople to Mahound. Yet the overthrow of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turk in the middle of the fifteenth century was not really the end of the Byzantine system. In the tenth century the faith of the Cross passed into Russia. It

<sup>11</sup> See also Dr. Sandys' extremely interesting *History of Classical Scholarship*, 1903, p. 427.

<sup>12</sup> Rambaud's *Empire Gréc au XIème Siècle*, p. 10.

came from Byzantium, not from Rome, bringing Russia over the frontier of Christendom in one sense, yet, by reason of the great Christian schism, at the same time cutting Russia off from Christendom in another. The earliest type of civilisation in Russia is Byzantine, an autocratic State, without political rights, ruled by imperial omnipotence with the aid of a hierarchy of functionaries.<sup>13</sup> The huge waves of Mongol invasion did not sweep away the deep impress of Byzantine influence. From Vladimir to Peter the Great, Russia has never entirely escaped the Byzantine ascendancy exercised over it by the clergy, the schools, the laws, the literature. The Mongols gave an Asiatic colour to Czarism which grew up in their shadow, yet it was from Byzantium and from the Greeks of the Lower Empire that the Russian princes borrowed the type and the model, along with the forms, the etiquette, and even the very name, of autocracy, as after the fall of Constantinople Ivan the Third borrowed from the Paleologi the imperial eagle and arms.<sup>14</sup> When Bishop Creighton witnessed the coronation of the Russian Czar at Moscow he describes how the stranger from the West felt that he had passed outside the circle of European experience, European ideas and influences, and entered upon a new phase of culture to be judged by canons of its own. The Bishop's vivid story of that strange barbaric scene is the counterpart of Mr. Harrison's picture of the coronation of Romanus and Theophano in the Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople in 960.<sup>15</sup> How far that peculiar prolongation of the Byzantine Empire through the Orthodox Church has been an elevating force, this is not the place to inquire, any more than it is the place to inquire into the connected question how far the corresponding ascendancy of the Catholic Church elevated government or people in the Spanish Peninsula.

#### IV

Having said this much on the subject of our monograph, let me rapidly sketch its outline. Theophano, the daughter of a Greek in obscure circumstances, by her singular beauty and fascinations caught the fancy of Romanus, the youthful son of Constantine (Porphyrogenitus), seventh of that name in the list of Byzantine emperors. Constantine consented to their union—a piece of kindness which, according to some chroniclers, probably mendacious, the young people repaid by a murderous palace plot. Romanus mounted the imperial throne, and with him Theophano rose to the august rank of Basilissa.

Marriage, alas! seemed only to have given the young Basileus increased zest for wild sports and scandalous adventures, which were rapidly destroying his health and sapping what was left in him of moral fibre. Now he plunged into the forests of Thrace, now into those of Bithynia to hunt the boar or the

<sup>13</sup> See Leroy-Beaulieu's *L'Empire des Tsars*, i. 214.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* i. 227.

<sup>15</sup> See Creighton's *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 1902.

bear, exhausting himself in midnight fatigues and exposure to all weathers and seasons. From time to time he was seen in the *Tzykanisterion*, or polo ground, in the east side of the Palace between the Pharos and the sea-wall. Here the young nobles, having the *entrée*, were wont to engage in polo and other exercises on horseback. This spacious practising ground had been extended and levelled by the Emperor Basil. And here his royal descendant loved to exhibit his prowess as a player in that manly game of polo which the Byzantines had adopted from the Persians. . . . It was no flattery when the best players in the kingdom yielded the victory to the splendid horsemanship and keen eye of the Imperial athlete, whilst the courtiers and ladies of the royal household surveyed the games from arcades of the terrace above. First one and then another of the beauties, who thronged those gay companies, would be chosen by the gallant prince to receive the crown or garland which was the winner's prize; and the vagrant amours of his insatiable fancy gave as much ceaseless gossip to the witty and frivolous court as ever did a Louis at Versailles or a Charles at Whitehall.

The pleasure-loving prince was no more changed by elevation to supreme power than was Louis the Fifteenth; but from one high task of empire at least he did not shrink. Crete was in the hands of the Saracens, and Saracen corsairs harassed the islands of the Archipelago, cut off the commerce of Constantinople, and even interrupted the supply of provisions to the mighty capital. Romanus fitted out a great expedition to root out so grave a mischief to his people, and to wipe off a dark disgrace from Christian fame.

A glorious July morning in the year of our Lord 960 was irradiating the shores of the Propontis and the porticoes and domes of Byzantium; and already the city and Palace of the Cæsars were crowded with brilliant throngs and gala trappings of expectant triumph. All the terraces which commanded a view of the sea were full of eager sightseers. The walls that girdled the city on the seaside were covered with dense groups; and the sea itself, from the Golden Horn to the Princes Islands, was alive with thousands of vessels of every description as far as the eye could reach. The mighty expedition to recover Crete from the Infidel was at last about to sail. In the Sacred Palace itself a throng of courtiers and high officials were gathered in the *Tzykanisterion*, or polo ground, and in the gardens, porticoes and arcades that adjoined it, waiting for their Majesties and the great ministers of State, who were to watch the fleet at its departure and wish Godspeed to its illustrious commander. In the corridors and cloisters of the Palace all was animation and a hubbub of greetings, inquiries, and ardent anticipations. A group of gentlemen of the wardrobe, grooms of the chamber, and a silentiary were discussing the exact constitution of the vast expedition. Nicetas, the Paphlagonian, a *vestiarius*, or gentleman of the wardrobe, was loudly exclaiming that so powerful an armament had never left the Golden Horn since the age of the great Heraclius.

In command was Nicephorus Phocas, who is, in fact, the hero of our story. The reader has been introduced to him in the glowing pages that describe the coronation:

Nicephorus Phocas, the most eminent chief of a long line of Armenian nobles, the most heroic warrior of a family of famous men of war, was now in the flower of his strength, at forty-six years of age. His natural olive complexion had been tanned and burnt almost to a dark hue in the incessant

campaigns he had fought since his boyhood amid the suns of Mesopotamia and the snowy passes of Cilicia. He wore his hair long and flowing, with a crisp beard just beginning to be tinged with grey. His nose was long and aquiline, his eyes were dark, of an intense fire, under a penthouse of thick black eyebrows. Of middle height, he had the trunk and shoulders of a giant, with abnormal depth of chest, and the long muscular arms with which he had more than once in battle cleft a mailed enemy to the chine. His look was stern and pensive, lighted up at moments, as it were, with a sombre fire within. He was taciturn and immovable by habit, so that hardly a gesture or a look ever betrayed his purpose or his thought. To-day he stalked on alone, his mind far away from the Sacred Palace, with neither comrade nor lieutenant by his side; and he just acknowledged with his hand the cheers and obeisances with which he was received. It was noticed that he alone of all that brilliant throng had chosen to attend the procession in his well-worn tunic and his close helm and corselet of action, in the same accoutrements and arms in which he was wont to appear in many a bloody field.

The conquest of Crete was both a triumphant feat of arms and a triumph of patriotic policy. A new and greater expedition (962) was mustered for a still mightier march.

Through seven different passes of the Taurus, mainly through that known as the 'Cilician Gates,' the various corps debouched down upon the Saracen province that had once been the Cilicia of Augustus and Trajan. The different armies had separate objectives, but were kept in close touch with each other, and each was preceded by an outer screen of light cavalry, which pressed on in front and scoured the whole country. As the parallel forces poured down like a deluge on the rich plains, the miserable people fled before them or crowded into the forts; the Saracen troops of all arms were seized with panic, and made no effort to stem the torrent. Fort after fort, walled towns, castles, and camps fell rapidly into the hands of the invading Christians. The overwhelming numbers that Nicephorus had collected covered the country for a hundred miles. By light siege train, hurried forward, they captured fortresses by escalade. Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and Seleucia were taken by storm. The gallant Emir of Aleppo, Self Eddaulêh, of the dynasty of Hamdan, the hero of the Saracens of Asia in the tenth century, whom the Greeks called 'the accursed Chamdas,' yielded before the avalanche. He ordered his men to retreat inland towards Syria and to attempt nothing but separate and small encounters to harass the line of communications. The host poured on, the Arab historian declares, 'like hungry wolves,' ravaging the land, burning villages and destroying all crops and stores which they could not use. Karamountis, the Emir of Tarsus, attempted pitched battle, but was utterly defeated and left five thousand of his men dead upon the field: the rest being prisoners of war. All the calculations of the Roman general were fulfilled. Every order had been carried out to the letter. Every corps reached the point at which it was directed at the appointed time. The whole of Cilicia was swept as by a tornado. And, within twenty-two days, the Arab historian, Aboulfaradj, relates that fifty-five fortresses and forty-five towns had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Enormous booty and tens of thousands of prisoners were taken; and, after three centuries, the rich and broad land, watered by the Cydnus and Pyramus, and lying between the range of Taurus and the Mediterranean Sea, passed again into the realm of Christ and of Rome.

Nicephorus resumed his onward march in earnest. . . . As the vast range of Taurus had lain between the Empire and the Saracen in Cilicia, so now the range of the Amanus divided it from the provinces of Syria, Damascus, and

Aleppo. Anazarba, Sis, and other strong forts were swept away, their defenders ruthlessly slaughtered, and their homes sacked. But nothing could arrest the invaders till they poured over the passes of Amanus down into the valley of the Orontes, and reached the great plains which stretch away from the 'Gates of Syria' to the Euphrates. Once across the defiles of the Amanus range, Nicephorus concentrated his whole force for a plunge upon Aleppo, the seat and capital of 'the accursed Chamdas.'

The plunge was irresistible; the Byzantine general forced his way into the city, and, 'with fierce exultation, he surveyed the annihilation of the terrible enemy who had made the Roman Empire reel to its foundations, and he saw that the frontiers of Rome were destined to extend again to the Euphrates.'

At Constantinople, meanwhile, feud and intrigue within the palace had prepared the way for revolution, when the youthful emperor was removed by death. Though Nicephorus was not the man to play the part assigned to Bothwell, the reader, with a feeling that most stories have really been told before with different names and changed costumes, may perhaps bethink him of Mary Stuart, and Bothwell, and Darnley, and the explosion of the Kirk o' Field. That Theophano was actively concerned in the death of her first husband is not proved, and Mr. Harrison takes the other view, though either her fierce ambition or a lawless passion for the military hero of the hour made the removal of Romanus necessary to her designs. She brought him back to Constantinople; by her craft and resolution baffled the schemes of a powerful minister fighting to retain authority; and, finally, with the aid of the Patriarch, succeeded in making Nicephorus Autocrat and her husband. Intrigues within the palace, factions and bloody fights (Armenian massacres the other day were by no means the first or the worst of such scenes in Constantinople, whether Christian or Mahometan), gorgeous pageants, conflicts between Emperor and Patriarch, the election of Theophano, the moral fall and remorse of Nicephorus, make vivid masterpieces of description, while the historic significance of it all is graphically brought out in eager debate and eloquent argument in council and in camp. One of the main historic facts is the cosmopolitan character of Constantinople in these ages; it was, let us repeat, the seat of a government, not the central home of a nationality; and, above all, the incessant strife within its walls and without its walls was cosmopolitan strife. A reception of foreign envoys in one of the vast courts of the imperial palace brings vividly home to the reader of to-day, as it was intended to bring home to the envoys themselves, the world-wide relations of the Empire and its claim to be the centre of universal power.

The envoy of the Caliph was succeeded by a prelate despatched from old Rome by the Pope (or Anti-Pope) Leo the Eighth, who was struggling amidst horrors of every sort to dispossess the infamous Octavian claiming to be Pope John the Twelfth. Nicephorus, whose detestation of the degraded and servile Papacy was boundless, had been persuaded with difficulty to receive the

opponent and rival of the ferocious murderer who now desecrated the Latin see. Nicephorus listened to the hollow congratulations of the Italian prelate in silence, and directed his Chancellor to reply to them with the best grace he could assume. The Roman prelate was followed by envoys from Venice, Amalfi, and the Dukes of Beneventum and Capua, who still admitted a shadowy bond of vassalage to the successor of Justinian at Byzantium. The Italian envoys were succeeded by a crowd of deputies from various nations, tribes, and princelets north of the Ister and the Euxine sea, or such as lay beyond the eastern frontier of the empire. They were first Patzinaks, then Russ; then Chazars, Alans, and 'Turks,' or Hungarians, as we call them to-day. All were in uncouth and picturesque native costumes, shaggy skins, tall and pointed headgear, and strange ornaments. They brought rich presents of various sorts, embroidered garments, embossed arms, enamelled vases, horses, performing bears, and white boarhounds, which were paraded in the court outside—then announced with much solemnity, and received with equal curiosity and interest.

The long reception was continued for hours as the envoys were presented from the kings of Armenia proper, the dwellers around Mount Ararat and the plains of Lake Van; from the Abasgians and Georgians of the Caucasus, the Lazi, and the Chief of the Iberians, who had been honoured with the right to assume the Byzantine title of *Caesars*. Long before the stream of introductions had ended, with its ever-varying changes of language, costume, and manner, the young Scandinavian had been quite lost in the babel of tongues and the moving panorama before his eyes.

Like the actual scene, and like Gibbon's history of it, *Theophano* makes a crowded canvas. It could not be otherwise; but one effect is partially to deprive Nicephorus of the position of isolated relief that the full interest of his moral catastrophe seems to require. The throng of incident and figure in some degree disperses our attention, and prevents its concentration on the hero, who was not only hero but saint. Still, the author is writing history, not a modern psychological romance. In its elements the case is old enough—the crash of a stern and lofty nature before the wiles of Eve and the solicitations of appetite. Nicephorus in one stage is full of the monastic enthusiasm of the early centuries of Christian faith, despising the Christianity of the common world, regardless of the State, eager for flight from all carnal and secular things into a life of solitary communion with the unseen God. Even when he has been forced, against the loud whispers of conscience and the leanings of his inner will, into campaigns for the deliverance of the State from the inroads of Mahometan blasphemers, after he has assumed the crown of autocrat, he is still haunted by the old visions of asceticism. Under the purple robe he still wears the hair shirt of the penitent and the recluse, and at banquets of savoury meats and exquisite wines he prefers water and lentils. The struggle within the breast of Nicephorus was but a type of one of the greatest of the conflicts that perplexed and tore that Eastern world, and not the Eastern world alone.

The rule of Nicephorus marked a few years of failure and disappointment, mixed with transient military success. From armed

anchorite, in spite of his sedulous performance of the ceremonial offices of his Church, he relapsed into the ordinary habits of the Byzantine autocrat. The cost of the levies of men, drawn from the Italian coasts across Greece and Asia as far as the source of the Euphrates, strained the finances to the uttermost. Heavy taxes and debased coinage broke down his popularity, and his fulminations against weakening the military resources of the empire by the multiplication of monasteries brought him into disfavour with the Patriarch and the ecclesiastics. What Mr. Harrison truly calls the eternal quarrel about 'investitures,' that well-known chapter in the Western history of Popes and Kings, led to fierce remonstrances from the Patriarch. He joined the opposition organised within the palace by Theophano. Whether from discontent at a temperament less ardent than her own, or from politic desire to separate her lot from that of a falling potentate, or from a new-born passion for Tzimiskes, a soldier as heroic as Nicephorus himself, the empress was plotting treason with formidable confederates. The long and exciting episode is told with admirable vigour, and the end arrived in the chapter headed 'Clytemnestra.' The author spares us none of the horrors of the murder of Nicephorus—in some details very like a similar transaction in the same quarter of Europe not long ago. Theophano took little by crimes that have given her a place, though a secondary one, among the names of evil women in high places, Theodora, Irene, and the others. The Patriarch refused to recognise Tzimiskes, her accomplice in the murder of his uncle, unless he put her away. So, with her beauty, her ambition, her passion for intrigue, she was banished to a solitary island, where our present author is content to leave her. When her sons came to the throne, they are said to have recalled her to the imperial palace; but for history the curtain of her drama and its stage had fallen.

## V

Such is the central outline of our romance, and into it the author has wrought a rich store of episodic material, well incorporated into the main tissue and design, extremely picturesque and striking, as well as true to such records as survive. We have from time to time the relief of being transported westward of Byzantium to the more familiar ground of Spain and Old Rome. The glory of Rome had departed indeed, for the tenth century was the nadir, and Mr. Harrison does not paint the scene in darker colours than really belonged to it:

'I will not attempt to prophesy against your reverence,' said Guido; 'I can only speak of what is, and what has been in all living memory. This famous city is now a den of bandits, the haunt of infamous women, and a scene of bloodshed and torment. These barons live in their castles amidst gangs of hired ruffians, till they ride forth to fight each other or to plunder their neigh-

bours. I have seen these grey walls hung with the carcasses of their victims, and these streets, churches, and streams run with blood, whenever the horsemen of some pretender to the throne, or of the German princes, come down to sack the city, or to quell an insurrection of the citizens. I have seen Popes made and unmade at the order of a profligate woman or of a murderous despot. I have seen one crowned Pope trample on another crowned Pope, break his crosier, and tear off his robes, in presence of an Emperor and of all his Court. I have seen the Prefect of Rome hung by his hair from the statue of Constantine, and dragged through the streets naked on an ass. I saw twelve "Captains of the Regions" hung on gallows, whilst other leaders were blinded, some decapitated. Some were torn from their graves and their bodies cast to the dogs. This is the modern rendering of the *Pax Romana*, and all is done under orders of him whom we are waiting here to see, him whom they call their "pacific Emperor, *semper Augustus*," and with the blessing of the creatures whom he pleases to nominate as the successors of St. Peter.'

In one fascinating chapter we see the Caliph of the West at Cordova, the great Caliph, the Charlemagne of Saracen Spain, now at the close of his long rule of half a century—the greatest ruler of his age and the noblest of the Saracen race. In fifty years he had reduced the rebels and traitors within his own dominion, had made vassals of the Christian princelets of North Spain, and had driven back the Mauritanian invaders from Africa. He possessed a magnificent fleet, a powerful army, and a treasury of 20,000,000 gold pieces. The police of his realm secured perfect order and peace; the state of agriculture was in the highest degree thriving; commerce and manufactures were equally advanced.' His days come to their close in this chapter, and we read the moving words attached by him to his last testament: 'Fifty years have I been on this throne. Riches, honours, pleasures have been poured on me, and I have drained them all to the dregs. The sovereigns who are my rivals respect me, or fear me—both envy me; for all that men desire has been showered on me by Allah, the Bountiful, the All-merciful. But in all these years of apparent felicity I can only count fourteen days wherein I have been truly happy. My son, meditate on this, and judge at their true value human grandeur, this world, and man's life.'

It was his son, Hakem the Second, who, as Renan has described, had the glory of opening that brilliant series of studies which, by the influence that they exercised upon Christian Europe, holds so important a place in the history of civilisation. Two centuries later the brilliant Arab-Spanish era closed. Meanwhile, says Renan, the taste for knowledge and for beautiful things had established in that privileged corner of the world a tolerance of which modern times can hardly offer us an example. 'Christians, Jews, Moslems spoke the same tongue, sang the same poetry, shared the same literary and scientific studies. All the barriers that separate men had fallen, all worked with one accord at the task of common civilisation.'<sup>16</sup> Mr. Harrison

<sup>16</sup> *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, p. 4.



has ascribed a mood like this to his Fatima in her home among the mountains of the Sierra Morena, north of Cordova :

'There is but one God,' she said, with profound earnestness ; 'I know but one God, and I care not if He be named the Trinity or Allah. I have lived so long in this Andalusian Caliphate; I have seen enough of the Romans of the Empire.' She sighed as she uttered that name. 'I have seen and heard enough to know that Christendom and Islam have each much that is God-like and good, and much that is of Sheitan and evil. This splendid capital of Cordova is in many things, in most things, the counterpart of Byzantium—as rich, as luxurious, as corrupt, as elegant, as turbulent. These Ommeyades here execrate the Fatimites: Abbasides from the first contend with Kharijis. There are as many sects amongst Mussulmans as there are amongst Christians—as many dynasties, as many wars. Bagdad, Damascus, Haleb, Antioch, Edessa, Fostat, Kairouan, Andalusia, war on each other as often as Byzantine, Bulgarian, Lombard, Calabrian, Frank, or Saxon. Whether it be Allah and His Prophet, or Christ and His Mother, who inspire these rivalries and combats, I know not. All that I know is that it is not the one God.'

It was 800 years after this that a like thought inspired the beautiful apologue of the Three Rings, as adopted and extended by Lessing from Boccaccio, and coming to him through the Hundred Old Novels, from some tongue in some corner of the Mediterranean that, as scholars tell us, can never now be known.<sup>17</sup> Everybody knows it, in or out of Lessing's noble dramatic setting, how Saladin, the great Saracen, wishing to lay a trap for Nathan, the wise and rich Jew, asked him, 'Honest man, I would gladly know from thee which religion thou judgest to be the true one, Jewish, Mahometan, or Christian.' Then Nathan, in answer, tells him of a certain family owning a ring of much beauty and worth, and endowed with the magical virtue of making every wearer of it beloved by God and men. The possessor of it became thereby head of the family and owner of the estate. This the father in successive generations always gave to whomsoever of his descendants he deemed the worthiest. At length a father had three sons, all of whom he loved alike. In his perplexity to whom to give the ring, he sent for a craftsman, and had two more rings made of such exact resemblance that even he himself could hardly tell the true one. Being now very old, he privately gave a ring to each of his three sons. When he was dead, each of them produced his ring, and claimed the honour and the estate. They brought the case before the judge. 'I hear,' said the judge, 'that the true ring has the power of making its wearer pleasing in the sight of God and of man. Let each of you believe that his ring is the true one. Let each of you strive to make known the virtue of his ring, by gentleness, by hearty peacefulness, by well-doing, by the utmost inward devotion to God. And then, if this power of the gems reveals itself, with your children's children, I invite you again, thou-

<sup>17</sup> See Burckhardt's *Renaissance in Italy*, Eng. trans., ii. 302, note.

sands and thousands of years hence, before this tribunal. Then one wiser than I will sit in the judgment-seat and will decide.' <sup>18</sup>

## VI

The speculative bearings of the phantasmagoria that he unfolds before his readers scarcely fall within the scope of Mr. Harrison's monograph. His business here is spectacle, and not philosophising. The genius of Montesquieu early divined that the poisoned source of all the misfortunes of the Byzantines was that they never knew the nature, or the respective boundaries, of ecclesiastical and secular power. 'This great distinction, that is the foundation on which reposes the tranquillity of nations, springs not only from religion, but also from nature and reason, that insists on things essentially separate never being confounded.' <sup>19</sup> Here, indeed, as in so many other relations, Montesquieu clearly came near the possession of the master-key. Of all the manifold aspects of human history, the central and most commanding of them is the spirit of man, as we see and consider it, working in creeds and institutions, working against them, piercing them, transforming them, ever striving to coerce the concrete into more and more harmony with the abstract. The military system that was rendered necessary in the Eastern Empire by the pressure of enemies outside, reduced abstract Christianity, in its doctrines and its organisation, into a fatal, though often mutinous, subjection to temporal institutions. The records of the Churches, alike in East and West, have many a dismal and depressing page, but none more depressing than the forms with which abstract Christianity clothed itself in the Eastern Empire, or the feuds of policy and nationality that blazoned the mysteries of faith in letters of blood upon rival banners.

With marked power Mr. Harrison has depicted the exterior and political force and momentum of Eastern monasticism; that wonderful ideal of contemplation and renunciation as a means of saving the soul; the attempt to realise ideals outside of the world; the protest in solitude against the weight of injustice that had become unbearable. 'The Byzantine code of laws,' says Harnack, now reputed greatest theologian of our time—'our own social and moral views, too, have not yet emancipated themselves from its bonds—is in part a strange congeries of pitiless Roman craft and of the monastic view of the world.' Tolstoi, says Harnack, is in his writings a genuine Greek monk, to whom the only chance of Church reform lies in a radical breach with culture and history. <sup>20</sup> Here, for an instant in our day, two

<sup>18</sup> *Nathan der Weise*, III. vi., whither the wise reader will betake himself for one of the grand passages in literature.

<sup>19</sup> *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, ch. 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Monasticism*. By Adolf Harnack, pp. 55, 60-61, Eng. trans. (1901).

strangely diverse schools unexpectedly meet, for Socialism that is now so alarming to the rulers of the world, springs in its root from the same intolerable sense of the world's wrong, and insists on the same breach with culture and with history. In some at least of its types and its ideals, Socialism comes nearer to what is called Byzantinism than either professors or opponents well know. Yet history—standing forces, institutions founded on social needs transient or abiding, forms and conventions—all hold their ground with a tremendous grip. However violent the supposed breach, the old Manichean tale will still go on.

'When you see,' cried Bossuet, 'the old and the new Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, present themselves successively before you and fall, so to say, one upon the ruin of the other; all this frightful turmoil makes you feel that there is nothing solid among mankind, and that inconstancy and agitation is the peculiar lot of human things.' But then he detects or he manufactures a chain. The parts of so great a whole are linked together, he says. With the reserve of 'certain extraordinary strokes in which God intended that His hand alone should be manifest,' no great change has ever taken place that had not its causes in ages that went before. These 'extraordinary strokes,' if they exist, and if he had pondered their significance, it must have puzzled Bossuet to reconcile with his theory of the chain—with what in modern language we should call the reign of law in history—which it was his express object to set forth. William of Tyre, the twelfth-century historian of the Crusades, hit this when he wrote: 'To no one should the things done by our Lord be displeasing, for all His works are right and good. But, according to the judgment of men, it was marvellous how our Lord permitted the Franks (the people in the world who honour Him most) to be thus destroyed by the enemies of the faith.' Mr. Harrison's book, with no deliberate intention of his, for he is here a writer of neutral history, will give people of a reflective turn of mind, whether Jew, Mahometan, Christian, or Agnostic, if they be in the humour, many deep things to ruminate upon.

JOHN MORLEY.

## *OUR NAVAL STRENGTH AND THE NAVY ESTIMATES*

### I

DURING the past session the Army has been a leading subject of debate. We have less anxiety in regard to the Navy. We have had a sound system and able Ministers at the Admiralty, well advised by the boards of naval officers over which they have presided. Our naval administration is a source of strength to the country. In every department of the State, and not least at the Admiralty, organisation and policy must always need revision. There are changes in the policy of foreign Powers which we must be prepared to meet, neither falling behind nor going beyond the standard of strength which the wisdom of Parliament has laid down. Nor can financial considerations be disregarded. We have to make both ends meet, and the national income is not a fixed quantity. In the late debate in the House of Lords, Lord Selborne said truly : 'The Navy and the national credit are the two pillars on which in every material sense the safety of the Empire depends.' The principles laid down by Mr. Micawber are as sound in public as in private finance. 'My other piece of advice, Copperfield, you know. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen, nineteen six ; result, happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure, twenty pounds ought and six ; result, misery.'

Our war expenditure has reached an amount unprecedented in time of peace. The continual increase in estimates fills statesmen with concern. In 1899 Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was growing anxious as to the cost of the Army and Navy. In a weighty speech he pointed to the 63,000,000*l.* which were being spent by Great Britain, as against a corresponding expenditure of 36,400,000*l.* by France, and 35,250,000*l.* by Germany. In 1903, as it was shown in a Parliamentary return of last Session, the cost of Imperial defence had increased to 87,487,000*l.*, including Army estimates, 34,425,000*l.* ; military expenditure of India, 17,782,000*l.* ; contributions of Crown Colonies in aid of Army votes, 355,000*l.* For 1904-5 the expenditure for the Navy will be 36,889,000*l.* under estimates, 5,111,000*l.* under Works Acts—in round figures,

42,000,000*l.* Our surpluses have disappeared. The public credit is impaired. In the grave words addressed by Mr. Chamberlain to the representatives of the Colonies at the Coronation Conference, 'The weary Titan groans beneath the orb of his too vast fate.'

## II

Are reductions possible for the Navy under any head of charge? Let us consider first the votes for manning. They have increased in ten years from 5,400,000*l.* to 9,100,000*l.*, as against, in round figures, 3,000,000*l.* for the French Navy and half that amount for Germany and Russia. A voluntary service must be costly; and we have raised our numbers from 85,103 to 131,100, the cost per man being certainly not less than 100*l.* a year. In addition we have to give the training at sea, which is indispensable to make seamen. This means more ships in commission.

In the strength of our permanent force we are far above the two-Power standard. The table below is taken from a report by the Committee of the House of Representatives on the United States Navy Appropriation Bill for 1904-5:

NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS.

	Com- missioned line and engineer officers	Total com- missioned officers, sea-going corps	Midship- men and cadets	Warrant officers	Blue- jackets	Marine officers	Marines
England .	3,546	4,595	1,254	1,892	100,143	474	19,106
France .	2,065	2,830	461	1,078	46,803	—	—
Russia .	1,965	2,860	430	790	49,663	—	—
Germany .	1,384	1,736	688	774	31,914	87	1,229
United States	941	1,337	753	525	27,245	220	6,091
Italy .	1,057	1,537	165	735	25,000	—	—
Japan .	919	1,378	1,240	771	27,389	—	—
Austria .	583	803	180	155	9,134	—	—

The permanent force of the British Navy is too large; the Reserves are too few. As given in detail in the estimates, they number in all 60,000 men. France has a Reserve of more than 100,000 on the rolls, giving at least 50,000 fit for service. Germany has 74,000 men on the rolls, and all receive a training in the Navy.

The permanent force of the Navy should be strong in officers, strong in all ratings requiring special training. Long-service training is not necessary for all the duties of the deck and the stokehold. In a battleship some 200 men are detailed for the ammunition supply, and many are for unskilled work. British naval officers insist, and rightly so, on a high standard of efficiency. Their desire is natural to command men reared, as they themselves have been, from their boyhood in the service. They share the reluctance with which

Reserves were accepted by their brother officers of the Army. Neither the Volunteers nor the Yeomanry received much encouragement from the military authorities of the elder day. Lessons may sometimes be learned from foreign navies. The ship's company of the flagship of the squadron which represented the United States on the occasion of the King's coronation were a splendid body of men. The flag-captain informed me that nearly one-third of the crew had been entered as landsmen. In addition he had ninety apprentices. These novices made up for want of experience afloat by their keenness to learn. They were efficient for their duties. The Navy of the United States has never failed in war. Long service for all ratings is not insisted upon.

It is the part of the statesman to take broad views of things, and it is due to Lord Selborne and his predecessors in the office of First Lord to say that they have appreciated the need for Reserves, and the impossibility of maintaining in peace a permanent force sufficient to meet the stress and strain of a great naval war.

After a long delay the Reserves have been taken in hand. We have an increase in the estimates for 1904-5 of 13,000 men. The new forces include the Colonial Naval Reserve and Royal Naval Volunteers. Our Colonies offer a wide field for recruiting. We have the hardy fishermen of Newfoundland and the maritime provinces of the Canadian Dominion. In Australia we have 20,000 seafaring men. At home the call for volunteers has been warmly received. The Admiralty have been fortunate in securing as the first commanders the Hon. Rupert Guinness for the Thames, the Marquis of Graham for the Clyde, Retired Admiral the Hon. T. S. Brand for Sussex, and Retired Commander Stephen Thompson for Bristol. For instructors we may look with confidence to the Navy. The old force of Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers was full of zeal for the service. The men were smart and intelligent in gunnery. They could pull a strong oar. They had one fault, and it was pardonable. They were too keen to be rated as bluejackets. The force was too hastily disbanded. Under an improved organisation, and with conditions, now clearly laid down, of liability to serve wherever and in whatever capacity they may be required, volunteers will certainly take their place in a general mobilisation of the fleet. To make Reservists efficient more money must be spent. The Reserve vote for the current year has been increased by 107,000*l.*; yet the total remains at 404,000*l.* for the Reserves, while some 10,000,000*l.* are voted for the permanent service. It seems still true to say that the Reserves are starved. Any standard of strength is more or less arbitrary. Looking to the numbers in foreign navies, it does not appear necessary that our permanent force should exceed 100,000. With an equal number of well-trained men in reserve, our total strength would be greater than at present, while the cost would be considerably less. To raise the

numbers and improve the training of the Reserves is the first step to a reduction in the votes for manning. The cost of Reservists does not exceed one-tenth of the cost of permanent men.

### III

In this connection suggestions from time to time offered in the *Naval Annual* may perhaps appropriately be renewed.

(a) Our resources for manning the Navy may be materially increased by organising a portion of the Army as an amphibious force. Regiments may be permanently quartered at the naval ports, exercised in boats, and drilled with the Marines as gunners. As disciplined soldiers they would be ready for service afloat or ashore.

(b) It is more difficult to raise men for the stokehold than for deck duties. Stokers of the tropical races should be enrolled in the Reserves.

(c) The names of officers of the Royal Naval Reserve in the several ranks fill pages of the *Navy List*. They should be something more than a force on paper. For the cadets of the Royal Naval Reserve—officers of the Royal Navy in time of emergency—something more is wanted than the haphazard training and scanty opportunities for general instruction of the apprentice in the mercantile marine. The Admiralty should offer premiums to shipowners for the education of cadets, under conditions which would ensure that the work should be well done.

There is a further and a cogent argument for the reinforcement of the Reserves. It is the only means by which the decline in the British element in the mercantile marine can be arrested. The reasons for the reduction in the number of British persons employed are not far to seek. The vast trade with the East, through the Suez Canal, is entirely in steam. The voyages are made through the hottest seas in the world. In the tropics, men of tropical races are most suitable. Climatic conditions cannot be changed. In the trade with the Far East by the Suez route, working hands will not be recruited from a northern population. In all other trades British ships should be manned by British seamen. Their falling numbers are due to the scanty wages of the sailor. Shipowners receive no special favours from the State. Nor are they more disinterested than other classes of employers engaged in keen competition, the most severe which the British shipowner has to face being that under his own flag. Expenses must be cut down. In mastless ships the foreigner does the work required, and is content with wages too low to keep a decent home in England. The State may combine with the shipowner. It may supplement wages with the retainers paid to Reservists, and a hundred thousand, as it has been said, are required.

The Reserve question is urgent. In framing a comprehensive

plan for the reinforcement of the Reserves, we should borrow from the French Inscription Maritime those provisions which were designed by Colbert with the view to attach the seafaring population of France to the national flag, and which have proved so successful; thus accomplishing a peaceful purpose while strengthening the Navy.

## IV

In dealing with the question of manning, we have had before us a double purpose. We have looked to reinforcement of the Reserves. We have looked to retrenchment where it is possible without weakening the Navy in essentials. The expenditure on naval works calls for careful examination from the same point of view. The cost of naval works is provided for chiefly by loans. It is a method which leads to extravagance. The aggregate estimates for the works in progress, as proposed under the Works Bill of 1895, were under 9,000,000*l*. In a return of April 1904 the total had advanced to 27,500,000*l*. In a return issued in July last the estimates for works in progress had reached the vast total of 31,641,000*l*. The table below is from the latest returns :

## NAVAL WORKS—TOTAL ESTIMATED COST

	<i>£</i>
Return, April 1904 . . . . .	27,501,864
Return, July 1904 . . . . .	31,640,859
Increase . . . . .	4,138,995

## ESTIMATES

	April 1904	July 1904	Increase .
Works already in hand—	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Deepening Harbours and Approaches .	1,100,000	1,300,000	200,000
Gibraltar Dockyard Extension . . . . .	2,674,000	2,809,000	135,000
Simon's Bay . . . . .	1,000,000	1,280,000	280,000
Chatham Naval Barracks . . . . .	445,000	515,000	70,000
Gunnery Schools . . . . .	220,000	470,000	250,000
Portsmouth Naval Barracks . . . . .	670,400	791,000	121,000
Keyham Naval Barracks . . . . .	230,000	281,000	51,000
Chatham Naval Hospital . . . . .	379,000	429,000	50,000
Britannia Naval College . . . . .	315,000	375,000	60,000
Magazines . . . . .	870,000	1,335,000	465,000
New Works—			
Chatham Dockyard Extension . . . . .	—	—	50,000
Sheerness Depot Torpedo-Boat Destroyers . . . . .	—	—	250,000
Naval Establishment at Rosyth . . . . .	—	—	200,000
Coastguard Stations and Royal Naval Reserve Batteries . . . . .	—	—	50,000
Torpedo Ranges . . . . .	—	—	320,000
Electric-Light Power in Naval Establishments . . . . .	—	—	1,500,000
Total increase in Estimates for Naval Works, April to July, 1904. . . . .			4,052,000



It can hardly be contended that all the new works are of urgent necessity. Among works lately authorised, let us take those in Simon's Bay. Here, certainly, we have a case of overlapping. Our commercial base at Cape Town, with all its resources in docks and skilled workmen, is distant but a few miles from Simon's Bay, and must be strongly held. With a subsidy from the Admiralty, the Cape Government would have provided new docks or enlarged existing docks. The first cost would have been far less. A heavy permanent addition to expenditure would have been avoided. Docks at Simon's Bay are useless without workmen, whose profitable employment must be certain, and who must be paid at the Cape at colonial rates.

In the estimate of 700,000*l.* for dockyard extension at Bermuda, we have another charge of doubtful necessity. The dockyard at Bermuda was mounted on the present scale, and defended with extensive and costly fortifications, at a time when our relations with the United States were less happy than they are to-day. It is not going too far to say that war is no longer possible between the two great English-speaking races. If no naval establishment were already in existence at Bermuda, it would not now be set up. And what shall we say of the new works sanctioned in the short interval between the two returns relating to naval works laid before Parliament in the past session? And what as to the increases in estimates for works already authorised? It is the duty of Parliament to be vigilant in examining proposals for naval works, more especially in distant parts of the world, and far removed from the naval stations of other Powers.

## V

We have now to consider the votes for shipbuilding. The aggregate amount has increased from under 9,000,000*l.* in 1896 to 18,420,000*l.* for 1904-5. For the construction of new ships, as distinguished from repairs, the expenditure has increased from 4,400,000*l.* for 1894-5 to 12,000,000*l.* for the current financial year. Has this increase been necessary? And, first, how do we stand as to ships? We may take the position as stated in the *Naval Annual*, edited by my son, omitting the tables as given in that publication, compiled from the best authorities, English and foreign. In battleships ready for service we are equal to a combination of any three Powers. If we include ships building, and assume an equal rate of progress, we are up to a two-Power standard. In cruisers of the first and second class built and building, we have a commanding superiority. We have a long list of cruisers of the third class, not counting for much in comparisons of strength. Shipbuilding for the British Navy has not been carried to excess. Our strength in battleships is not more than sufficient. A margin is required. As to cruisers, no fixed standard of strength is possible. Our vast over-sea trade requires many

cruisers for its protection. It would be too costly to build in numbers sufficient to give absolute security.

Having compared the strength in ships, let us compare the expenditure on construction. It is the most exact measure of progress available. For the years 1895-1904, the aggregate outlay for construction was officially given by the Secretary to the Admiralty, in reply to a question by Mr. Robertson, at 70,000,000*l.* in round figures for Great Britain, as against 83,000,000*l.* for France, Russia, and Germany. The total for Great Britain covers 5,000,000*l.* for gun mounting, a charge not included in the case of foreign countries.

In recent years we have been increasing our expenditure. We have now reached, as it has been said, a total of no less than 12,000,000*l.*, or more than the aggregate votes of France, Russia, and Germany. And we build at least 25 per cent. more cheaply than is possible in Russia or in France. M. Dagnaud of the French Admiralty has given, as typical examples, the British ship *Hermes*, 5,600 tons, cost 300,593*l.*, and the French *Jurien de la Gravière*, of even tonnage, cost 475,979*l.*—difference over 50 per cent. British shipbuilding votes for the present year have been abnormally increased by the purchase of the *Swiftsure* and the *Triumph*. We may look for retrenchment in shipbuilding in future years.

For the United States the vote for new construction has risen from 2,090,000*l.* in 1899-1900 to 7,440,000*l.* in 1904-5. Potentially the United States must be reckoned the first naval Power in the world. Their Atlantic ports are unassailable. Their resources are practically unlimited. We could not contend even for naval supremacy with 100,000,000 men in a territory secure from invasion. Happily those 100,000,000 in the United States are English-speaking men, on whose goodwill towards us we have the claims of the Motherland—claims not to be forgotten nor denied because in the far-off years some grave errors in policy were committed, of which we have long ago repented.

Designs for shipbuilding are a difficult subject for the Admiralty. It is useless to spend large sums on shipbuilding unless we have some expectation that the costly ships we lay down will be retained for a reasonable time on the list of effectives; and the progress of invention is unceasing. One leading principle is clear. In every operation of war in which England has been engaged the command of the sea has been necessary. Witness in the last century the Peninsula, the Crimea, our wars in India and elsewhere. As later illustrations we have the war in South Africa and the conflict between Russia and Japan. The command of the sea gives security to commerce. The ships that command the seas are the battleships, with their auxiliaries, the scouts and destroyers. In the appropriation of the sums expended on construction as between battleships and cruisers our latest programme of shipbuilding must command approval.

## VI

As to types, it has been the rule for the British Navy to look to what is being built elsewhere, and to try to go one better. It is a good working rule. Measuring their work with that of foreign navies, our naval architects fully hold their own. Our first-class battleships, whether designed by Sir Edward Reed, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, Sir William White, or Mr. Watts, are not surpassed by ships of the same date in any foreign navy. Ample provision is sure to be made, in any design sanctioned by the Admiralty, for strength of structure, sea-keeping qualities, and full supplies of coal and ammunition.

The rivalry of constructors under peace conditions tends towards exaggeration of size. The cost has advanced for the eight ships of the *Edward VII.* class—and doubtless for the *Nelson*, our latest design—to no less than 1,500,000*l.* As the cost increases, the numbers which can be built for any given sum must be less. And superiority in numbers counts for much. It was the lesson of the great war. The fleets of Lord Nelson consisted chiefly of seventy-fours. At Trafalgar there were no four-deckers in the British line-of-battle. It was the aim in tactics to concentrate the whole force on a part of the enemy's line. Superiority in numbers is even more important in modern naval warfare. The largest ships are as vulnerable below the belt as those of less dimensions. A blow from the ram or the torpedo, the explosion of a mine, may be fatal. In a hard-fought action the destruction of the upper works may leave a battleship without the means of repelling attacks of torpedo boats by the fire of quick-firing guns. Size gives no immunity from the risks of stranding, collision, and fog. A fleet in the Channel may suddenly be enveloped in fog, when the protection of the attending destroyers may for a dangerous interval cease to be effective. We are bound to build ships equal to the most powerful in foreign navies. We need such ships as the *King Edward* and *Nelson*. We also need a less costly type. In the *Swiftsure* and *Triumph*, designed by Sir Edward Reed, and lately purchased into the Navy, at a cost per ship of 950,000*l.*, such a type seems to have been found. The *Naval Annual* for 1904 gives in tabular form a comparison of the leading features of the *Swiftsure* and *Triumph* and the most representative types now building or lately completed for the British and foreign navies.

The maximum thickness of armour is less in the *Swiftsure* than in battleships of heavier displacement. There is no inferiority in the area protected. The main armament of 10-inch guns of the latest pattern is in the opinion of Admiral Hopkins powerful enough for anything. The secondary armament is superior to that of larger battleships of recent type. The *Swiftsure* and the *Triumph* are a knot faster than the *Duncan*, and two knots faster than the latest French, German, and Russian battleships. The coal capacity equals

that of any battleship, and would enable them to steam 12,000 miles at ten knots or 4000 miles at nineteen knots. The *Swiftsure* and *Triumph* carry their broadside guns as high above the water-line as the *Duncan's*, and their freeboard is only one foot less. These two vessels are suggestive specimens of a class which should find a place in future programmes of shipbuilding.

It will not be necessary to dwell at length on the designs for cruisers. We may begin by reviewing recent progress. The *Powerful* and the *Terrible*, the first of a class equal in size and cost to battleships, were an answer to the *Rurik*, *Rossia*, and *Gromoboi*—equal to their rivals in armament, superior in coal supply, and still more conspicuously in speed. The dimensions and cost of the *Powerful* and *Terrible* were deemed excessive for ships without protection by vertical armour. The next group of first-class cruisers were the eight ships of the *Diadem* class, 11,180 tons, speed 21 knots, cost 582,682*l.* against 742,000*l.* for the *Powerful*. In protection these ships had no advantage over their predecessors. The *Diadems* were followed by the six ships of the *Cressy* type, with protection by a continuous belt, but without side armour. The dimensions were increased to 12,000 tons and the cost to 780,000*l.* While cruisers were approaching battleships in cost they were still inadequately defended by armour. Protection by vertical armour, powerful armament, speed of 23 knots, and long coal endurance, as combined in the *Good Hope* class, were not obtained without an advance in displacement to 14,000 tons.

Our largest cruisers are the most satisfactory. Our noble cruiser squadron consists at present of the *Good Hope* and *Drake*, and four ships of the *County* class. Units of the latter type cost 750,000*l.*, the *Good Hopes* 1,000,000*l.* The cruiser squadron, as actually constituted, has cost 5,000,000*l.* If all the ships had been of the *Good Hope* class, the cost would have been 6,000,000*l.* With shipbuilding votes now amounting to 12,000,000*l.*, it should not have been impossible to make provision for an additional expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* for the cruiser squadron. The gain in fighting efficiency would have been more than commensurate with the increase in cost.

Cruisers for the protection of commerce should be powerful vessels, able to keep the seas for considerable periods, and armoured and armed for single actions against the formidable adversaries described by M. Messimy, author of the Report of the Committee on the French Navy Estimates for 1905:

Fussent-ils trois fois moins nombreux que leurs similaires anglais, nos croiseurs, par le seul fait qu'ils existent, constituent, d'une façon permanente, un avertissement salutaire. La seule existence de dix de ces navires rapides, à grand rayon d'action, que rien ne lie aux rivages de France, et qui peuvent, de l'Europe à l'Amérique, entraver, sinon arrêter, tout le commerce trans-océanique—leur seule existence est de la nature à rendre digne d'une sérieuse attention toute perspective d'un conflit avec notre pays.

Scouts are necessary. They are the eyes of the fleet. In the elder day the scouts were the frigates, of which Lord Nelson never had enough. In January 1804, when he believed the French fleet at Toulon was about to sail, he wrote: 'I am kept in great distress for frigates and smaller vessels at this critical moment. I want ten more than I have, in order to watch that the French should not escape me.' In a letter to Lord Barham (then First Lord of the Admiralty) dated the *Victory*, the 30th of July 1805, he asks for 'many, many more frigates and sloops of war.' Last year four vessels of the new type officially designated as 'scouts' were laid down. In the programme of 1904-5 we have four more vessels of the same class. The scouts have a displacement of 2750 tons. They are to steam 25 knots on an eight hours' trial. The speed is high, the displacement too small for vessels designed to sweep the ocean. The normal coal capacity is sufficient, it is estimated, for 4000 miles at cruising speed, but gives a much smaller radius of action at full speed. The cost of the scouts is put at 276,384*l.*, or approximately the cost of the second-class cruisers of the *Talbot* class, with a displacement of 5600 tons and a speed of 19 to 20 knots. The scouts are not fighting vessels. They cannot compare with cruisers in armament. They are without protection. They would break up in a few minutes under such a fire as that directed against the *Belleisle*, and their complements number 268 officers and men. Vessels of the scout type could chase destroyers, but with the disadvantage—which might sometimes be serious—of greater draught of water. With a length of 380 feet, as against 210 feet for the destroyers, they must be slow in turning. No vessels have as yet been designed as effective as destroyers for repelling attacks directed by destroyers upon a fleet of battleships. The greater the superiority in numbers the more complete the defence. Destroyers cost 50,000*l.*; scouts six times that amount.

The Scout class is not an untried type. In the years 1896-1900 twelve third-class cruisers of the *Pelorus* class, similar in dimensions to the scouts and designed for similar services, were laid down. They had a speed of 20 knots. Their coal endurance was insufficient. In introducing the Navy Estimates on the 25th of February 1900, Lord Goschen gave the reasons why three third-class cruisers of rather larger dimensions than the *Pelorus* class, intended to be very fast and designed for special purposes, were dropped out of the programme.

'We were guided,' he said, 'in the matter to a certain extent by the experience of other countries. France had also intended to lay down some very fast small cruisers, but the French naval architects, like our own, appear to have found the task impossible to perform, and the French Government have withdrawn the small third-class cruisers from their programme, just as we have dropped them from ours. The attempt was to put an enormous amount of machinery within a vessel of very small dimensions. That has been accom-

plished in the torpedo-destroyers. They are light and very delicate instruments; but when we came to try it on a larger scale it was thought that these third-class cruisers would only be torpedo-destroyers on a larger scale, and that they would not have the necessary sea-going or fighting power.'

Small vessels of exceptional speed must be costly—for the *Pelorus* class 156,000*l.*, for the scouts 278,337*l.* It is the price paid for an advance in speed from nineteen to twenty-five knots. The scouts cost 110*l.* per ton; battleships of the *King Edward* type 72*l.* In his recent statement in the House of Lords, Lord Selborne was careful to explain that the scouts were designed not as destroyers of destroyers but for the sphere of action which the name implies. For such a service why limit the dimensions to less than 3,000 tons? With additional displacement, coal endurance, sea-keeping qualities, and speed, except perhaps in the finest weather, would be much improved. The Scout class are an unsatisfactory feature in a programme of construction otherwise beyond criticism.

It would seem scarcely necessary to build special vessels as scouts. In the third class we have many cruisers with a measured mile speed of twenty knots, and a coal capacity far superior to that of the scouts. Speeds might be considerably increased by reducing armaments. Our third-class cruisers, too small for the service for which they were designed, should be utilised as scouts.

As the eyes of the fleet, no regularly built vessels of war can compare with the greyhounds of the mercantile marine. They were strongly recommended to the Committee on Subsidies by Lord Charles Beresford. In giving evidence before the Committee he said :

In war the mercantile marine and the Royal Navy must be to a very great extent intermingled. In allowing your admirals a certain number of very fast merchant ships by way of auxiliaries to the fleet you may save a campaign and you may win an initial advantage. These ships would form the line of communication. They would carry information to an admiral of the movements of an enemy's fleet. There is no ship that can do this service better than the ocean greyhounds that are built for speed in any weather. That is their utility.

Lord Charles Beresford gave suggestions as to the means by which the construction of such vessels should be encouraged by the aid of the Government, and the ships retained under the British flag.

There are strong political arguments in favour of a policy of subsidies to auxiliary vessels as the scouts of the fleet. Swift communications are a bond of empire. I had the honour of presiding at the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire held last year at Montreal. A day was given to the discussion of a fast service to connect Canada directly with the Motherland. If established by an Imperial subsidy we should be giving to our colonial fellow-subjects a helping hand in an undertaking they have at heart, while adding to the list of vessels available as the scouts of the Navy. On similar grounds it seems desirable that the mail service to Australia should be

maintained by an Imperial subsidy, under conditions which would secure that the ships should be held at the disposal of the Admiralty. The speed should be accelerated. The Imperial Colonial Mail Service would be a practical training for engineers, officers, and stokers of the Navy and Royal Navy Reserve.

Submarines are formidable for port defence and for operations in narrow waters. The construction of submarines is being pushed forward in the French Navy, partly under the pressure of financial considerations. The British Admiralty are making sufficient progress in the construction of a comparatively new type. The failure of the attacks by a Japanese torpedo flotilla on the Russian fleet when taking flight from Port Arthur would seem to show that the torpedo is unreliable against ships steaming at speed.

After exhaustive trials by the Admiralty the water-tube boiler has won the day. In all the recent battleships and cruisers building by France, Russia, Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Sweden, and Japan, water-tube boilers have been fitted. The mixed system of cylindrical and water-tube boilers has not found favour. It is satisfactory to know that, on the completion of their inquiry by an able committee of experts, some definite conclusions have been reached which will guide the policy in the future.

In connection with boilers, reference may appropriately be made to the supply of fuel for the Navy. Foreign navies have been drawing coal from Wales in increasing quantities. Welsh steam coal is the best in the world, and our supplies are limited. Mr. Boyd Dawkins recommends, in an able letter, that the most productive mines should be acquired by the State. The Prussian State is now negotiating for a large purchase in the Rhenish-Westphalian region.

## VII

Some further suggestions may here be offered with a view to economy in naval administration :

(1) And, first, all that overlapping of expenditure should cease, to which the Hartington Commission, and especially Mr. Ismay, a member of the Commission, drew attention. Two-thirds of the food for the population crowded together in our small islands being imported, it is vital for us to keep our communications open with all the world. The Navy, which gives protection to our commerce, is our defence against invasion. The principle that our home defence and communications are provided for by the Navy is now fully recognised. In his speech on Imperial defence, on the 27th of November, 1903, the Prime Minister specially insisted on our reliance on the Navy rather than the Army for home defence. We require a citizen army, and a permanent army sufficient to supply relief to the British force in India, to defend the coaling stations, and to provide a striking force.

To carry expenditure on the Army further is overlapping. Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke, in their joint report, dated the 11th of January, 1904, observe as follows on this important matter :

Our national problems of defence are far more difficult and complex than those of any other Powers. They require exhaustive study over a much wider field. The grave danger to which we call attention remains, and demands effective remedy. The British Empire is pre-eminently a great naval colonial Power. There are, nevertheless, no means for co-ordinating defence problems, for dealing with them as a whole, for defining the proper functions of the various elements, and for ensuring that, on the one hand, peace preparations are carried out on a consistent plan, and on the other hand that, in time of emergency, a definite war policy based upon solid data can be formulated. It would be easy to show that unnecessary weakness, coupled with inordinate waste of national resources, thus results.

The Committee of Defence, over which the Premier presides, should be a guarantee against overlapping.

(2) The expenditure in the dockyards on the upkeep of useless vessels was a blot on naval administration in the past. The resources of our dockyards are still being wasted in repairs to obsolete vessels. The remedy is to be found in putting all such vessels out of commission. Something has been done by the present Board in the revision of our squadrons on foreign stations. It may be carried further. In his report on the estimates for the French Navy, 1902, Mr. Lockroy gives the cost of maintaining ships in commission—Great Britain 44·9, Germany 29·1, and France 23 per cent. of the total votes.

(3) Under the present practice in regard to estimates, the control of Parliament over expenditure on Imperial defence is limited practically to the choice of a Minister with plenary responsibility. If Parliament is to do more it must be, as it was pointed out by the Committee on National Expenditure (1903), by the method of Select Committees.

We consider (they said) that the examination of estimates by the House of Commons leaves much to be desired from the point of view of financial scrutiny. The discussions are unavoidably partisan. Few questions are discussed with adequate knowledge or settled on their financial merits. Six hundred and seventy members of Parliament, influenced by party ties, occupied with other work and interests, frequently absent from the Chamber during the twenty to twenty-three Supply days, are hardly the instrument to achieve a close and exhaustive examination of the immense and complex estimates now annually presented. They cannot effectively challenge the smallest item without supporting a motion hostile to the Government of the day; and divisions are nearly always decided by a majority of members who have not listened to the discussion. . . . We are impressed with the advantages, for the purposes of detailed financial scrutiny, which are enjoyed by select committees, whose proceedings are usually devoid of party feeling, who may obtain accurate knowledge collected for them by trained officials, which may, if so desired, be checked or extended by the examination of witnesses or the production of



documents; and we feel it is in this direction that the financial control of the House of Commons is most capable of being strengthened.

The Committees of the French Chambers on Navy Estimates do valuable work. They summon officials of every grade and call for returns. Their reports are luminous and exhaustive, dealing with the largest questions of policy, and, even on technical points, instructive and suggestive. With us, the power of inquiry by Parliamentary Committee or by Royal Commission has thus far been a power in reserve for inquiry into the causes of disaster, or for the consideration of some organic reform in administration. It has been held that continuous supervision relieves Ministers of responsibilities. The debates in Parliament are the British equivalent for the *rappports* of the French Parliamentary Committees. Parliament should insist on ample information in returns and departmental reports. These should be studied at least by some few members, content to work in a field offering perhaps little parliamentary distinction, but full of interest, and in which there must always be much to be done.

Expenditure, if we go down to bed-rock, depends on policy—on our policy in India, in the East, in Africa, in China. We claim that we are disinterested. We say that we are reluctant to take new responsibilities. And yet we are ever adding new territories; and how seldom with us is the Temple of Janus closed.

It is satisfactory to have the assurance that our fleets are manned by officers and men in whom the country can trust. Earlier in the present year the Mediterranean, the Channel, and the Cruiser squadrons were brought together for exercise in the Mediterranean. I saw that noble fleet, far the most powerful that had ever been mustered in time of peace, in Pollensa Bay, and again under the 'Grand old Rock' of Gibraltar. The crews numbered no fewer than 28,000. Officers and men, to use another happy phrase of Lord Nelson, were 'a band of brothers.' It is not for laymen to criticise in professional matters. The judgment to which alone a naval commander can defer, the praise which he most values, must be that of his brother officers. At the close of exercises, planned on a great scale and carried through from beginning to end with success, such praise was awarded to Sir Compton Domville at a farewell dinner.

Measured by every test, improvement, wherever it is possible, is always to be found in the Navy. In gunnery progress is general, and not less in the distant China Squadron than in home waters, in the Channel Fleet. In the Engineers' department, the difficulties of tubular boilers have been mastered. If the old seamanship is going, the seamanship practically required is not wanting. The management of the boats, whether under sail or the oar, in half a gale of wind, in Pollensa Bay, was a credit to the fleet. At Gibraltar, coaling ship was the order of the day. It is a stirring sight to see the crews

of our ships of war on coaling days—in our cruisers of weekly recurrence. It is difficult to say who work hardest, the men who wheel their heavy loads along the hampered decks, always at the run, or the bandsmen, whose cheering strains are sustained hour by hour. ‘England expects that every man will do his duty.’ The famous signal is not forgotten. It is still the note and inspiration of the British Navy.

**BRASSEY.**

## THE GERMAN ARMY SYSTEM AND HOW IT WORKS

At the Hague Conference Germany's representative stated that 'the people of Germany do not by any means look upon universal service (*allgemeine Wehrpflicht*) as a burden, but as a sacred duty; and they feel that they owe to the fulfilment of this duty their present prosperity, and that their prosperity in the future will also be due to it.' The law of the land prescribes that the obligation to serve the country is a duty of honour which citizens who do not bear a fair and unblemished name—*i.e.*, who have suffered punishment to which dishonour is attached—are not permitted to perform. It is only the outcasts of society who are not deemed worthy to serve the Fatherland.

The obligation of every citizen to defend his country (*allgemeine Wehrpflicht*), which had obtained by statute in the kingdom of Prussia since the 13th of September, 1814, was inscribed on the first pages of the national code of the new German Empire on the 16th of April, 1871. The fundamental principle of the German army system is that it is the bounden duty of each and every able-bodied male inhabitant of the State to defend his country. 'Every German is in duty bound to defend his country, and he cannot discharge this duty through a substitute.' These last words, of course, eliminated the possibility of abuses such as those connected with the old system of French 'conscription.' The only exceptions admitted in the German system are in favour of certain specified reigning families, whose members are exempt as such from compulsory service, but seldom or never avail themselves of the privilege; and in favour of special cases, which will be referred to lower down.

A study of the history of Prussia from the days of the Great Elector shows that no country in the world owes so much to its army as does Prussia; and as this army has always, since the introduction of universal service, been made up of the whole able-bodied and virile male population of the land, just as is the army of the German Empire to-day, the people of Prussia and the people of the German Empire may incontestably claim that their present position in the

world is due to no special caste or class, but to the sacrifices and hard work of the whole people.

The law enjoining universal service has necessarily involved, and still does involve, immense sacrifices upon the individual; but it encouraged in the population of Prussia that military spirit that already existed in the people, and imbued the latter with energy and readiness to submit to any privation necessary for the maintenance of the Fatherland. What Prussia derived from this law has been participated in by the whole German Empire since April 1871.

The law regulating military organisation for the German Empire stipulates that the *Wehrpflicht*, or duty to defend the country, begins with the completed seventeenth year, and lasts till the conscript has completed his forty-fifth year. The *Wehrpflicht* is subdivided into: (a) the duty to serve in the army or navy (the *Dienstpflicht*); (b) the duty to serve in the *Landsturm*.

Every German may be called upon to serve in the army or navy—in actual practice from the age of twenty to the age of forty-five—and every German between the age of seventeen and the age of forty-five is liable to be called out to defend his country in war time if he be not already serving in the army or navy. The general obligation to serve in the army or navy is subdivided as follows:—

#### THE ARMY

##### *Standing Army:*

##### a. Active service with the colours:

Infantry, Garrison Artillery, Field Artillery (*fahrende Artillerie*) . . . . . 2 years

Cavalry, Horse Artillery (*reitende Artillerie*) . . . . . 3 years

##### b. With the reserves:

Infantry, &c., as above . . . . . 5 years

Cavalry and Horse Artillery (*reitende Artillerie*) . . . . . 4 years

##### *Landwehr:*

First Levy . . . . . 5 years

Second Levy (until end of 39th year) . . . . . 7 years

*Ersatz-Reserve* (or Supernumeraries), including all those who, though qualified for military service, are not for various reasons required to serve in the usual order. In peace time they may be taken for special purposes; in war time they would be taken to fill up vacancies when required. The obligation lasts for twelve years from the 1st of October of the year in which the conscript attains his 20th year . . . . . 12 years

##### *Landsturm* (all not in the army from 17th to 45th year):

First Levy—those from 17th to 39th year.

Second Levy—those from 39th to 45th year.

#### THE NAVY.

*Active Service* (beginning with 20th year) . . . . . 3 years

*Naval Reserve* . . . . . 4 years

*Secwehr* (corresponding to *Landwehr*) :

First Levy . . . . .	5 years
Second Levy . . . . .	7 years

*Naval Ersatz-Reserve* (Supernumeraries).—This is composed of men of the seafaring population, or the semi-seafaring population of the country. The conditions and period of service are the same as for the army . . . . . 12 years

*Landsturm* (same as for the army).

In war time the Reserves are called in to supplement the active army. Men in the infantry, field artillery (*fahrende Artillerie*), and military train who volunteer to serve for three years with the colours, and men of the cavalry and horse artillery who have served for three years, according to the regulations, with the colours, and cavalry men who volunteer to serve in the cavalry for four years are only required to serve in the first levy of the *Landwehr* for three years.

A number of exceptions are admitted as regards the time when the men are required to join the colours and as regards the duration of active service. These deal with the professions and the condition of life of the respective conscripts. For example, under certain conditions men may volunteer after attaining the age of seventeen for one year, two years, three years, or (for the cavalry) for four years. In order to be able to volunteer for one year a recruit must have acquired a certain amount of general education, the test for which is his having passed an examination qualifying him to be moved from the lower second to the upper second class of a State gymnasium. Such volunteers must also have the consent of their fathers or guardians.

The period for entering the service may also be postponed under certain conditions to the twenty-third, and even exceptionally to the twenty-seventh year—that is to say, in the case of individuals preparing for any particular profession, whereby an interference in their studies would injure their future career. Further, a man may be passed over for a year, or perhaps for longer, if he is physically insufficiently developed; or, if owing to family reasons those depending on him would suffer on account of his serving, he may be passed over altogether and be handed over to the *Landsturm*. In regard to exceptional cases, such as those above mentioned, the military authorities display very liberal consideration. In fact, they have no reason for not doing so, as in time of peace the supply of men is a good deal in advance of the demand, and there is no difficulty whatever in obtaining the number of recruits required for the year.

One year volunteers have to lodge, feed, and equip themselves. When possible, they are allowed to live in barracks. In the cavalry and horse artillery they receive a horse for their use, but are required to pay down a sum equivalent to 20*l.* for wear and tear, and about 36*s.* per month for the feed of the horse, veterinary expenses, &c.; in

the Field Artillery and Military Train the sum paid for wear and tear is 7l. 10s. Their work is very heavy for the first month in all branches of the service, especially in the mounted branches. The privilege of serving for a year accorded to men of higher education does not expunge the liability to serve, and in return for the privilege they have to acquire the requisite amount of military knowledge and to pay all expenses. The actual sum required by a one-year volunteer varies of course according to the young man's tastes and habits. It may be said that, on an average, a one-year volunteer requires in the infantry a minimum allowance of 150l.; in the artillery of 200l.; and in the cavalry of 300l., to take him through his year's service. These sums naturally vary also with the garrison as well as with the individual tastes of the volunteers. For example, the minimum cost to a one-year volunteer in the cavalry or horse artillery in Berlin may be estimated at 300l. After the year's service one-year volunteers are classed for six years in the Reserves, and are required in the earlier years of this period to join twice for from four to eight weeks' training each time. In general the years selected are the two immediately following their year of service with the colours; and they may be called upon to undergo a third period of training. Those who wish to become officers of the Reserve—i.e., officers who in time of war would be called in to serve as officers with the army on its war footing—will have received a certificate at the close of their year's service, and in the first eight weeks' training they will do non-commissioned officers' duty, obtaining rank, after passing an examination, as Vice-Feldwebel or Vice-Wachtmeister of the Reserve. During the second eight weeks' training, a one year's service man of this class does officer's duty, and if he obtains the necessary approval of his commanding officer his name is sent up to the Kaiser to be elected as officer of the Reserve or the Landwehr. Twice a year, whilst in the Reserve, the one-year volunteers have to put in an appearance (in April and November) before the Board of Control (*Control-Versammlung*) to report themselves and to hear matters of military interest.

The rank and file, after concluding their period of service, are transferred to the Reserve. In case of war they would be called in to supplement the active army. They go by the name of 'Reservists,' and are classified according to their year and length of service. They also are required to take part in two periods of training, not exceeding eight weeks each, during the time they are classed in the Reserve, and to appear twice a year before the Board of Control, the object being to keep alive in them the sense that they belong to the army. The first levy of the Landwehr are only required to attend once a year before the Board, as it is supposed that when they have arrived at this age their domicile is more likely to be fixed. The Landsturm are dispensed from the duty of reporting themselves. The penalties for not

appearing at the regular intervals before the Board are inconvenient, consisting partly in the lengthening of the time of service by a year. On the days that the Reservists appear before the Board they are subject to military, not civil, law, and may not attend any meeting or visit any place of public resort prohibited by the military authorities.

Efforts have been made in the Imperial Diet to abolish these enforced appearances before the Board, as being useless as well as irksome, unnecessarily interfering with the Reservist's usual daily work.

It is the Kaiser who determines annually the number of recruits that have to be enlisted, and this number is distributed amongst the various federal States of the Empire.

There are twenty-three army corps—namely, the Prussian Guards corps, sixteen corps comprising Prussia and the smaller States, two Saxon corps, three Bavarian and one Württemberg corps. Each corps has its own recruiting district, with the exception of the Prussian Guards corps, which is supplied from the whole Prussian kingdom and Elsass-Lothringen, volunteers from the other States being also allowed to present themselves. In general each of these corps districts is subdivided into four infantry brigade districts, and each of these latter districts consists of a number of Landwehr districts, each under the command of a field officer of the Army Reserve. These Landwehr districts are again subdivided into conscript districts.

The recruiting authorities are as follows :

(1) The Recruiting Commission for each district, composed of the Military Commander of the district and the Landrat, a civil official of the Home Office. The Landrat is an official partly corresponding to our sheriff, but is a fixed Government official under the Home Minister, and does duties not dissimilar to those of an under-sheriff. Four civil members are attached to them, specially selected in order to check the identity of the recruits, as well as an officer of the line, who checks the lists, and an army doctor, who conducts the medical examination. The District Commander and the Landrat sit together as presidents of the Commission.

(2) The Second Recruiting Commission, composed of the Brigade Commander, the District Commander, a civil official (probably the Landrat of the district), a civilian selected to give an opinion as to the validity of the claims for dispensation from service or for postponement of the same, and an army doctor of higher rank than the one who sits in the former Commission.

(3) The Third Recruiting Commission—a Commission of third instance (Court of Appeal), which exists in every army corps district—composed of the general in command of the corps and the Ober-President or supreme civil authority of the province.

(4) The supreme recruiting authority, composed of the War Minister and the Minister of the Interior.

The preliminary recruiting work for each year commences in the early part of the year. A list of the recruits liable for the year has to be drawn up. This is done with the assistance of the civil authorities.

As above stated, the whole able-bodied male population of the empire is under an obligation to perform military service (*Militärpflicht*) either in the army or the navy. The date when the recruit enters upon this obligation is the 1st of January, of the year in which he becomes twenty years of age. In each year the bürgomeisters of the towns and the heads of communes fix a day and an hour when the recruits for the year are required to put in an appearance and report themselves as *militärpflichtig*, in order to have their names entered on the muster-roll of their domicile. This muster-roll is passed on to the Landrat above referred to, who has an alphabetical list of the recruits of the district drawn up, a copy of which is given to the District Commander above referred to.

Naturally the domicile of a recruit at the age of twenty is not necessarily, and, indeed, very seldom is, his birthplace. For example, take the case of a recruit who has reported himself at Köln, but was born at Dortmund. The Landrat of Köln would immediately notify the Landrat of the Dortmund district that the said recruit had reported himself as *militärpflichtig* at Köln, and the fact would be registered.

All the recruits entered on the muster-roll for the year have to appear in March before the Recruiting Commission, which is composed as above specified. Each individual who passes the doctor steps before the members of the Commission, who question him as to his domestic conditions. It may happen that some recruits are physically not quite qualified to serve, or their absence from their family may interfere with its maintenance. In such cases they are told to step down and to report themselves in the following year. The Köln recruit, just mentioned, might say he was the only son of a widow, and that he had to look after his mother's business, and that she would suffer pecuniary loss if he were already obliged to serve. The Commission would take the case into consideration, and, if the reasons set forth were considered valid, the man would be told to come again a year hence, and his obligation to serve would be temporarily postponed—namely, for a year—and if by then it should chance that his mother was dead and the business sold, or if his general condition should have changed to such an extent that no obstacle lay in the way of his serving, he would then be accepted as a recruit qualified to join a regiment.

The higher Recruiting Commission (No. 2) definitely decides in May, when the recruits have to present themselves again, as to who is to be excluded, who is physically unfit to serve, and who is to be



handed over to the supernumeraries (*Ersatz-Reserve*), and designates the particular branch of the service to which each selected individual is to go. Take, again, the same concrete case. The Köln recruit above mentioned is told off to the foot regiment quartered in that city. He does not, however, immediately join his regiment. He is now reckoned as belonging to the rank and file of the 'Beurlaubtenstand'—i.e., he is a private soldier on furlough. As such he now receives some preliminary instruction about his duty as a soldier, and is given a certificate of leave. His active service with the regiment begins on the 1st of the following October. He must join the regiment by that date, and serve till the end of September two years later with the colours, when he is transferred to the Reserve.

In selecting the men for the various branches of the army the following points are taken into consideration :

(1) For the Guards the men must be physically and morally *picked men* and of excellent character.

(2) For the Chasseurs and Rifles men of first-rate manual skill are required.

(3) For the Cavalry, Horse Artillery, and Military Train men who are accustomed to stable work and understand the management of horses are taken : the weight of men for the heavy cavalry and horse artillery should not be above 11 stone (70 kg.), for light cavalry not above 10·234 stone (65 kg.), for light cavalry of the Guards not above 11 stone. Intelligence and good behaviour is required for the Military Train.

(4) For the Artillery men of physical strength.

(5) For the Pioneers and Railway regiments artisans are selected who are fit for hard work in the open air.

For the other branches men are selected according to their special qualifications, and physical defects are taken into account also.

In the case of the army the minimum height required of the men varies from 5·44 feet (170 cm.) for the Guards and 4·928 feet (154 cm.) for the Infantry, Chasseurs, and Military Train. The proportions are as follows : Guards in general, 5·44 feet (170 cm.), exceptions 5·344 feet (167 cm.); Light Cavalry of the Guard, 5·28 feet (165 cm.); Infantry of the Line, 4·928 feet (154 cm.); Chasseurs à pied, 4·928 feet (154 cm.); Cuirassiers and Uhlans, 5·344 feet (167 cm.); Dragoons and Hussars, 5·024 feet (157 cm.); Horse Artillery (*reitende Artillerie*) and Field Artillery (*fahrende Artillerie*), 5·184 feet (162 cm.); Garrison Artillery, 5·344 feet (167 cm.); Pioneers and Railway regiments, 5·184 feet (162 cm.); Military Train, 5·024 feet (157 cm.), with exceptions 4·928 feet (154 cm.).

In the case of the navy, the naval stations lay estimates as to the number of recruits required for the year before the *Reichs Marine-Amt* (the Admiralty) by the 1st of April in each year. By the 15th of

April the Admiralty forwards a statement specifying the number of recruits required for the navy to the Prussian Minister of War. The Minister sends this specification to the various army corps districts.

No height measurement is prescribed, but men below 5 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch must be well built and have a chest of sufficient breadth and depth to be capable of expansion. Unless the physique is otherwise good the minimum chest measurement of a man must not be less than half his height. The minimum heights required for seamen are as follows: divisions, 5 feet 4.9 inches; artillery, 5 feet 6 inches; marine infantry, 5 feet 4.9 inches.

One-year volunteers in the navy from the seafaring or semi-seafaring population are generally drafted to the seamen artillery or marine infantry.

Volunteers are taken for three, four, five, and six years; and boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen who volunteer are taken with a view of being trained as seamen or warrant officers. The training lasts two years, when they become rated seamen in the torpedo or seamen division. On entry they undertake to serve for two or three years' training and for seven years' service.

According to Art. 57, § 4, the whole seafaring population of the empire, including engineers and shipwrights, &c., are excused service in the army, but are obliged to serve in the navy. With them also the liability to serve lasts from the age of seventeen to forty-five, but actually they are only called upon in peace time from the age of twenty to thirty-nine.

The recruits of the navy consist of: (1) the ordinary conscripts; (2) one-year volunteers; (3) volunteers for three years or longer; (4) boys who volunteer for the navy.

Conscripts are taken from the seafaring and semi-seafaring population, and, if these are insufficient, from landmen with suitable qualifications. As a matter of fact, men join the navy from all parts of the Empire, and those coming from localities situated far inland, who have never even seen the sea, turn out to be very good seamen. Under the head of the 'seafaring population' are reckoned:

(a) Seamen by profession—that is, men who have served at least one year on board German seagoing, coast, or harbour ships;

(b) Sea, coast, or harbour fishermen who have followed their calling for at least one year;

(c) Ships' carpenters and sailmasters who have been to sea;

(d) Engineers and stokers for seafaring and river steamers;

(e) Cooks and stewards.

Under the head of the 'semi-seafaring population' are reckoned:

(a) Seafaring people who have served as such for at least twelve weeks on board German or foreign ships—i.e., A.B.'s, ordinary seamen, boys, engineers' assistants, firemen, coal trimmers, electricians,

fitters, plumbers, lamp trimmers, sailmakers, bakers, butchers, barbers, writers, stewards, &c. ;

(b) Fishermen who have followed the calling regularly or temporarily for less than one year.

The non-commissioned officers of a regiment, to whose training great weight is attached, are taken : (1) From the lance-corporals and privates who have distinguished themselves by good conduct (as a rule *Kapitulants*—i.e., men who have undertaken to serve longer than the prescribed time); (2) from the best pupils of the non-commissioned officers' schools who enter the infantry and artillery as non-coms. ; (3) from amongst the *Kapitulants* from other regiments.

Non-coms. are advanced according to length of service; but the chief ranks of them, *Feldwebel* (infantry) and *Wachtmeister* (cavalry and artillery), are selected according to their capacity for the post.

The officers of the army are selected in time of peace as follows : (1) From amongst the pupils of the Cadet Corps, who are transferred to the army as lieutenants or as ensigns (*Fähnriche*) ; (2) From young men educated at some other first-class educational institute, who enter the army as *Fahnenjunker*. A *Fahnenjunker* joins with the rank of a private soldier, and serves at first as an ordinary private in order to learn the elementary duties of a soldier. He rises to the rank of *Gefreiter* (lance-corporal), and subsequently becomes a *Fähnrich* (ensign), a post of non-commissioned officer's rank, filled only by candidates for officers' rank. A *Fahnenjunker*, in order to become *Fähnrich* (ensign) must have passed either an abiturient examination (from a gymnasium) or the *Fähnrich* examination, and must have obtained a certificate after having served for some months with the regiment. Before being advanced to the rank of lieutenant a *Fähnrich* must, as a rule, have attended a military academy, have passed the examination required of an officer, have obtained the necessary certificate from his superior officer, and must be elected by the corps of officers of the regiment in which he desires to serve. Afterwards officers mount the ladder according to length of service, except in special cases, when they are promoted on account of special merit.

The pay of an ordinary private in the German army is 35 pf. (approximately  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) per day, from which 13 pf. (about  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) is deducted as his contribution to the *ménage*, for the supply of a warm dinner, and coffee or soup in the morning. Besides this he receives a loaf of coarse black bread (called *Commis-Brod*), value 3 pf. (about  $\frac{1}{2}d.$ ), per diem. The balance in coin left is 22 pf. (roughly,  $2\frac{3}{8}d.$ ). In the Berlin garrison, as well as at Burg-Hohenzollern and Beeskow, the men receive 28 pf. ( $3\frac{1}{10}d.$ ) per day after all deductions.

The population of Germany, which, according to the census of 1900, amounted to 56,367,178 (of whom 27,737,247 were males), is now estimated at about 58,000,000. The strength of the army in 1904 is, on its peace footing, 606,872, composed as follows :

Officers . . . . .	24,874
Non-commissioned officers . . . . .	81,958
Bandsmen . . . . .	17,023
Sanitary assistants and artisans . . . . .	7,886
Army surgeons . . . . .	2,202
Veterinary surgeons . . . . .	679
Gunmakers and saddlers . . . . .	1,104
Rank and file (including Kapitulanten) . . . . .	470,591
Paymasters, &c. . . . .	1,055
	<hr/> 606,872

The army estimates for 1904-5 are 31,673,902*l*.

Prussia has had ninety years' experience of universal service, and after the Franco-German War this system was uniformly adopted for the whole German Empire. The system has become engrafted upon the life of the nation, and the people have steadily prospered under it. There is no desire to abolish it. The question then is—Is universal service the system the Germans want, and does it work well? The only answer that can be given hereto from practical observation is that the people of the country have become imbued with the idea that military training, to which all men in the country without distinction of rank or station are submitted, though a system of stern discipline, accompanied by a good many hardships, develops a sense of duty, a readiness to obey authority, self-restraint, and all the higher manly qualities which ensure success to a people. It would not be possible, as things now stand, to induce Germans to believe that such a result was attainable for them under any other method. They have all gone through the mill; and although the physical strain required from the manhood of the nation during the early period of training is very great, and although some of its details are warmly criticised, the system in the main is approved. In his Memorandum to King Friedrich Wilhelm the Third in 1817 General von Boyen made use of the following remark: 'Who is it that will venture to blame the Dutch for using more for the construction of their dykes than all other nations put together? It is their position that necessitates it. But our dykes are the army!' The same argument for the existence of a strong army is used by all Germans nowadays. One must not, above all, forget that a German, when he submits to serve, knows that his time is not to be taken up for wars of wanton aggression, but that he is only being trained in order to be able to *defend* the country if assailed.

In 1806 the Prussian army amounted to 200,000 men on paper, of which hardly 150,000 could be brought on to the field. The peace footing of the German army of to-day is a little under 607,000; and its war strength would amount to about four millions. In 1806 many of the men were insufficiently clothed; to-day every man would be at his place punctually and fully accoutred within a couple of days of the declaration of war; moreover every officer of the army would

know exactly what he had to do on a declaration of war, for every year every officer of the German army receives precise orders as to what he must do the moment war is declared, and consequently every officer would be at or on his way to his post, without a moment's delay, ready for the commencement of hostilities. Colonel Lonsdale Hale aptly exemplified this in the July number of this Review.

It is its readiness to strike in any direction the moment the country is in danger that is the boast of those responsible for the efficiency of the German Army, and this is regarded as the main proof that the system works well by providing the country with an efficient army. In this connection I should like to draw attention to the great advantage Germany enjoyed when collecting her force (though a small one) for the small war in which she is now engaged in South-West Africa. Volunteers in plenty responded to the call to arms, and they were all fully trained soldiers; so that before starting it was not necessary to teach them their work. Each batch of reinforcements was assembled for five days at Döberitz Camp in order to drill together, after which they were ready to start and to join the main force in Africa for immediate service. Despite, too, their inexperience in the transport of men and horses, reliable reports that have reached Berlin go to show that the transport has been so far carried out with precision and success. Their success in the transport of horses has been quite creditable. On one transport, out of 923 horses, only three died during the voyage, all the rest, despite the heat, arriving in good condition. They were kept fit by means of daily exercise on board.

Immense importance is attached by the German military authorities to the conduct and training of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the army. It is impressed upon both these classes that in an army composed of men of all grades of intelligence their conduct and their knowledge of their duty are subject to the fierce light of criticism, and that besides the healthier elements which come under their command there are many who are morally weak and vitiated. All these men when they leave the army relate their experience broadcast amongst all classes of the population; hence the officers and non-commissioned officers must necessarily pose as instructors and trainers.

One may be permitted to say that in inculcating this ideal on the country the authorities unwarrantably presume that an officer, as such, must possess virtues not shared in to the same degree by civilians. In doing so they commit an egregious error. German officers as a class are no better and no worse in regard to ideas of honour and morality than those of their civilian fellow-citizens who are upright men. It is an uncalled for and wholly unjustifiable act of arrogance to claim more, and the language used in military books on this subject is decidedly mawkish and exaggerated, justifying much that is said against the prevailing spirit of 'militarism,' notably in Prussia.

Some persons abroad have recently been staggered by the exposures of cases of gross cruelty amongst the non-commissioned officer class, and of isolated cases of vile profligacy of certain officers of the German Army. The publication of sensational novels on these subjects, disclosing real facts that were not disputed, seemed to confirm the view that a canker was gnawing at the idol of the German nation, and that the cause of the evil was excessive militarism.

All human institutions are subject to abuses ; but the excrescences exposed in these books could no more be laid at the door of the whole body of officers and non-commissioned officers than could a whole people or family be blamed for the outbreak of a particular plague or malady.

The obscure subaltern who conceived the idea of attracting public notice by exposing to the world the sins of his brother-officers and their womenfolk, can only claim credit for misleading the world into supposing that the profligacy of eleven or twelve officers of the battalion of a frontier army service corps was a reflex of the conduct and character of the whole German Army. His work was acknowledged to possess no literary merit. What opinion must chivalrous England have of such a man who goes over to a foreign country to turn into money the knowledge he has acquired of the debauchery of a few unfortunate whilom comrades ?

In a conversation I had with the Prussian War Minister last winter on the subject his Excellency remarked : ' Foreign countries will do well in their own interest not to let themselves be misled into believing that the German Army can be judged by unfortunate cases of this kind, or into supposing that the incidents of Forbach are in any sense typical.'

Let me now speak in general terms of what an average German raw recruit has to go through in the army. It must not be forgotten that such a man, especially if he comes from the country, is appallingly gauche and exceedingly backward in ordinary intelligence. If this fact can be properly grasped, it may be easier to comprehend why the strict military training has had so beneficent an effect upon the people of Germany. And to this fact must be added another—namely, that under modern conditions of the labour market, coupled with admitted hardships connected with military service, Germany would be utterly unable to raise or maintain an army adequate to her needs that had to be voluntarily recruited and paid for in competition with the labour market.

An ordinary raw recruit when he comes to his regiment in October has very little idea of the qualities that render a man sharp and suitable for responsible employment, and at this critical stage of physical development a very large proportion of the men are insufficiently nourished. How does he look and feel in comparison herewith one or two months hence ? What is his daily life in the regiment ? He

rises early, having slept in a large airy room—in summer at four, in winter at five o'clock (the infantry at six); and he is trained to habits of physical cleanliness, very minute instructions being carried out on this point. His body and feet must be kept properly cleansed; his linen has to be regularly changed; his bed is kept scrupulously tidy; each man is required to have his own glass and tooth-brush. He must be dressed in a quarter of an hour, and the hours of drill and instruction in the various things a soldier must know &c., which begin directly after the early breakfast, must be punctually kept during the day: The midday meal is at eleven o'clock, after which there is a pause till one, followed by drill or other work in the afternoon. Both the midday meal and seven o'clock supper are good and plentiful repasts. In summer the men go to bed at ten, and in winter at nine o'clock; and it may truly be said that when the hour for turning in arrives the men are honestly tired and ready to sleep after the day's work.

In addition to their ordinary drill they get plenty of instruction about matters of every-day life, and this serves to sharpen their wits and their memory. They leave their regiment with a stock of increased knowledge, and are physically stronger; and the common soldiers can, if they desire it, acquire a little knowledge of geography, history, and arithmetic; and other instruction is open to them also. If a man capitulates and serves for twelve years, obtaining a good conduct certificate, he is sure of a good appointment in the public service or in private service. Should he prefer to quit at the termination of his two or three years' service, it is quite certain that he will have acquired habits of order and regularity which will serve him in good stead all his life. The experience gained in manœuvre time will have widened his vision of things and sharpened his intellect. On returning to the occupation of a civilian he is in every sense a more useful man. Every employer of labour will tell you so. The man who has served in the army is preferred to the man who has not served. The former usually can and does work better and more intelligently than the latter, and is in general more reliable at his work. Even amongst one another, the reputation of the former is higher. Frequently in cases of dispute the latter is silenced with the reproach: 'Du bist nicht einmal Soldat gewesen!' ('You have not even served as a soldier.')

Take the case of an artisan, a mechanic, a tailor, a bootmaker, or a smith. In general some of these find work of their own trade in the regiment. As far as a man can certainly acquire, while soldiering in the cavalry or horse artillery, fresh professional knowledge. In none of the smaller crafts do the men suffer perceptibly much. A factory hand is more likely to be engaged by an employer if he has served in the army than if he has not served. In the case of skilled labourers, or of men from the intellectual professions, in so far as they

do not take advantage of the right to serve as volunteers for one year after the age of twenty-three, there is an acknowledged disadvantage ; but, as everybody is subject to the same inconvenience, the loss to the individual is proportionately less. An employer probably does not keep an appointment open for a man for a couple of years ; but it is not permissible to dismiss Reservists, officers or men, who are called in to serve up to eight weeks, and they draw their pay or wages the whole time they are serving.

To say that barrack life in Germany is deteriorating to the character is to beg the question ; but to affirm that it is enfeebling or paralysing is incomprehensible. Many of the details of the methods of the German non-commissioned officers are obviously open to criticism ; but the chief point to deal with is the general effect of the system. A glimpse at the broad shoulders and full chest of the average man in a German town will at once belie the assertion that soldiering enfeebles or paralyses the male population. Let me cite a case that has recently come under my own personal notice, that of a young man engaged in a large retail house of business in Berlin, and thought by his family to be consumptive. The doctor passed him last autumn, thinking service with the army would do him good. He and his family were miserable, but his older friends, who had themselves served their time in the army and knew what the life and its effects were like, assured him that he would return home a changed man. Only two months ago I met him and hardly recognised him. His eyes were bright, his chest was broader, and there was no longer a sign of ill-health about him. The man declared that he was very happy and grateful that he had been accepted to serve as a soldier.

It is surely an arbitrary assumption to submit that compulsory service destroys like dry-rot the free and natural forces in contact with it. Certainly this does not hold good of Germany ; and the statement that Germans feel a horror of universal service is, except in a small minority of cases, wholly incorrect. Indeed, amongst the people—especially in the villages—a man who has not been selected to serve owing to physical infirmity or other cause loses caste. The girls do not even care to dance with him. It is generally found that those who have not served as soldiers are the ones who rail against military service. Foreigners who talk as if Germans felt a horror of serving in the army should make an excursion to a Teuton village where a regiment is about to be billeted for a day or two. Every adult who has kept his soldier's cap or is the possessor of decorations brings them out for the occasion and revels in an interchange of recollections of his corps. If, perchance, a man should have to lodge the son of one of his former officers during manœuvres, his joy is unbounded. A household receives 80 pf. (about 9½d.) per day for every common soldier billeted upon it, but the goodman does not in general hesitate to spend considerably more in order to give every



possible comfort—in fact, he literally kills the fatted calf for his guest's entertainment. The allowance for an officer is 2s. 6d. per day. I know of a German diplomatist who for many years had been absent abroad as his country's representative in Eastern capitals. On one occasion, on arriving in Berlin, he was startled by his cabby turning round to greet him in loud and joyful tones: 'Guten Tag, Herr Leutnant! guten Tag. Wie geht's, Herr Leutnant!' Years before his Excellency had been the man's lieutenant, and the Berlin Jehu's memory and sense of military comradeship were as fresh as ever. Similar stories could be repeated by the thousand, and anecdotes of this kind are those that reflect the spirit prevailing amongst the people on the subject of the army.

It is a matter of common experience that weakly recruits grow strong through the daily training, the regular life, and the good and abundant food they enjoy with the regiment. This applies especially to those who come from the confined occupation of town life. The constant movement in the fresh air restores them to health and strength. Men, who could at first hardly ride for an hour, are able to sit in the saddle the whole day without being fatigued; those who at first were bad marchers and got sore feet improve so rapidly owing to the habits of cleanliness that they acquire that they no longer think anything of from thirty to forty kilometres (twenty to twenty-five miles) per day with their heavy knapsacks for marching order on their back; and recruits, who on joining as gunners could hardly raise a laffette with two hands, treat the same work before long as mere child's play. On the other hand really authentic cases of recruits suffering permanent physical injury from the effects of the regular work required of men in the army are so few as to be not worth mentioning.

Admitting to the full that compulsory service entails a certain amount of dislocation in industrial life, it is quite absurd to say that the manhood of the nation is paralysed in Germany, or that the activity of the whole people is arrested in its development during the time of service. If one goes into the question in an unprejudiced frame of mind, it will be found that, though the workers from the factories and the numerous trades and professions of the country are called upon to interrupt their life's work, every workman stands in this regard on an equality with his fellows. Further, although he is not earning wages for two years when with the colours, he is being kept well in every respect at the expense of the State, and is acknowledged to be acquiring qualities which render him afterwards a more acceptable worker, so that his capital value is substantially greater at the end of his time of service than it was when he joined as a raw recruit. In many cases this capital value becomes considerably enhanced.

Considering that Germany has made enormous industrial progress during the years when the greatest calls have been made upon

her population for military service, and has even developed into Britain's chief European rival in the fields of manufacture, trade, and commerce, whilst Britain has persistently adhered to her voluntary system of service, it cannot be pretended that if compulsory military service be required of the male adult population of a country individual or national progress must be necessarily checked.

J. L. BASHFORD.

ARE REMARKABLE PEOPLE REMARK-  
ABLE-LOOKING?

(AN EXTRAVAGANZA)

A LITTLE while ago, when staying in a country-house, I happened to remark quite casually, in mixed company, and without thinking what might come of it, that I believed most remarkable people (people, I meant, who had unusually distinguished themselves in any particular walk of life) were remarkable likewise, as a rule, in their outward appearance. Not *handsome*, necessarily, or even always pleasing to the eye, but that there was generally something unusual, and distinguished, about them—something which seemed to compel those who fell in with them by accident to turn round and look at them a second time, and ask themselves who such a one, or such another, might possibly be; an assertion which met by no means with general approval. ‘Name! name!’ one of my fellow-guests (to whom I shall allude henceforward as ‘the Scoffer’) called out derisively; but upon the spur of the moment I could only think of Prince Bismarck, the late Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes in support of my theory. This led the company to imagine wrongly that by the expression ‘remarkable’ I meant to imply something of heroic proportions and colossal build, men who towered a head and shoulders above their fellows, and I felt bound, therefore, to mention a few remarkable-looking small men, and cited Napoleon Bonaparte and Lord Nelson, as many people might have done in my place, adding that I did not believe Julius Cæsar, or even Shakespeare, would have passed as tall men in the Britain of to-day.

This, they all said, was rather unfair. The three heroes in question, having achieved such world-wide renown, had come to be regarded less after the fashion of men than of demigods. Julius Cæsar’s prestige was so enormous that it was absolutely essential to his dignity that he should be depicted in an idealised form. Shakespeare’s bust at Stratford-upon-Avon had been a good deal tampered with, and it might be as well, perhaps, to leave the immortal bard out of the question altogether, lest we might provoke a discussion upon the Baconian theory, to which none of the party felt equal upon a particularly hot

day. The fact that Lord Nelson had lost both an arm and an eye was, they said, quite enough in itself to make him 'remarkable,' whilst as to the great Napoleon, like Julius Cæsar, he was by common consent treated almost conventionally, and depended for his effect very much upon his crossed arms and general's cocked hat.

'I do not believe,' said the Scoffer, 'that if we were to see him in plain clothes, carrying a small black handbag, and getting into an omnibus in the Strand, it would ever occur to us that he was remarkable-looking at all!'

They would prefer, they said, that I should only give modern examples in proof of what I had advanced; people I had known personally, or that, without a formal introduction, I had conversed with, or had opportunities of studying quite close at hand.

'In order to judge correctly as to whether a man is really remarkable or not,' said one, whom I will call 'the Seeker after Truth,' 'we must have come under his direct magnetic influence; vibrated at the touch of his hand, looked into the depths of his eyes, and dwelt upon the peculiar tones of his voice.'

Whereupon I hastily mentioned Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley, Mr. James M'Neill Whistler, and his Holiness the late Pope, for 'Necessity,' as the proverb says, 'makes strange bedfellows,' although in the present case the necessity was not urgent; names that were grudgingly approved, though the company was all for stripping Lord Wolseley of his uniform, Mr. Whistler of his white lock and rimless eyeglass, and the late Pope of the gorgeous accessories connected with his sacred office, and subjecting one and all of them to the 'small-black-handbag-and-omnibus-in-the-Strand' test, from which I knew that the first two at any rate would emerge absolutely triumphant. About the late Pope, however, I had some misgivings. The Triple Crown is fraught with such imperishable associations, St. Peter's is an exceptionally impressive *mise-en-scène*, and the 'small-black-handbag-and-omnibus-in-the-Strand' test is such a very severe one!

Then up and spake the irrelevant lady friend, who seems omnipresent, and related an anecdote.

A good many years ago now (for, alas! how Time flies!) she happened to get into a first-class railway carriage at Waterloo Station, bound for her country home, which was then situated a little way beyond Aldershot. Just as the train was starting, in jumped a dark slim young man, evidently a foreigner, and 'looking very like a waiter, only that he had such beautiful manners.' He asked her if she objected to smoking, to which she replied in the negative, and, the ice once broken, they thereupon engaged in 'most agreeable conversation,' which lasted until the train stopped at Farnborough. Here, impelled by she knew not what, she ventured to ask this most agreeable young gentleman his name. 'I am Alfonso!' he answered briskly, as he leapt lightly on to the platform, and lo! it was actually the late King

of Spain, father of the reigning monarch, studying then as a cadet at Sandhurst (so she had since been told), and she had had 'not the slightest idea of it, you know!' One 'might have knocked her down with a feather then and there!' &c.

We all admitted that the 'first-class railway carriage test' was also highly crucial, and that only a few choice spirits could hope to emerge from it with flying colours, and we assured her that she need not therefore reproach herself with undue obtuseness; and I reminded her of how, according to a well-known legend, King Henry the Eighth was in the habit of going about 'incog.' amongst his citizens, and of how upon one occasion he had partaken of supper at the house of a cobbler, who had entertained him without having had the slightest suspicion of the name and quality of his guest. A surprising circumstance, as I have always thought, for I feel myself that I should have been able to recognise 'bluff King Hal' anywhere—even in a first-class railway carriage travelling from Waterloo Station to Farnborough!

'There is an Oriental proverb,' said the Seeker, 'which says that whenever God vouchsafes high office to one of His creatures, He gives him also the dignity and the ability wherewith to fill it becomingly, and, above all, to enable him to look the part. What is this, however, but our old enemy "Prestige" in Eastern garb? To be able to say truly whether a man is "remarkable" looking, we must see him deprived of everything but his master-mind, and the soul which may, or may not, be looking out at us from the eyes that are its windows.'

'In a word,' said the Scoffer, 'we must apply the "small-black-handbag-and-omnibus-in-the-Strand" test, and see if he will bear that "becomingly" before we record our final vote.'

'We will give you till luncheon-time to make out your case,' said the Seeker. 'And remember, no heroes of antiquity! All people of our own time, whether dead or alive, and with whom you have been more or less personally acquainted.'

As soon as I was alone I seated myself at a writing-table in the library, which was liberally provided with pens, ink, and paper. I knew that any endeavour I might make to justify my theory would be sure, in the first instance, to rise up before me like a kind of picture, as this is the way my mind always works, and that the remarkable-looking people, once they had appeared, would neither stand upon the order of their coming or of their going, nor follow any acknowledged laws of precedence. I knew that I should have no control over them whatever, but that they would 'gang their ain gait', whilst I looked on as an irresponsible spectator; and I thought that the best thing for me to do, therefore, would be merely to set down in writing a description of what they said and did when they presented themselves, and then let the company judge for themselves as to who had the best of the argument. And then I said to myself, 'Might not

just the least, *least* little touch of not ill-natured caricature enliven what may otherwise prove a somewhat dreary description of a few elderly gentlemen who have chanced to distinguish themselves in some "particular walk of life"? (For people have not, as a rule, done distinguishing themselves until middle age, or even later.) 'Let us not approach the subject, at any rate, merely in a conscientious spirit of labelling and cataloguing, even if we aim at giving correct descriptions,' I said to myself.

'*I said to myself*'! . . . Here is a great psychological mystery! A common figure of speech suggestive of the dual personality from which we are all doomed more or less to suffer, and from which, alas! there is no permanent escape. Who is '*I*'? (the interlocutor in the present instance), and who is '*Myself*'? (too often its feeble victim and tool rather than its willing accomplice). Is it not evident that each represents a distinct and separate individuality, and that this fact is responsible for many of our human inconsistencies?

'*Myself*' (as who could have better reason for knowing than the present writer?) has always been a gloomy, pessimistic personality having no confidence whatever in itself or others (the two are very apt to go together). It is afraid of everything and everybody, from drunken men upwards—is prone to self-abnegation and asceticism, and is of so humble and retiring a disposition that I believe it would rather die than take the highest place at a feast, or the liver-wing of a chicken at a *table-d'hôte* dinner.

'*I*,' on the contrary, is just as mischievous an imp as was ever let loose from the nether world to work off its superabundant vitality in a cooler climate. It delights in scandals and imbroglios; in 'hair-breadth 'scapes,' and in sailing as near the wind as it possibly can without actually capsizing, just for the sake of making people open their eyes. Like the traditional *sapeur*, nothing is sacred to it, and one never quite knows what it may take it into its head to say or do next.

In a word, a more unsatisfactory and irrepressible colleague was never imposed upon an inoffensive human organism, ever since this world of mysteries began first to spin round upon its pivot, and I could well have dispensed with its interference at this particular moment, just as I was about to describe certain 'potent, grave, and reverend signiors,' for it has no respect whatever for anybody, from the Emperor William downwards, and is all for reducing everything upon our planet to the level of '—'s curling-pins' or '—'s little liver pills.'

I was rather proud of the vivid manner in which I succeeded in evolving the 'omnibus in the Strand' out of my inward consciousness. There it stood, before my mental vision, an omnibus of unusual magnitude, drawn up against the kerb-stone just opposite a shop which supplied dairy produce, in the window of which I could see only a

basket of new-laid eggs, two pats of butter, and a small white statuette of a cow, so that the plate-glass, being unobscured by goods and chattels, acted as a mirror, reflecting, as it were, a dream within a dream, as I stood hard by and contemplated it.

By-and-by my group of remarkable-looking men began to assemble upon the pavement. As though by tacit consent, each one carried a small black handbag. As I felt that I had been somewhat unduly limited by the rules of the game, I could not afford to omit the first examples that had occurred to my mind in support of my theory, for I was afraid when I saw the gigantic size of the omnibus that I might not have known enough remarkable people to fill it. Fortunately, no prohibition had been imposed upon me with regard to the nationality of the occupants, so that I was not altogether surprised when, acting, as it seemed, quite spontaneously, and without any conscious invocation upon my own part, out stepped from the midst of the group the great German Chancellor, the 'Man of Iron and of Blood,' and walked, with heavy tread, upon his resounding 'Blüchers,' towards its open door. Awed by his mighty presence and strong mastiff-face—the complexion of which bore traces presumably due to his favourite beverage of mingled porter and champagne—several of the passers-by looked frightened, whilst two small boys stood, as though paralysed, with mouths wide open, upon the pavement.

And now, who have we here? . . . Ah, I must confess this is something of a surprise! . . . 'My dear General, how are you? This is indeed an unexpected pleasure! . . . *E una vera gioia per me di vederlo!*'

Yes; there is actually the great General Garibaldi himself; the maker of Italy, following upon the heavy footsteps of the creator of the German Empire; looking hale and hearty, in spite of the years that have elapsed since our last meeting, and I perceive at once that he goes far towards proving the truth of my contention. Forbidden by the arbitrary spirit of my day-dream to appear in the well-known flannel shirt (which, like the more capacious 'macintosh,' has now permanently taken its position in our language), and buttoned up, as he now is, in an ordinary (a *very* ordinary) frock-coat, he is still undeniably 'remarkable,' for even the Quakerish-looking silk hat which he has been prevailed upon to assume instead of the limp 'wide-awake' which has become historical, is powerless to conceal the splendid leonine head and the calm unflinching gaze of the hollow fatalistic eyes. . . . All the same, I do not perceive in his lineaments any of the fierce pugnacity which is generally apparent upon the countenance of the born soldier. His is rather the earnest benevolent face of a great thinker, whose massive brain having once conceived the notion of a glorious ideal, is determined to embody it at all hazards, and who counts for nothing the mere physical excitement of laying about him. In other circumstances, I can imagine him as a learned

professor of languages, or even a confidential family physician, but then I feel sure that he would have compiled some wonderful encyclopædia, or compounded some extraordinary elixir. With that remarkable physique, he was bound, according to my theory, to make a figure in the world somehow.

As foreigners of so much distinction, he and Prince Bismarck have been given the *pas*. Who will get into the omnibus next?

Scarcely has this question occurred to me when one of the most remarkable men of our epoch (of *any* epoch, I may venture to say without fear of contradiction) separates himself from the assembled group, and advances, leaning upon the arm of the trusty henchman who, alas! has lately departed from our midst. The appearance of 'Dizzy' is too well known and remembered to need description. Surely it was as 'remarkable,' even amongst the 'chosen people' from whom he descended, as was his career, and I am glad that the caricature which appeared, many years ago, in *Vanity Fair*, and which represents him and the late Lord Rowton (then Mr. Montagu Corry) walking arm in arm, as was often their wont, reproduces it so vividly for the benefit of posterity. It is the work, I believe, of poor Carlo Pellegrini, himself one of the most grotesque of living caricatures that was ever launched, ready made, upon a career of art and self-indulgence, but a man of undoubted talent nevertheless.

Thus it is that the man who made his Queen an Empress, his wife a Viscountess, his private secretary a Baron, and himself a 'belted Earl,' advances now, leaning upon the arm of that same secretary, and takes up his position inside the omnibus. A whole camel-load of small black handbags could never have made him look commonplace, whilst the mind controlling the low oracular voice, whose every utterance was epigrammatic, had no need of 'steering' in this or that particular direction, lest it should fasten upon subjects uninteresting to his hearers, as was sometimes the case (according to Lady Ribblesdale) with that of his great rival, Mr. Gladstone. One need never fear, when listening to Benjamin Disraeli, that 'precious moments' might be wasted in discussions about 'tallow-candles, crockery, poultry-shops, the cultivation of strawberries,' upon 'bumping cabs,' or the respective merits of thick or thin tumblers and wine-glasses.<sup>1</sup>

Only twice did I come under his 'direct magnetic influence,' though I had often been his neighbour at crowded assemblies. Upon the first of these occasions a curious *mal entendu* arose. It was at a large party at the late Lady Salisbury's in Arlington Street, when Lord Rowton led him up to me and formally presented him. We sat down together upon a sofa, when he began by expressing the pleasure he felt at having at last 'become acquainted with his *dear goddaughter*.' His conversation was so delightful that I did not like to interrupt it

<sup>1</sup> See article by Lady Ribblesdale in this Review, April 1904.



by asking him the meaning of this opening phrase, and I parted from him a good deal mystified, Lord Rowton having previously arranged a little dinner for the following week, at his house in South Audley Street, in order that we might improve the acquaintance. Now, it happened that just before this a lady who was a near relation of mine had met the Prime Minister (as he then was) when staying at Alton Towers. To *her*, too, his conversation had proved delightful. He possessed the royal gift of remembering (or of *appearing* to remember) all about one's 'birth, parentage, and education,' and of seeming to be interested in everything that he imagined might be of interest to those with whom he was conversing, and he immediately informed her that her great-grandfather (who was my own great-grandfather also)—an old gentleman who looked upon himself as a poet and a patron of Literature and the Drama<sup>2</sup>—had been the very first person to whom he had submitted the proofs of his first book in order to ask his opinion of its merits. As this seemed to imply some sort of intimacy with my family, and as I had never known who my godfather really was (so little interest had he ever evinced in my acquirement of edifying matter 'in the vulgar tongue,' and as he had never given me so much as a penny whistle by way of remembrance), 'I' said to 'myself' that it was by no means impossible that Lord Beaconsfield had actually been the godfather hitherto undiscovered, starting from which vague supposition, 'I' (impulsive bottle-imp that it is!) jumped at once to the conclusion that not only was this just possible, but very probable indeed, and sent me off to Lord Rowton's dinner thrilling with emotions which would scarcely have been out of place upon the occasion of a reunion with a long-lost parent. Here an explanation awaited me.

Lord Beaconsfield had spoken of me as his 'goddaughter' because I had selected 'Violet Fane' as a *nom de plume*, the name of the heroine of one of his early novels. (*Nom de guerre*, I am aware, is the correct expression, even when it is applied to a 'pen-name,' but whenever I write it the printers always take upon themselves to correct me. They cannot abide anything but *nom de plume*, and of course one wants to keep well with one's printers.) He had always wished to ask me whether I had chosen this name for any particular reason? Whether I had especially admired the character of his heroine, and had felt drawn towards her by sympathy, or whether I had merely selected the name because it was such a beautiful one?

When Lord Rowton told me this I felt greatly embarrassed. Truth to tell, although I had, years ago, read *Vivian Grey* (the novel in which the character of 'Violet Fane' is introduced), I was too young at the time to appreciate it properly. It had made but little

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Bland Burges-Lamb, Bart., sometime Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and a prolific author both in prose and verse.

impression upon me, and poor 'Violet Fane' was utterly forgotten when, quite by accident, I unconsciously appropriated her name for 'literary purposes.'

What was to be done? Time pressed, but I was, fortunately, the first arrival. Had Lord Rowton a copy of *Vivian Grey* at hand? Yes; together with all the other works of his illustrious chief. In the 'tinkling of a bed-post,' as the saying goes (is it 'tinkling' or 'twinkling'? The brass rings above *my* bed-posts 'tinkle' and 'twinkle' as well), the book was produced. It was a two-volume edition, and, hurriedly seizing upon it, I flew with it into an inner chamber. My plan was to scamper through as much of the novel as I possibly could, before Lord Beaconsfield's arrival, and then to trust to Providence. I am a slow reader upon ordinary occasions, but now I read, and read, and read, as I have never done before or since. Poor Vivian Grey must have felt as if some hungry ogress was tearing at his vitals. It gave me some idea of what the process known as 'cramming' must be like, and although I had no time to 'mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the subject-matter as it deserved, I gradually felt that I was becoming more prepared to meet any emergency which might be likely to arise. I came upon Miss Fane towards the end of the fifth chapter, and when I read that 'the flush of her cheek was singular; it was a brilliant pink; you may find it in the lip of an Indian shell,' and that 'the blue veins played beneath her arched forehead like lightning beneath a rainbow,' I guessed at once that she would not be long for this world. As a matter of fact, she barely lived through ten chapters, and then expired, in true early Victorian fashion, in the arms of Vivian Grey, who thereupon 'gave a loud shriek, and fell upon the senseless form of VIOLET FANE!' The name, I remember, was printed in capitals, and I must confess that never did death of inoffensive human creature afford me more unmitigated relief.

As I finished reading of this catastrophe I heard the Prime Minister, with slow and weary footsteps, ascending the staircase.

We were a *partie carrée*; Lord Rowton's sister, the late Miss Alice Corry, then in very delicate health, being the only lady present besides myself, and even before the removal of the fish Lord Beaconsfield began to examine me upon the subject of 'Violet Fane.' Which of her personal characteristics did I particularly admire? Why had I wished especially to identify myself with her? . . . Had I been interested in her merely on account of her early death? &c.

I remarked that she had, at least, died in the arms of her lover. It was all that I could think of in reply, knowing, as I did, so *very* little about her!

'And we agree in thinking that that is a death worth living for?' said the oracular voice.

Of course I agreed; and then, in spite of what I have just said to

the contrary, I confess that a little judicious 'steering' was necessary in order to divert the author of Violet Fane's being from dilating upon some of her subtler psychological aspects, which in my hurry I had had no time to 'coach' myself up in.

But I must return to my omnibus. Who is to get into it next? The late Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone both come forward; the first with a sort of ponderous *insouciance*, the latter striding in somewhat aggressive fashion, with that febrile glitter in his dark eyes, beneath their rugged brows, which those who knew him in the flesh are not likely to have forgotten. He is so abnormally observant, and so sensitive to his own impressions (if such a phrase be admissible), that he can be pleased or angry at trifles with which hardly anybody else would be concerned at all. He delights in looking in at the shop windows; but if the white cow at the buttermilk's opposite happens to have been represented with its horns curled the wrong way, the inaccuracy might very possibly annoy him for a whole afternoon, for he has had good reason, as we most of us know, to become an authority upon the subject of cow's horns, and their uses and abuses!

A lady of my acquaintance once told me an anecdote illustrative of this curious sensitiveness to unimportant detail. She was sitting next to Mr. Gladstone at a London dinner-party, having for a neighbour upon her other side the late Lord Granville. Towards the middle of the banquet Mr. Gladstone took up a menu-card and said in a loud voice, presumably in order that Lord Granville, who was then getting rather deaf, might hear, 'This bill of fare is not written by a *French* cook, but by an *Italian*.' Some of his neighbours at the board, overhearing this remark, took up their menus and began to examine them attentively, impressed, no doubt, by the universality of the 'Grand Old Man's' knowledge, whose *amour-propre* and reputation for omniscience seemed thus to become involved. Lord Granville, turning to the butler, who was hovering hard by, inquired whether Mr. Gladstone was correct in his surmise? When, lo! that functionary made answer that the *chef* was unquestionably a *Frenchman*. Upon hearing this Mr. Gladstone's expressive countenance immediately betrayed the greatest annoyance. He was so evidently perturbed at having been publicly proved to be at fault that even the butler perceived it, and having gathered some idea of the subject under discussion, as everybody had spoken in a loud voice for the benefit of Lord Granville, he determined to set matters to rights if possible. Leaving the room for a while, he presently returned with the information that although, indeed, the *first* cook was a pure-blooded Frenchman (as had been already stated), a friend of his, a young Italian pastry-cook, had looked in to help him with the sweetmeats and the *spaghetti*, and that this youth had still further obliged him by writing out some of the menu-cards, of which Mr. Gladstone's was one. Never did human countenance display a sense of more

radiant triumph than did his at this welcome intelligence. 'How wonderful!' . . . 'How extraordinary!' . . . 'How could he possibly have known?' came from the company upon either side.

'By that great big "D,"' Mr. Gladstone answered, as, flushed with victory, he pointed exultingly to the menu-card.

Lord Salisbury I should imagine to have been the very antithesis of Mr. Gladstone with regard to his estimate of trifles, and he even seemed to treat matters which by many might have been deemed of importance with a real or assumed indifference, that was all his own. 'Imperturbable' is the term which strikes me as, being the most applicable to a nature so absolutely free from the curse of nervous irritability (leaving the word 'stolid' to serve the machinations of his political opponents), with just enough flavour of bitter-sweet in its composition (revealed in an occasional blandly uttered sarcasm) as went to prove that an unruffled temper may not always be significant of 'the smug contentment of the fool.'

Both statesmen were worshipped in their own domestic circle, a trying ordeal for the male temperament, which, in Lord Salisbury's case at least, produced no insalutary results. Nobody could have been less of a tyrant in his own home, or of an autocrat at his own breakfast table, or fussed and worried less about little things. I remember, when staying at Hatfield, seeing a large dog, the beloved friend of the family, leap up with muddy paws upon the sofa on which Lord Salisbury was sitting. How many people, preferring immaculate chintz covers to any such affectionate demonstration, might have wounded the feelings of the faithful creature by a rebuff! But the look of placid contentment upon the face of the great Marquis merely became accentuated; that was all, as he rewarded disinterested affection with the pat that it deserved.

Opposed as these two great men have ever been in all save their abiding religious faith, will they even endure to sit next to one another inside my omnibus? . . . We have rather 'a mixed lot,' I must confess, though through no fault of my own! Perhaps one of them would like to scramble up on to the top? . . . Ah, here is dear 'Old Tom of Chelsea.' 'The Sage of Chelsea' would be, perhaps, more formally respectful. The philosopher who, to quote from one of his recent critics, 'believed only in himself.' Slightly stooping, but wearing with an air of determination his black straw hat and short cloak, and with his wistful eyes looking out like those of a Skye terrier from between his thick grey hair and shaggy beard, he makes for the omnibus, small black bag in hand. He had better take a seat next to Prince Bismarck, who, if he does not already know him, is probably conversant with his works, and will be pleased, no doubt, to become personally acquainted with one whose mind is so thoroughly imbued with the various developments of German Philosophy.

Here we have one of the *genus irritabile* with a vengeance, as poor

Mrs. Carlyle could have told us to her sorrow ; another complete contrast to the great Lord of Hatfield. I was once present at a meeting between Thomas Carlyle and a gentleman, at that time, I believe, an inspector of the London School Board, who had ventured to differ from him upon the subject of the degeneration of 'Shakespeare's England,' which the Sage gloomily pronounced to be final and irremediable ; and I was a good deal amused at the 'bare bodkin' (a very primitive weapon, much in request in nursery warfare) with which he saw fit to administer to his adversary his *quietus*. After enumerating, with growing self-satisfaction, several of our modern national blessings, the School Board official paused for a reply from the great man, who, however, preserved a dogged silence, his lips meanwhile wearing an ominous smile, which, as his friends well knew, was indicative of 'the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn.' Mistaking this smile for one of approval, the infatuated inspector went on with his list of national advantages and improvements, turning to the Sage at the conclusion of every sentence with a 'Now, Mr. Carlyle, what do you think?' which I can well imagine to have been rather irritating to a super-sensitive nature. I cannot remember what all the institutions were for which he thought that we of these latter days ought to be so unboundedly grateful, but I know that he wound up with an enthusiastic panegyric upon the Volunteer movement, which he regarded as an evidence that the courage and patriotism which had animated the heroes of the Elizabethan era survived amongst us to the present time. 'Now, what do you think, Mr. Carlyle?' he asked in conclusion. 'I think,' answered 'Mr. Carlyle' slowly, speaking in his broad Lowland Scotch, in a tone of concentrated bitterness and contempt, 'that ye're aboot the most *meeserable creeture* that ever *craiwled* upon the face of the airth !'

Cardinal Newman and Charles Kingsley now suddenly and simultaneously make their appearance, the very incarnation of asceticism (if such a phrase is allowable) and the ardent apostle of 'muscular Christianity' walking arm in arm ; for both (alas !) hail from the Land of Shadows, where, we may assume, there are neither 'Essays' nor 'Reviews,' and where all differences of opinion are at an end for ever. They are evidently intensely in earnest, however, about something that they are discussing, and Kingsley's overhanging brows are knitted to a frown over the small restless grey eyes, that always reminded me of those of a bird of prey. He is so absent-minded when engaged in an argument, or rather he is so absorbed in the subject of it, that he is quite capable of passing the omnibus without even seeing it ; but the wan spare Cardinal, with the death's-head face, plucks at his grey shooting-jacket, and they both step in.

Charles Kingsley was one of the few men I have ever known who, although he was the very soul of sympathy and good-nature, did not look amiable. His receding brow (and surely he was the very last

person whose brow ought to have receded) was nearly always clouded, as though oppressed by the brain's acute sensibility to all the varied problems with which it was perpetually being confronted, and for a solution of which his keen hawk-like eyes seemed for ever to be seeking in vain. In defiance of one of the first laws of phrenology—for the clouded brow was *narrow* rather than broad—his luxuriant imagination revealed itself the moment he opened his lips, and his habitual stammer, which, like a Greek chorus, seemed always to occur with a wonderful appropriateness, added to, instead of detracting from, the charm and originality of his conversation. He was particularly delightful with children, as one might have expected the author of *The Water Babies* to be; ever 'sowing the good seed' without arousing their suspicions as to his intention, and directing their minds to the marvels of Nature and Science. The more extraordinary he could make out these marvels to be, the better he was pleased, and the better pleased, as a matter of course, were his young friends, so that, quite unconsciously, he sometimes yielded to the temptation of dealing in a little pardonable exaggeration, his love of the marvellous and his keen appreciation of dramatic effect aiding and abetting, though always in the interests of ultimate truth. This led some people to accuse him of 'drawing the long-bow,' and I can remember upon one occasion his taking an insinuation to this effect in such exceedingly good part that, at the risk of seeming tiresome, I venture to relate the circumstances here, as an example of his tact and good-humour.

He was 'holding forth' one day, when he was living at Eversley, at the house of a near neighbour, upon the internal economy of the planet Mars, for he delighted in starting some subject which he fancied would be entirely unfamiliar to his hearers, who, with the exception of the host and myself, were upon this occasion strangers to him. Having begun by being merely speculative and conjectural, his statements, as he proceeded, developed a somewhat reckless 'cock-sureness,' encouraged by the attentive attitude of his listeners, amongst whom, although he was quite unaware of it, there happened to be one of the greatest of living authorities upon this and other kindred subjects; a man, moreover, of the accurate, 'rule-of-thumb' sort, having but little sympathy with flights of the imagination. Just as the scenery of the planet was being described to us with almost photographic detail, a dry penetrating voice interrupted with, 'Are you quite sure, Mr. Kingsley, that your assertions are altogether accurate?'

He was not in the least sure, and not in the least ashamed. I doubt whether he knew much more about the planet Mars than the man in the moon; but then it was that, without betraying the slightest annoyance, he related the following parable, which I give as nearly as possible in his own words.

'A short time ago,' said he, 'I happened to find myself in the

ancient town of Strasbourg; when of course I went to see the great red sandstone Cathedral with its wonderful astronomical clock. An old woman in *sabots*, and with only one eye, put the clock through its paces, and expatiated upon its accomplishments in bad German. It does all sorts of different things, as you no doubt know. Not only does it profess to tell you the time of day, but the day of the week, the date of the month, the changes of the moon, and no end of useful things besides. And then at a given time the twelve apostles make their appearance, with other symbolical figures. And at another given time out comes the cock, and flaps his wings, and crows thrice. But I soon found that this poor clock, in its over-anxiety to stand well with the public, and pay for its keep, was attempting a good deal more than it could be reasonably expected to perform, and was consequently very often at fault. "It's all very well," I said to the old woman, "to show off your wonderful clock, but permit me to say that it is something of an impostor, although, perhaps, an unconscious one. For instance, it is now just half-past eleven by railway time, and your clock makes it out to be *twelve*. To-day is *Tuesday*, but by your clock it is very nearly *Tuesday and a half*. It is the 15th day of the month, too, whilst the clock says that it is the 16th. The moon is in her *first* quarter, but according to the clock she is at *the half*; and so on, with all the rest (for I do not pretend to give even its *incorrectness* correctly). What have you to say, madam, in its defence?" Then the old woman seemed very much pained and put out. She was a widow, it appeared, and her children were all married or dead, and this great clock was now the only old friend that remained to her in the world, so, naturally, she forgave it all its shortcomings. She answered me quite angrily. "Now, how *can* you expect," said she, "that a clock which tries to do so many different things can do them all quite correctly?" This struck home, though the old woman never knew it, for I felt that I must very often seem to others to be like that poor over-anxious clock. I have the advantage of it in one respect, however. Instead of creaking and groaning when I am wound up, I rather like being put to rights.'

This was very characteristic of the man, as was his manner of telling the story. No detail escaped his keen powers of observation, and sometimes, no doubt, he saw things that were hidden from the rest of us.

It is the great Cecil Rhodes who advances next, for, as I have already explained, there is nothing arbitrarily chronological in the order in which 'the forms arise.' Pale, stern, indomitable, his brow requiring only the laurel wreath of a Cæsar to look the mighty self-made monarch that he is, he comes forward as with the inevitable tread of Destiny.

- Brother of those who, ere our England threw  
Her arms around the world, steered out to roam,  
'Neath sails of Wonder, o'er the trackless foam,

I think I see them standing there with you  
 At azure gates within yon sky so blue,  
 So pure, it seems like Heaven's own sapphire dome—  
 Standing and gazing on the chosen home  
 For dust of Cecil Rhodes—the wild 'World's View.'

I hear them saying, those Captains of the Past,  
 All of Old England's hero-pedigree,  
 From him who drove the Spaniard from the sea  
 To him who nailed his colours to the mast—  
 'Pray God ye be not burying there the last  
 Of England's sons who keep her strong and free!'

These lines, written upon the burial of Cecil Rhodes in his mausoleum 'of Nature-built towers and bastioned piles,' in the heart of the wild Matoppos, may not be out of place here. A leader of men, but not indiscriminately a sympathiser with them (I shall not easily forget the expression of his eye when he told me that he had never permitted a black man to shake hands with him, or even to sit down in his presence), and reticent in company until his interest is aroused. Slowly he enters the omnibus (*my* omnibus), and sits there in monumental silence, his small black handbag resting upon his massive knees.

But here comes General Lord Kitchener, who will certainly indorse the final lines of the poem just quoted—the man of all others the best fitted to keep with the sword the vast Empire which Rhodes has evolved and created by sheer force of an indomitable will.

Here we have the square massive brow, the stern uncompromising bearing, of the man of action; above all, of the *soldier*. No matter at what period of the world's history, or in whatsoever place one might have chanced to fall in with him, one would always have recognised him as a fighting man. I can see him now, in my mind's eye, a gladiator in the arena, or else, at the head of the victorious Roman cohorts, barelegged, sandalled, wearing helmet and scaly corselet, his cheek tanned, as now, by the fierce suns of the Libyan desert. Then, leaping the centuries, I picture him a Huguenot, fighting against the *Ligue*, or circumventing in the Low Countries the tyranny of Spain. Or, as a moss-trooper, fighting for King Charles, or, it may well be, for Oliver, for I can scarcely imagine that he would ever be upon the losing side. . . .

But all this time see whom we are keeping waiting! . . . Sir William Vernon Harcourt is trying with difficulty to squeeze into the omnibus, and just behind him stands the late Mr. W. E. Lecky, his head thrown slightly back, and looking, oh, so bored, and weary of the whole world! It might be as well, perhaps, that the stalwart form of the great Sir William should interpose between Lord Kitchener (the man of the sword) and this gentlest and kindest of all historian-philosophers

\* *The Burial of Cecil Rhodes*. By Theodore Watts-Dunton. *Empire Review*, June 1903.



that ever wielded the pen ; for one is so unlike the other as regards the 'outward man' that I can hardly believe they could even bear to rub shoulders in a public vehicle. And yet, although I do not perceive it in his face, which might well belong to a mediæval saint upon a cathedral-window, the author of what has been justly described as 'the vast and monumental *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* must have possessed a capacity for hard work, and a dogged determination of purpose, in no way inferior to those displayed by the conqueror of the Soudan, although they did not happen to be applied to the realisation of the same end.

Both these new-comers are surely 'remarkable' ; but there are two more, sauntering arm in arm down the street leading from the Lyceum Theatre, who are quite as fully qualified to get into my omnibus, as far as their personal appearance is concerned—the late Lord Tennyson (made up to look like a conspirator) and his friend Sir Henry Irving (still, happily, in our midst), planning, no doubt, some great historical drama of the future, which shall prove an unqualified success and take the whole town by storm. As they advance all the passers-by turn round to look at them, as I had felt sure that they would. No doubt persons so interesting and so highly dramatic-looking must have been immediately recognised. Their appearance is too well known, at any rate, to need description, and whilst I am looking after them Lord 'Leighton and Sir John Millais have approached from another direction, walking together, both men of grand presence and magnificent achievement.

Most of the men I have hitherto made mention of, although only by a mere coincidence, have not only been 'remarkable' in appearance, but for the most part veritable sons of Anak ; of exceptional height, and some of them of exceptional *breadth* as well. The omnibus is becoming almost too heavy, and I am afraid that when it sets off it will 'hog' and 'sag' upon its springs (if it has any) like the 'Bolivar.' . . .

I look down the street to my left, and there perceive, coming towards us, the handsome author of *The Love-Sonnets of Proteus* and other works, upon whose arm a small elderly gentleman is leaning. Obedient to the unwritten mandate which has somehow gone forth, he has refrained from arraying himself in the costume of a Bedouin sheik, but has contrived, in what are apparently his every-day town clothes, to look quite as remarkable as in those of a child of the desert.

He is wearing a blue frock-coat of somewhat antiquated cut, a blue-and-white striped shirt of crumpled appearance, checked, black-and-white trousers, a buff nankeen waistcoat, a scarlet necktie, and a rather fatigued-looking top-hat, a good deal too large for his head, from beneath which his wonderful eyes beam forth with the keen, rather cruel, expression that I have observed in those of the fierce eagle-owls (or 'owl-eagles') of the Biscay, which always look as if

they were trying to defy the sun. It was of Wilfrid Blunt (poet, artist, ex-diplomatist, traveller, politician, 'Lord-territorial,' breeder of blue-blooded Arab steeds, and staunch supporter, in *Europe* at any rate, of 'the one True Faith') that a brother-poet, now no more, once said to me, 'He has the power of attracting and repelling in a greater degree than any man I have ever met in the course of my life.' An enviable gift indeed, and upon the top of so many others! To be able to *attract*—particularly when a benevolent Providence has meted out to one more than the average share of good looks—is, as several of my friends are competent to admit, no very difficult matter; but to be capable, in such circumstances, of becoming actually *repellent* is surely a privilege which even genius can but rarely hope to enjoy.

I now turn my attention to the little old gentleman who accompanies this many-sided genius. He is, I perceive, a good deal older than I had imagined, and evidently a foreigner. At a distance his alert step and the animation of his glance had deceived me as to his real age. A certain appearance of anæmia and emaciation, combined with his mean stature, shabby black clothes, and ignoble 'bowler' hat, might have seemed to suggest, at a first glance, the 'undesirable alien,' were it not that the look of authority in the small glittering eyes, and the set self-reliant smile upon the firm lipless mouth, can scarcely have emanated from the den of the 'sweater.'

As I gaze on, the whole face seems to grow wonderfully familiar, and I perceive, in spite of the accentuated nose, that it is *Italian* rather than *Semitic*. Where can I have beheld it before? . . . Somewhere in Italy, without doubt; for it is the clean-shaven, colourless face that one sees so often amongst the *haute bourgeoisie* of the old mediæval towns, and which seems to have come straight down to them from their ancestors of the '*tre cento*,' and I know that I have seen it, and examined it, a good many times, although I have forgotten what was its owner's profession. All sorts of people occur to me. . . . Is it the father of the man who turned out sham *bric-à-brac* at Siena, or one of the sacristans of the *Duomo* at the same place, with whom I became such friends whilst sketching in the *biblioteca*? . . . Yes; the head is decidedly of the narrow-browed ecclesiastical type; one might imagine such a head presiding at an 'Interrogatory' of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, and the face (as one might say of a picture) is certainly 'of the Siena school'—'Red Siena!'—the delightful old town where, the last time I visited it, there were as many as eight earthquakes in a single night; the cradle of the Chigi and of the Piccolomini; the town that has given so many painters to Italy and so many Popes to Christendom. . . .

Good heavens! . . . I see it all now. . . . It comes upon me like a flash of lightning. This is the Pope! . . . It is the 'bowler' hat that has wrought such an extraordinary transformation, and besides, as I have before remarked, it is almost impossible to judge fairly as

to whether such a great personage is really remarkable-looking or not, for, even when deprived of the pomps and vanities which are generally inseparable from his high office, the very remembrance of them is apt to paralyse all independent criticism. Mr. Blunt has brought him to my omnibus, however, and it is not likely that I shall refuse a place to one who has inspired such universal respect. . . .

'No, no! I implore your Holiness!' I can hear Mr. Blunt saying, in a silvery falsetto, as the Supreme Pontiff, with his usual vivacity, is endeavouring to climb on to a place at the top. 'Not at your Holiness's advanced age. . . . I will see whether there is not a spare place inside. . . .' Then he added, addressing me in an agitated whisper, 'It is quite impossible. . . . Swinburne is sitting just there in the gangway. . . . You remember those lines in his *Songs before Sunrise*? . . . It will never do,' and he almost lifted the pale, fragile-looking old man from the narrow stairway which he was about to ascend. Apparently, however, he was only dragging him from Scylla to Charybdis.

'There is no room inside!' I hear him exclaim, as he again tugs at his venerable companion's coat-tails, whilst in the intensity of his excitement he almost hisses in my ear, 'For Heaven's sake help us to get out of the way somewhere! . . . General Garibaldi is sitting just inside the doorway! . . . No, no, your Holiness!' he exclaims, this time with more insistence. 'Come, let us try to find some other conveyance.'

The Supreme Pontiff, who has condescended to honour me with his company upon the present occasion, is not, I need hardly say, the Pope who now occupies St. Peter's Chair, and whose fine square brow and frank fearless gaze seem to betoken a nature uncorrupted and untrammelled by the paralysing influences which are generally brought to bear upon those who have elected to 'merge their manhood in the priest.' Apart from his sympathetic appearance, we must all, surely, hope great things from one who evidently looks at life with a much 'larger eye' than did his venerable predecessor.

When, a few years ago, during the pontificate of Leo the Thirteenth, I found myself established in the 'City Eternal,' it occurred to me that I would endeavour to write a book which should be entitled *The Temporal Power: How it was acquired; How it was used; How it was abused; and How it was lost*, and with this object in view I toiled through ancient manuscripts, collected newspaper-cuttings, and consulted several learned living authorities. Finally, however, I had to abandon the project, which would have entailed more attention and concentration of thought than I could have afforded just at that particular time, and I now make a present of the idea to my friends, Count Pasolini or Mr. Richard Bagot, who are both so much better qualified than I am to carry it out. Whilst I was engaged in these researches I fell in with a very intelligent man, whose name I do not

feel at liberty to mention, to whom I confided my project, and with whom I had several interesting conversations upon the subject of the 'Temporal Power,' and the tenacity with which Pope Leo the Thirteenth, in spite of his great age, appeared still to cling to it. Whilst we were talking thus one afternoon my new-found friend pounced suddenly upon an English newspaper which was lying upon a table, advertisement-sheet uppermost, upon which was depicted the well-known *réclame* of 'Pears' Soap,' representing a naked infant, its face puckered up with crying, in the act of stretching out its hand towards a cake of this much-vaunted accessory of the toilet, with the legend 'He won't be happy till he gets it' inscribed over its head. Taking a pencil from his pocket, my friend hastily scribbled the words '*Il Papa Rè*' across the bare body of the infant, set a triple crown upon its head, and wrote 'Temporal Power' upon the coveted cake of soap.

'Here is the situation,' said he, passing me the advertisement. 'Do you consider that this is a dignified attitude for the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church? A man of the first order of intelligence would never have assumed it, but Leo the Thirteenth is possessed of cunning without sagacity. When one cannot obtain a thing, is it not always wiser to pretend that one does not want it?' Then, before I could reply, he continued: 'And yet this attitude, that of a peevish infant, is now the only one the present Pontiff is able to assume. He adopted his views when public opinion was less enlightened than it now is, and had the imprudence to surround himself by those who exaggerated them. But, after all, they conduce on the whole towards the peace of Europe.'

I ventured to inquire of him how this could be.

'The populace of Rome,' he answered, 'unlike that of Naples, has no real sympathy with the Monarchy. All its traditions, all its memories of the good old times (*good* only because they are now departed), are associated with the Papal Government. The Neapolitans, on the contrary, are cast in a distinctly monarchical mould. That the government of their monarchs was atrocious; that every act of injustice, every political crime, was committed in the name of the King, does not affect them now. They can look upon the *Castello dell' Ovo*, or even assist at a representation of *La Tosca*, and still retain their loyalty to their ancient traditions. But with the Romans it is different. The 'King,' whatever may be his name or his disposition, says very little to the people. If Leo the Thirteenth were to be persuaded to abandon the 'Prisoner-of-the-Vatican' pose; were he to walk or drive about the streets of the city, and show himself once more to its inhabitants, I believe the enthusiasm he would evoke would be so tremendous that it might even shake the very foundations of the throne.'

'But this he will never do?'

'Happily for the peace of Europe he will never be allowed to do it.'

It would be distinctly opposed to the policy of the Vatican, and too much pressure is brought to bear upon him from without, whatever his private opinions may now be. He is as well aware as I am, too, that were he to change his present policy he would not survive it for many days. The Vatican is "run" upon strictly mediæval lines—'

My look of inquiry interrupted him. Was this a euphemism, I wondered, for the 'cup of black coffee' that was said to come in so useful sometimes at Yildiz Kiosk (which is certainly 'run' also 'upon strictly mediæval lines')? Of course, like most people, I had heard the story of a late Cardinal-Prince and the basket of fruit which was sent to him as a present from the Vatican gardens, and of the tragic fate of his *maître d'hôtel*, who rashly ate up the fig that he had decided would make one too many for the dish. I bought two large scent-bottles at the sale of the said Cardinal's effects (the princely crown, combined with the 'hat,' looks very imposing upon the gilt stoppers); but although I never look at them without thinking of the fatal fig, I have made it a rule to swallow all such legends 'with a grain of salt,' particularly at a place where the current of party spirit—I might even say of 'party *spite*'—runs as high as it does at Rome. After all, why might not the Prince-Cardinal's butler have died of appendicitis like anybody else? . . .

'You have mistaken my meaning,' said my friend, assuming a more cautious tone. 'What I intended to say was, that were the Pope to change his habits, or his place of residence, it would inevitably prove fatal to him at his great age. How many elderly persons succumb daily to the "change of air" that has been recommended by their physician? Then, too, he is a vain man, and he could never endure to admit that his original policy had been unwise. The chagrin resulting from such an admission would kill him.'

Possibly these 'mediæval lines' may be the only ones upon which anything so time-honoured and mystical as the Papacy can be 'run' in this material age; and possibly the late Pope, if he was really so 'vain,' thought that he had at least a good deal to be vain of. He was without doubt a man of culture and refinement; apt in argument and repartee; an unusually proficient Latin scholar, and a keen and crafty politician, although, as a matter of course, a very one-sided one. He loved riches and pageants, possessed beautiful hands and glittering eyes, and wrote very creditable verses both in Italian and Latin. I have read a poem of his upon the subject of photography. The theme does not seem to promise much, but he managed to extract something really poetical out of 'these sun-painted pictures.' He was afflicted rather painfully with the smile that is smiled indiscriminately, at all times and seasons, and that has the appearance of being purely mechanical. Sometimes, in the case of aged persons, this may be partly due to unsuccessful dental arrangements, and so it may wreath the lips of those who should not be held responsible for it.

Pope Leo the Thirteenth is smiling now, as he appears before me in my day-dream, but he looks pale and faltering, and Mr. Blunt leads him off gently, and takes him inside the shop of the adjacent buttermilkman.

'Wilfrid Blunt is one of those uncomfortable people who must always be of the minority,' says a voice from the inner depths of the omnibus. 'He won't come in here because we have got in before him, and he won't allow the Pope to do so either. He wants an omnibus all to himself. And what will you bet, too, that he has not gone into the buttermilkman's in order to astonish him by asking for camel's milk, or some other unobtainable product? He has ever been, and ever will be, an "*homme à sensation*."'

I look towards the window of the dairy company, and perceive, over the horns of the symbolic statuette, the subject of these remarks in the act of offering a glass of milk to his aged companion, though whether of cow or camel I can do no more at that distance than shrewdly conjecture. The appearance of the Pope, as he stands there in his shabby black garments, being ministered to by one seemingly so superior to himself as a specimen of humanity, is so grotesquely at variance with all preconceived tradition that, in spite of myself, I cannot help laughing aloud.

This laugh proved the death-knell of my vision, though not before I had convinced myself of a truth about which I had previously been rather doubtful. The late Pontiff would have been remarkable-looking *anywhere*, and he was quite entitled to a place in my omnibus had not untoward circumstances prevented. *Now*, however, it is completely full, and although I can still see several well-known and remarkable figures making towards it from a distance (the bland and *débonnaire* apostle of 'Sweetness and Light' amongst others, and Mr. George Meredith, with his magnificent facial angles), all wildly flourishing their umbrellas, a mysterious-looking individual, wearing the leathern jerkin and demi-mask of the traditional headsman, leaps lightly on to the box-seat, seizes the reins, and, cracking his whip in Continental fashion, drives off at a brisk pace and is no more seen, for even a dream-omnibus is not bound to be indefinitely elastic.

Suddenly I became aware of my actual surroundings, and I perceived that the irrelevant lady, who had evidently come into the room whilst I was still in the clouds, had risen from her chair, and was hastily collecting her worsted work as though to escape from the presence of one whom she regarded as a lunatic.

'The late Pope looked so funny in that "bowler" hat,' I said in explanation, whereupon her countenance only betrayed an expression of still greater alarm, and I then endeavoured to make her understand the turn my imagination had taken.

Just then the rest of the company came trooping in, and I submitted my little extravaganza to them with a good deal of nervous misgiving.

Everybody was agreed that I had certainly made out my case, and that if an ordinary 'outsider' were to get into my omnibus he would at once discover, merely from looking at its occupants, that he was in the presence of his intellectual superiors.

'Still, you gave me so very little time,' I said, excusing myself, 'and subjected me to such stern limitations. Not one of the heroes of Antiquity, or even of the Middle Ages, and only people I had actually spoken to and seen quite near! . . . I *might* have brought in Thackeray, who was so remarkable-looking, and to whom I sat next, once, at the play; or Victor Hugo, whom I looked at from a yacht through a telescope, and saw quite distinctly; or Walt Whitman, who sent me a lifelike photograph of himself with his signature at the bottom, if I hadn't been so dreadfully conscientious! . . . I have left out a whole lot of remarkable-looking friends, too; people who have asked me to dinner and been so civil to me, to say nothing of all my own relations. . . . And then, although somehow I couldn't prevent the late Pope from making his appearance, I had to draw the line at kings and queens, because it is impossible to divest royal personages of their accumulation of prestige, or to judge quite fairly of them in any way. . . .'

'But, after all,' interrupted the irrelevant lady, 'kings and queens are only mortal. They are made of just the same flesh and blood as the rest of us!' and she heaved a profound sigh.

'A fact that should be continually borne in mind,' said the Scoffer, 'or we might possibly lose sight of it altogether.'

'And then,' I continued, 'there are a great many more things I might have said about everybody, if I had not been afraid of being "too offensively personal" (as Mr. Harry Quilter said of Mr. Whistler). Some people can't even laugh at *themselves*, and won't stand the *least little bit* of ridicule, or even of playful treatment, from *others*!'

'Do you really think,' asked the Seeker, 'that anything can seem to be "too personal" after "the Creevey Papers"?''

'But now,' said the Scoffer, before anybody could answer this question, 'what are we to say about those people who, although extremely remarkable-looking, have never been fortunate enough to distinguish themselves in any way whatsoever?'

As he spoke, the company, one and all, glanced, as though instinctively, towards a looking-glass hanging on the opposite side of the room, and which was almost as large as the butler's window in my day-dream. The question had occurred to me already, and was certainly something of a poser.

'Their future is in their own hands,' I ventured at last. 'They have only to try earnestly, night and day, to live up to their personal appearance.' The luncheon-gong sounded as I spoke, and so our morning's fooling was brought to an end.

MARY MONTGOMERIE CURRIE.

## *THE BY-LAW TYRANNY AND RURAL DEPOPULATION*

*A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE*

I AM a landowner in a poor agricultural district of Sussex, having an estate of some four thousand acres, mostly of woodland, in the Weald. The estate, as I inherited it, had been got together as long ago as the Civil Wars, and had remained without much change as to acreage since, though here and there fields and farms have been bought or exchanged or sold. I can see by old plans and records that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was much more closely peopled than now. There were then a number of small freeholds, of from three to thirty acres, interspersing it, which have now disappeared.

The question of this disappearance of the rural population has always interested me. Its earliest cause was, I believe, the ruin of the iron industry, which, about the reign of Queen Anne, began to be abandoned owing to the competition of the coalfields of the North. This diminished the wealth of the district and drove out a number of the Sussex miners from the parishes where their work lay, while others became squatters on the wastes of manors and took to smuggling, sheep-stealing, and other ill-practices. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the neighbourhood of the forest lands between East Grinstead and Horsham was considered unsafe for quiet, law-abiding persons, and many of even the lesser gentry went to live in the towns. There were no hard roads, and the mire of the Weald was *cruel* in winter. As late as the year 1811, when my father came of age, he was unable to drive to his front door at Crabbet from the London and Brighton coach road, three miles off at Crawley, except in a broad-wheeled waggon. Nevertheless, the bulk of the purely agricultural population retained their places on the land till some ninety years ago, when, at the close of the great French war, the small yeomen, who had been living beyond their normal incomes during the days of high war prices, were obliged to sell their acres; and the twenty years following the Peace of Paris saw perhaps half of these dispossessed and merged in the landless classes. We retained



still, however, a goodly number of small freeholders, descendants of the squatting miners, labourers who owned their own cottages and strips of garden ground. The lot of the peasant pure and simple has never been with us, on our poor soil, so hard a one, even in the worst of times, as in the richer counties. Where the soil is poor there was less temptation to enclose wastes, and, as Cobbett long ago pointed out, the peasant has always found elbow-room there and ways of living, by odd jobs of forestry and garden culture, denied him on the better lands. The upper Weald of Sussex enjoyed this precious gift of poverty and, almost until to-day, the large bounty for its cottagers of commons and wayside strips with freedom from many despotic regulations enforced in richer neighbourhoods. It has been reserved for our own quite recent times to see their more general exodus, under pressure, no doubt, in part of changed economical conditions affecting all rural England, but also in large measure of a new class selfishness and the operation of laws, devised for the protection of the poor but so unintelligent in their framing and so ruthlessly misapplied in other interests than theirs that they are finding it yearly less and less possible to live in their ancestral homes. How this misapplication has come about (and it is the special subject of my present pleading) I will endeavour to explain.

In old times, and down to the third decade of last century, parochial affairs in rural England were managed in each parish by its own vestry. This form of local self-government was a time-honoured one, and, whatever its defects may have been, had at least this merit, that in a purely agricultural parish the interests looked to were purely agricultural ones. When, however, the new Poor Law was introduced after the Reform Bill, a wider area of self-government was chosen. Parishes were grouped together, in districts of half a dozen or more, and the guardianship of the poor, and later other matters, were put under the control of a common board elected by the various parishes. This Board of Guardians had for its seat no longer any strictly rural centre, but a town, the principal one included in the parishes, and it is to this transference of power from village to town that may be remotely traced the evils of administration which are now affecting adversely the agricultural as contrasted with the urban population of our southern counties. For forty years, however, no great harm was done. The powers of the Guardians were small, while economically the union of the parishes proved an advantage. It was only in 1875, or rather some ten years later, when the provisions of the Public Health Act of that year were beginning to be taken advantage of by Guardians, now transformed into District Councillors, that the oppressive tendency of the change became visible. The Public Health Act of 1875 was the outcome of a philanthropic movement throughout England caused by the coincidence of a period of great economical prosperity and of certain gross abuses

of speculation in the housing of the poor made possible by the rapid expansion of town life. On every side London and the great industrial cities were extending their borders, and the same was the case in most country boroughs and at all points where the railways favoured the creation of new urban and suburban centres. Many of these new areas were being covered with houses insanitary in construction and unsafe for the poor who lodged in them, and the whole question of housing was raised in an acute form.

In response to the cry of *sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas* raised by Disraeli, the then Prime Minister, the Public Health Act of 1875 came into being. It was essentially an Act for the bettering of the condition of the poor—the poor, above all, of the London suburban slums; and those who framed it can certainly never have suspected that it would one day be perverted by human stupidity and human selfishness into an instrument of class tyranny over the labourers of our villages. Yet such has proved to be the case. By a clause in the Act, unfortunately introduced, it was provided that the Poor Law districts might, if they so chose, declare themselves, through their Guardians, to be ‘Urban Districts,’ and so acquire powers similar to those exercised in towns; that is to say, they might, in common with London and the great cities, issue their local by-laws on all matters connected with sanitation, including the construction of new streets, laws enforceable by summons and fine before the county magistrates. The purpose of this clause clearly was that, wherever certain areas within the rural districts began to be built over and acquired an urban character, urban regulations might be applied to them. But it can never have been intended that such regulations should be made applicable to the whole of the purely agricultural areas included within the rural districts. Nevertheless, in the early eighties this phenomenon began to be observed. Rural district after rural district, in accordance with the Act, made application to the Local Government Board to be vested with urban powers,\* and in accordance with the Act the powers were given. It was only human nature that the applications should be made. Officials, all the world over, fall naturally in with any proposal to increase their authority, and so it was with these rural Guardians. Wherever the excuse could be put forward of a new building area here, or a new town suburb having come into being there, the official instinct prompted an acquisition of the powers within its reach. With or without sufficient cause, urban powers have become possessed by half the districts of rural England; and in each by-laws, as a rule of the most stringent kind, have been imposed on the inhabitants, including those the least reasonably amenable to them.

It may be said that, since the councils are elective, such a course has had at least the sanction in each district of local approval. But this, as regards the villagers, the agricultural labourers, in whom my interest lies, is no true statement of their case. The urban powers

obtained and the by-laws issued have always been sprung without real warning upon the villagers, nor have they had any true opportunity of expressing their views about them. When a council wishes to obtain urban powers, or when it seeks approval of the Local Government Board for by-laws it proposes to issue, all the formality necessary is that at one of the meetings a majority of its members should vote that the application be made; which done, a notice must be published in a local newspaper (a single paper is sufficient), and during a month a copy of the proposal must be on view at the local office in the town, or for sixpence sent to each ratepayer who may demand it in writing. After this month's delay the application may be made, and the approval is at once granted. All who know anything of the isolated position of our peasantry in their rural homes will understand how entirely illusive such slight precautions are as a protection from surprise, and how impossible it would be for them to make any effectual protest against the change, even if it were explained to them what the change implied, which has never been the case. As a matter of fact, not one agricultural ratepayer in a thousand understood twenty years ago what his council was doing when it applied for urban powers; hardly one in a hundred knew that it was being done. As to the by-laws, one has only to glance through their multiplied and obscure paragraphs to see that even a trained lawyer might be puzzled at some of their provisions; while to the agricultural understanding, examining them at a town-hall, they must have seemed the merest gibberish. Nor have the agricultural ratepayers since had any means of displaying their displeasure or agitating for repeal. The votes of the individual councillor are not published; and even if they are known, what can the peasant do to obtain their repeal?

The position of rural councillor is not one of emolument or of sufficient dignity to tempt a general competition for the office. It is unpaid, and involves a considerable sacrifice of time and money, neither of which farmers, still less labourers, can afford. The meetings are in the country towns, often many miles away from their homes. There are few of them who have such business capacity as is required for official work. The candidates for office are therefore few, and as a rule the men who come forward are either tradesmen or retired tradesmen; or perhaps a villa-dweller with idle time on his hands; or, again, men who, in American phrase, from their position in life have 'an axe to grind' upon the council. In practice it has been found that it is men of the last category who are the directing force on nearly every council, the representatives of certain businesses which have a direct trade interest in urbanising the district—local owners of *residential* land which they desire to develop, contractors for local work, and, above all, local builders. These alone have the personal interest, combined with the technical knowledge, necessary for sustained and effective work on the councils. In districts where such are the prime movers, the

urbanising process is pushed on merrily, and always at the expense of the agricultural poor. The town interest is, of course, very different from the country one, the suburban from the rural. It lies in what is called *improving* the neighbourhood; that is to say, in smartening it up and introducing a wealthier class of residents in place of the poorer. To the advocate of such *improvement* the existence of the permanently poor man, living poorly in a poor cottage, is in itself an offence and nuisance, for the sight of poverty deters rich men from settling in the neighbourhood. To him the ideally desirable inhabitant is not the peasant but the villa resident, and his vote is given always against poverty. The peasant must be improved or removed. He is consequently harassed in his traditional ways of country living, subjected to this and that restriction borrowed from town life, and when he is found irreclaimably poor his cottage is declared 'unfit for human habitation,' and he is left houseless. He may not rebuild his house except according to an impossible scale of urban expenditure prescribed by the local by-laws and enforced in the interests of trade. The Public Health Act, sprung in ignorance of its meaning on many a rural district and manipulated since by the local building and contracting interests in connivance with suburban landowners, has become not only the instrument of a vast amount of jobbing expenditure of all kinds in rural England, but also an engine of direct tyranny which is driving the indigenous English peasantry from the soil of its forefathers.

This said in explanation, I will return now to my own experience. Some years ago I indulged in a dream of re-creating peasant holdings, three acres and a cow, with chicken farming and spade cultivation. But the initial expense, especially in providing the necessary buildings, according to any method of construction then known to me, proved to me that it could not be economically a success. Chicken—or, rather, egg—farming alone seemed likely to bring fair results; but difficulties of marketing, and, I must add, the multiplicity of foxes, made even this a most precarious industry, and with reluctance I abandoned my idea. Like most English landlords, I let things be, contenting myself with building what cottages were required on my estate, expensively and unsatisfactorily, as a matter of duty rather than in the hope of any larger improvement. It was not till the year 1899 that any better method of meeting the building difficulty suggested itself to me. In that year, wanting a small dwelling in a hurry for a plot of land I had acquired in the New Forest, I was advised to try iron, and, on a plan of my own, Messrs. Humphries put me up in three weeks exactly what I wanted—a single-storied cottage, with ample fireplaces for wood, the fuel of the country, and a covered passage or verandah on its northern front—it is a mistake in England to have verandahs on the south side, as they shut out the sun—giving much extra habitable space. I was present at the putting-up of the building,

and watched with surprise the method of construction, so simple that it needed almost no professional knowledge to imitate, so effective in the comfort it secured, and, above all, so wonderfully cheap; and when I had myself for a while inhabited it, and found its many practical advantages, I gave commission to my estate carpenter to put me up two others on a smaller scale to serve as an experiment for further cottage-building in Sussex. This I found he could do at the small cost of 130*l.* for a building covering 700 feet area with a verandah of 240 feet more, and an outbuilding containing washhouse and closet—as snug and sanitary a home as any poor man could wish to inhabit; for there was a large fireplace in every room, roof ventilation, and ample door and window space. The result was all I could desire. The cottage occupants were delighted with their new dwellings, and all the neighbours envied them their luck. Even aesthetically the cottages earned praise. Low, and painted, as they were, green—a hint I had brought home with me from the green roofs of Russia—they were, in their woodland surroundings, inconspicuous and almost pretty. My thought of twenty years before seemed once more possible.

One thing only stood in the way—the possible intervention of the Rural Council. My first two cottages had been built where there were no building laws, away from my principal property, and Crabbet lay in the East Grinstead district. Here urban powers had been obtained, and the whole programme of the London building by-laws was in force. It is worth noting that the by-laws introduced had been voted with so little of public notice that I was myself unaware at the time of what was being done, and they had been approved by the Local Government Board with so little hesitation that only four days had elapsed between the Council's vote and the Board's approval. For some years, however, the new laws had been but lightly insisted on, though enforced latterly with ever-growing rigour. Several cases of severity had recently occurred as to iron buildings, among others of a man who had been refused permission to put up an iron building temporarily when his dwelling had been destroyed by fire, and another of a widow lady who, having built herself an iron cottage, had been forced, at the expense of 60*l.*, to enclose the walls with a second and needless walling of bricks. I consequently wrote to the chairman, laying before him my plan of cottage-building, explaining my method of construction, with the materials I intended to employ, and requested him to lay the matter before his Council, and tell me whether 'from a sanitary point of view or from that of enabling the rural population to be properly housed . . . his Council would raise objections on the score of the materials used.' The answer, in view of the subsequent action of the Council, is a very curious one, and no explanation of it has ever been attempted. A copy of the by-laws was sent me, which distinctly forbade my plan, but at the same time I was officially informed that 'there appears to be no objection to

your proposals except as to thatched roofs." What was in the Council's mind I cannot undertake to say. I took it in the most favourable light as a tacit permission, and instructed my carpenter-builder to send in the plan of a cottage without thatch, and then, after waiting two months for an answer which did not come, and the season advanced, we got ready our materials and prepared to put them up. At the very moment, however, we received notice that our plan was disapproved as violating the by-laws, though in what way was not explained.

I had then to reconsider the whole matter, no longer as a personal one, but from the point of view of the public interest. If it had been the case of a single cottage, for whatever purpose, I would have let the matter drop. I am the least litigious of land-owners, and the least disposed to a local quarrel. But I felt that to give in on a point which really affected the whole community would be base, and I took advice how best to fight the battle legally. The advice given me was to build and trust to the county magistrates, in a case of such general importance, to use the discretion they have of imposing a nominal instead of a real fine for my breach of the by-laws. At any rate, by this method the housing responsibility would be taken off my shoulders and placed openly and before all the world upon the Council's. I therefore resolved to build and stand the shot. The place chosen was a field on my Blackwater farm near Three Bridges, isolated from all other buildings, and divided by a wood from the high road; and the cottage was designed to replace a singularly poor cottage, which had come into my hands, standing without garden on the road, for which a rent of 3s. 6d. had for years been paid. I found that I could not only provide the cottager with one of my 130l. iron cottages, but throw in a quarter acre of land for garden, and yet diminish the rent by a shilling without loss. It seemed impossible that any Council pretending to be Guardians of the Poor should refuse such a proposal, or that any bench of English magistrates should enforce penalties, as to which they have an option, to the point of obliging me to destroy the cottage when once it should be built. Yet this is what has happened. During my absence last Christmas in Egypt, my builder, having nearly completed his task, was summoned at the Council's instance and fined 5l. at East Grinstead for the offence of building otherwise than with bricks and mortar, and on my return a further action was brought against me on the same charge, which resulted in a continuing penalty of two shillings a day being imposed on me so as to oblige me to pull the building down. The grotesque result was therefore reached that on the strength of a Public Health Act, designed to secure the better housing of the poor, a building against which no charge that it was insanitary could be brought—indeed the charge had been expressly repudiated—was condemned, not because it was not good enough, but merely because it was too good. The

sole evidence brought by the prosecution was that of the district surveyor, who deposed that he had measured the building and found it was larger in area and contained more cubic feet of air—that is to say, that it was a better and, according to all modern sanitary views, a healthier building—than the Council's curious by-laws allowed to a single-storied cottage not of brick or stone.

Such has been my individual experience. It is by no means a solitary one in England. Two years ago a philanthropic gentleman (I do not myself claim to be philanthropic), Mr. Till, built just such another cottage in the Dartford district, and with just the same result; and in case after case landlords who have wished to help their tenants have found themselves frustrated at the outset by the tyranny of by-laws, introduced perhaps in ignorance, but maintained since, and insisted on with ever-growing intensity in local trade interests. In one case that I have heard of, it has been carried so far that a poor Cornishman possessed of a few roods of land, and who had got together during a number of years the boulders used from time immemorial in the local cottage-building, found after all his labour that he would not be allowed to build with them. But these cases have over and over again been told in print. What I wish to impress upon my readers is that it is not mere stupidity that is to blame for the enforcing in rural districts of these grotesque town laws, but that there is behind it an insistent power of speculation and trade which finds in these laws its legal way to wealth. In this, I have no wish to make any *attack* on individual land speculators or individual tradesmen who enter the Rural Councils to support or extend a system by which their class profits. Their position is just as honourable as that of the brewers and railway directors and shipping owners, who go into Parliament to push imperially the interests of beer and high traffic dividends, and the extension of our sea-borne trade. All of these public men, I do not doubt, are intimately convinced that they are fulfilling a patriotic duty in the line they take on the questions that interest them, but this does not prevent me from insisting on the public danger there is in a state of rural things where power has passed away from the true rural population into the hands of a class whose interest is opposed to theirs. The Building By-laws were originally framed as a check on speculative building; speculation has accommodated itself to them, and is now using them to secure to itself a monopoly of rural profit. It must be clearly understood that the inexpensive modern methods of house construction (and there are many such which dispense altogether with bricks and mortar, and even with the necessity of employing a professional builder to apply them to new houses) are a menace to the trade, and that it is the trade that is now opposing all reform. Yet reform there must be, for it is incredible that the existing state of things—which is slowly but very seriously rousing indignation everywhere among the agricultural poor, and is distinctly

aggravating their position, already difficult enough, of remaining on the land—should be allowed, for national reasons and reasons of justice and humanity, to continue. I have no doubt that it will be dealt with in the coming Parliament, whichever party succeeds to power.

A very short amendment of the Public Health Act would do all that is immediately necessary in regard to rural housing. It might be enacted very briefly that no by-law of any Rural Sanitary Authority shall apply to any new building to be erected on a freehold property where such building is more than a given number of yards from the nearest other dwelling, or from the property of an adjacent owner. This would encourage landowners to give sufficient ground enclosing their new cottages, as exempting them in such cases from by-law restrictions, and it would draw at once the necessary distinction between true rural and suburban conditions. The housing question, however, is in my opinion, though the most crying evil of the moment, only a small part of the rural reform I should like to see advocated. The whole condition of the rural poor requires reconsideration in the light of modern economy, modern science, and our new knowledge of the laws of human race competition. But this is a subject far beyond my present scope. To-day I can only express a hope that some influential member of the House of Commons or some enlightened Peer may take the By-law Question up and make it his own. I am convinced that, with full public light thrown on it, an end would be speedily put to the huge abuses now rampant in some of our rural districts, and the causes of the anger raging so strongly against their Councils in the bosoms of our too mute peasantry. The certainty that these are with me, at least in my own part of Sussex, in what I am saying is my best justification for pleading here publicly their cause.

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WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

*Crabbet Park, Crawley: September 12, 1904.*



## THE LAND OF JARGON<sup>1</sup>

THE following sketch records merely the impressions of a short excursion, undertaken about two years ago, into the land of Jargon or Yiddish literature.

I should be happy could I persuade others to make the journey for themselves.

Partly for my sake, that I may have someone with whom to compare experiences. Partly for their own, because there must be many who would enjoy it as much as I, and profit by it more. Partly for the sake of the land, which is in great measure ignorant of its own treasures, and allowing its unique and fragile monuments to crumble away in the atmosphere of present-day civilisation.

Within their walls lurk the ghosts that have been ousted from the literatures of other lands. In one dark and dusty corner, for instance, there dwells *Bovo*, *alias* the tale of the Bevises of Hampton, of which an edition was printed—not as a literary curiosity—as lately as 1895.

But even this last refuge is falling to ruin about their ears.

The Jargon will soon be a living language no more.

Its disappearance, curiously enough, will coincide, not with the subjugation, but with the emancipation, both social and moral, of those who speak it. It is the language of the Russian Pale, which will vanish as surely as the Ghetto and the Jewry vanished in times past.

Even the Zionists do not wish to preserve the Jargon by transplanting it root and branch to Palestine. It must ever remain associated with a period of distress and outward humiliation; it is too obviously borrowed and its corruption of the Hebrew is looked upon as unpardonable.

Then, again, its composite nature and strange, but not untraceable, history are just what constitute its great interest.

Professor L. Wiener has shown that the name Jargon is not really applicable to the Judeo-German language, for its elements are

<sup>1</sup> For nine-tenths of the information contained in this article I am indebted to Professor L. Wiener's *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, as well as to the author for the kindest personal help and encouragement. For the present sketch, however, and the translations which it includes, no one is responsible but myself.

now closely welded together and it is pervaded by a spirit all its own. But the word Jargon has a fascination about it, and it is used, in Russia, by Russian and Jewish writers alike. I retain it in this chapter as designating the Judeo-German literature which has arisen *in Russia*, and with which I am mainly concerned.

The traveller to the land of Jargon requires the ability to read the Hebrew printing letters; a thorough knowledge of German; a good Hebrew-English dictionary (that of Bresslau, for example).

A Polish-English dictionary; and the love which is better than patience, and which may have for its object either philology, history, folklore, literature pure and simple, the people of the land, or all five together.

The student should also master the fairly easy Russian alphabet, partly that he may be able to use the excellent little Russian-Jargon dictionary of Lifshitz. Harkavy's Yiddish-English dictionary (New York, 1898, published by the author), though by no means complete, is indispensable, and contains valuable information on the Jargon dialects.<sup>2</sup>

A knowledge of the Hebrew, Polish, or Russian *languages* is not necessary; but a certain familiarity with Hebrew is always of help.

Neither is it needful to know Turkish, though I will mention, for the special delight of the philologist, that Turkish words have been reported to occur in the Jargon, alongside the latest importations from England, France, and America. Certain books are more idiomatic, and therefore more difficult than others. Some abound in Hebraisms and quotations from the Talmud, and there are cases where neither love nor dictionaries will avail, and the student must needs have recourse to a specialist.

German is indispensable, because Jargon or Yiddish, which is the 'Yiddish' way of pronouncing *Jüdisch*, short for *Jüdisch-Deutsch*, is fundamentally a German dialect of the Middle Rhine. It was imported into Poland, and thence into Russia, by German-Jewish immigrants of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though old German, it is no more bad German than Provençal is bad French. The Hebrew words are corrupt in pronunciation, though not in spelling, while the Slavic words are spelt phonetically.

The land of Jargon Literature is a queer, topsy-turvy place, at once far and near; a land in which the soil, represented by the certainty of getting the books you want, continually gives way beneath your feet; in which a quarterly may appear three times in six years and never again, in which a serial edition comes to an end the day on which you send in your subscription, and books go out of print as fast as they come in.

A land in which authors frequently apologise for writing in their

<sup>2</sup> Yiddish books, whether printed in Russia or America, can be obtained through R. Mazin & Co., 59 Old Montague Street, London, N.E.

mother tongue; in which the said authors may have not one, but several—even half a dozen—pseudonyms a-piece; in which, while the said tongue seems intended for continual joking, there is more to move to tears than to laughter; a land in which the deepest and tenderest parental love exists alongside a system of education which can only be described as mediæval; a land of prayers and curses; a land of feasts and fasts, charms and superstitions numberless, of saints and relics and holy graves, where Greek and Roman Catholics are termed picture and idol worshippers; a land in which there is more internal dissension and more kindliness of feeling towards the rest of the world than is commonly supposed.

The traveller's opinion of it on his return will depend, in this case also, on the spirit with which he set out. Of its interest and novelty, and all its wealth of folklore, there can be no doubt, but is it otherwise attractive?

'The Jews' (quoth the Grandmother in Meisach's *Folk-Tales*) 'will become, through suffering, better Jews with more Jewish hearts.'

Occasional adversity is good for many of us, but that prolonged periods of oppression, isolation, poverty and ignorance, should be calculated to bring out *all* the best qualities of either nations or individuals, would run contrary to every law of social progress.

The reader is at times tempted to wonder, if it would not be better for the credit of Jew as well as Christian were the history of Russian Judaism, in all its phases, never written. But this would involve sacrificing the record of too much that is admirable.

And when that history is taken in hand, some of its most precious elements will be found in the Jargon books of the nineteenth century.

Towards the first quarter of that period, still more towards its second half, certain Russian Jews awoke to a sense of the condition of their people, and they began writing about them, so that the people might see themselves as in a glass. This awakening was largely due to the influence of the followers of Mendelssohn. Moses Mendelssohn, born in obscurity, but endowed with the noblest moral and intellectual qualities, became the friend of Lessing and the grandfather of Felix Mendelssohn and the gifted Fanny Hensel. He was the first Jew to win anything like social recognition in Berlin and to open the gates of Gentile culture to his German co-religionists.

The Jewish stories of Kompert, Franzos, and Zangwill, excellent in their several ways, cannot have quite the interest of the Jargon tales.

These latter were written, not for a Gentile public, but for the very people they describe. This, again, makes them often very perplexing; on account of the constant allusion to Jewish rites and customs taken for granted as understood.

The best living Jargon prose-writers, diverse in their talents, are one in their single-hearted devotion to the cause of the people. They have striven, by means of songs and stories, novels, poems, dramas, and, last but not least, calendars and magazines, to enlighten or console, as the case might be, their humble brethren.

They were preceded by half a dozen others, each with his special significance. There was Lefin, whose Jargon translation of the Psalms was printed in 1817; and Aksensfeld, who began life as the follower of a Kassidic<sup>3</sup> and, presumably, wonder-working rabbi, while his son became a celebrated professor of medicine in Paris.

Among living poets are Perez and Frug; among the dead, Berenstein, Michel Gordon, to whose memory Frug wrote the lines of which an English rendering will be given later, and J. L. Gordon.

The latter was a Hebrew poet, but his one tiny volume of Jargon verse is among the very best in the literature.

It contains, among other things, two or three powerful ballads, and some comic pieces of great excellence. But, in the words of a Jargon motto given elsewhere, 'to laugh is not always to be in fun—to laugh is sometimes to weep bitterly.'

These authors differ from the men of the *Haskala*, or direct disciples of Mendelssohn, in that they unhesitatingly employ the Jargon (which the *Haskala* hated), instead of Hebrew, or a Germanised form of Yiddish. Perez is eloquent in defence of its use—always, it must be remembered, under existing conditions:

'Whoever wishes to be read by the rich and learned, or in the houses of gentleness, may write in what other language he pleases. Whoever wishes to reach the heart and intelligence of the simple, uneducated people, that one must write in Jargon. . . .

Is Jargon a language?

The intelligent should understand that Jargon is a fact—a fact which has come to pass in spite of us, and which certainly will not vanish overnight at our desire.'

The new *Haskala*, if I may so call it, has fully justified its position. It has carried on the work of the old *Haskala*, namely, the gradual enlightenment of that gifted, but somewhat dogged and captious person, the orthodox Polish Jew, and it has also shown that the Jargon is good enough for most uses.

The fragment of Lefin's translation of Ecclesiastes given in Professor Wiener's *History* before mentioned leaves nothing to be desired, while the style of Perez fears no comparison whatever.

Leon Perez, the short-story writer—he possesses a versatile genius—wanders in the land of Jargon like a lost spirit. He may not be in every way a better writer than Abrámovitsh or Spektor. He may not be capable, as they are, of writing a whole novel, on

<sup>3</sup> The Kassids are a fanatical Jewish sect in the south-west of Russia.

things Jargonistic, sad enough to be true and comic enough not to be monotonous.

But Perez writing short stories in Jargon is Daudet, as it were, dedicating the *Lettres de mon Moulin* to the shepherds of Provence, or the Spaniard Becquer, with whom Perez has more than one point of resemblance, addressing his delicate *Literary Letters* to the rustic dwellers in the valley of Veruela.

If Perez has a fault, it is a tendency to be morbid, a tendency not to be wondered at in one of such delicate psychological perception. It is, moreover, traceable here and there only.

The obscurity of some of his poems is baffling, but it is so obviously intentional, as due to political reasons, that to reproach him on this head becomes unnecessary. No one can be more crystal-clear than Perez when he chooses. Witness his article 'On Trades' (since printed in book-form)—a delight to read with its flawless sequence of ideas. After a disquisition on labour, productive and otherwise, he unflinchingly exposes to the Jewish artisans why it is that they fail to compete successfully with their Gentile neighbours.

So long (he tells them, in substance) as work is hurried through, without regard to food or sleep, that one may return to the study of the Law; so long as the promising boy-children are confined in the religious schools, and only the duller ones brought up to manual labour; so long as customers are sometimes unfairly treated and engagements not always kept; so long as technical education is happy-go-lucky; so long will the Jewish workman, in spite of superior intelligence, industry, and sobriety, be worsted in the struggle.

The date of this little book is 1894. How far it applies to present conditions I am ignorant. But to anyone interested in practical attempts to solve the 'Jewish problem,' Perez 'On Trades' and Spektor's 'Three Persons' are to be earnestly recommended.

I will return to the latter presently. Of Perez the poet I will not speak here, because my space is limited, and his poetry is far too varied and original in character to be dismissed in a few lines. He now devotes himself entirely to prose, in which I think his genius finds its fullest and most lovable expression. This in spite of the beauty of such poems as the *Song of the Wedding Gown*, *Monish*, and others which crowd on the memory as I write.

I give in full one of his shorter sketches, entitled :

#### THE FAST

LEON PEREZ

A WINTER'S night! Shirah sits by the oil-lamp, darning an old sock. She works slowly, for her fingers are half-frozen; her lips are blue and brown with cold; every now and then she lays down her work and runs up and down the room to warm her icy feet.

In a bed, on a bare straw mattress, sleep four children—two little heads at each end—covered up with some old clothes.

Now one child and now another gives a start, a head is raised and there is a plaintive chirp: 'Hungry!'

'Patience, dears, patience!' says Shirah, soothingly. 'Father will be here presently, and bring you some nice, soft bread. I will be sure to wake you.'

'And something hot?' ask the children, whimpering, 'We have had nothing hot to-day yet!'

'And something hot, too!'

But she does not believe what she is saying.

She glances round the room—perhaps, after all, there is something left that she can pawn . . . nothing! Four bare, damp walls. A split stove—everything clammy and cold . . . two or three broken dishes on the chimney-piece . . . on the stove, an old, battered Hanoukah lamp. Over head, in the beam, a nail, sole relic of a lamp that hung from the ceiling. Two empty beds without pillows—and nothing, nothing else!

The children are some time getting to sleep.

Shirah's heart aches as she looks at them.

Suddenly she turns her eyes, red with crying, to the door. She has heard footsteps, heavy footsteps, on the stairs leading down into the basement . . . a clatter of cans against the wall, now to the right, now to the left.

A gleam of hope illumines her sunken features.

She rubs one foot against the other two or three times, rises stiffly, and goes to the door.

She opens it, and in comes a pale, round-shouldered Jew, with two empty cans.

'Well?' she whispers.

He puts away the cans, takes off his yoke, and answers, lower still: 'Nothing—nothing at all! nobody paid me. To-morrow! they said—everyone always says: To-morrow! The day after to-morrow—On the first day of the month!'

'The children have hardly had a bite all day!' articulates Shirah. 'Anyway, they're asleep—that is something. Oh, my poor children!'

She can control herself no longer, and begins to cry quietly.

'What are you crying for?' asks the man.

'Oh, Mendele, the children are so hungry!' She is making desperate efforts to gulp down her tears.

'And what is to become of us?' (she moans) 'things only get worse and worse!'

'Worse? no, Shirah! come, I am ashamed of you! we are better off than we were this time last year. I had no food to give you, and no shelter. The children were all day rolling about in the gutter, and they slept in the dirty courts. Now, even if they sleep on straw, they have a roof over their head.'

Shirah's sobs grew louder.

She has been reminded of the child that was taken from her, out there in the streets. It caught cold, grew hoarse and died—and died, as it might have died in the forest—without help of any kind—no measuring of graves—nothing said over it, to protect it from the evil eye—it went out like a candle!

He tries to comfort her.

'Don't cry, Shirah, don't cry so! do not sin against God!'

'Oh, Mendele, if only He would help us!'

'Shirah, for your own sake, don't take things so to heart! See what a figure you have made of yourself! Do you know, it is ten years to-day since we were married? Well, well, who would think you were the beauty of the town!'

'And you, Mendele! do you remember, you were called "Mendele the Strong," and now you are bent double, you are ill—and you think I do not know it—oh, my God!'

The cry escapes her, the children are startled out of their sleep, and begin to wail anew: 'Bread! hungry!'

'Who ever heard of such a thing! who is going to think of eating to-day!' is Mendele's sudden exclamation.

The children sit up in alarm.

'This is a fast day!' continues Mendele with a stern face.

Several minutes elapse before the children take in what has been said to them.

'What sort of fast is it?' they inquire tearfully.

And Mendele, with downcast eyes, tells them that in the morning, during the reading of the Law, the Pentateuch fell from the desk. 'Whereupon,' he continues, 'a fast was proclaimed, in which even sucking-children are to take part.'

'The children are silent, and he goes on to say: 'A fast like that on the Day of Atonement, beginning overnight.'

The four children tumble out of bed. Barefooted, in their little, ragged shirts, they begin to caper round the room, shouting: 'We are going to fast, to fast, to fast!'

Mendele screens the light with his shoulders, so that they shall not see their mother's freely-falling tears.

'There, that will do, children, that will do! Fast-days were not meant for dancing. When the Rejoicing of the Law comes, then we will dance, please God!'

The children get back into bed.

Their hunger is forgotten!

One of them, a little girl, starts singing:

*Our Father, our King*, etc., and *On the high mountain*, etc.

Mendele shivers from head to foot.

'One does not sing, either,' he says in a choked voice.

The children are silent, and go off to sleep, tired out with singing and dancing.

Only the eldest opens his eyes once more and inquires of his father:

'Tata, when will I be *bar-mitzrah*?'\*

'Not yet, not for a long time—in another four years. You must grow big and strong!'

• 'Then shall you buy me a pair of Praying Scarves?'

'Of course!'

'And a little bag to hold my prayer-books?'

'Why, certainly!'

'And a little, tiny Seder-book' with gilt edges?'

'With God's help! you must pray to God, Cheisele!'

'Then I shall keep *all* the fasts!'

'Yes, yes, Cheisele, *all* the fasts!' (adding, below his breath) 'Lord of the World, only not any like this one—not like to-day's!'

Perez has written a great deal. As the editor of a popular magazine, for which only the best was to be considered good enough, he frequently had to supply most of the contents himself.

The more than fifty sketches of which the 'Fast' is an example are all, however, of equal merit.

It must be acknowledged that they are nearly all equally sad. The inherent melancholy of Jargon letters will always represent, for the general reading public, their most serious drawback. Yet this

\* Confirmed.

• For the Passover home service.

literature is one of the most humorous in the world, and Perez's rare comic touches are as irresistible as any.

Abrámovitsh is the writer whose social influence has been the most marked.

In an early drama: *The Tax, or the Gang of City Benefactors*, he exposed the disgraceful system of 'home-rule' obtaining in the Jewish communities of his day. The heads of the community of Berdítchef, which he had specially in view, attempted to kill him. He escaped, and even the Russian Government was moved to interfere on behalf of the oppressed Jewish poor.

Besides many prose works, some of which have been translated into Polish, Abrámovitsh has successfully versified the Sabbath prayers (for the benefit of Jewish womenkind) and written one long tale in verse. This poem, *Yudel* by name, presents, most entertainingly disguised, the story of 'Judah' to the present day. Yudel, his admirable wife Torah (the Law), his two daughters, Judaism and Christianity who marries an Emperor, the cold reception of the destitute Yudel in his daughter's palace—all is so real, so quaintly told, and so free from anything like recrimination, that I would gladly dwell on it.

*Fishke the Lume* deals with very low-class Jews—vagabonds who travel about Russia in carts and beg. Disagreeable scenes are introduced, but never lingered over. The brutal ways of the leader of the band and his followers only serve as a foil to the self-restraint and purity of the wretched Fishke and the little beggar-girl he loves—virtues which they take as a matter of course, seeing that in spite of everything they are Jews.

This book is rendered still more interesting by the fact that the author himself, at one time, was being taken across country in a mendicant's waggon. Indeed, there are few of the Jargon writers whose biography would not be of the most captivating description. The elderly book-peddler who tells Fishke's story—or gives Fishke's telling of it—has the following adventure: Having, unwittingly, penetrated by night into a peasant's garden, and refreshed himself with a cucumber, the peasant 'has him up' before the Commissioner of Police. The latter, who is on circuit duty, happens to be in a house near by:

After a glance in through the window, the Gentile gave me a push forward and stood himself by the door, without a hat. In my bewilderment, I also took off my hat, scratched my head and stared about me like an idiot.

At a table there sits a notary and makes notes, scribbling with a pen which begs every few seconds to be allowed to dip into the inkbottle and wet its mouth, after doing which it is sick onto the paper.

The notary hurries it along, twists himself lower and lower and grumbles at every dip. It is evident that they worry one the other—both are displeased—the pen, with his heavy hand and contortions, and he, with its blots. He: a squeeze—the pen: a blot. In the centre of the room stands a red collar with



brass buttons, a kind of a man with a big stomach and a bloated face . . . his small eyes flash fire, he twirls his long moustache, and all the while he is pitching into two persons who stand with bent head beside the door: a tall one with a healthy frame, a shaven neck and a silver ring in the lobe of his left ear; the other, a thin one with a little pointed beard and a tin plaque on his breast, holds a long staff with both hands, blinks with his eyes and bows continually.

The red collar abuses the first of the two persons, screams: 'In chains with him! to Siberia with such a Stárost!'<sup>6</sup> and to the other:

'I'll have passports flayed out of you, you Sotski'<sup>7</sup> so-and-so—the devil take your grandmother!'

All my limbs die away. I shake as with ague, there is a rushing sound in my head, a ringing in my ears.

'I neither see nor hear what is going on. I hear nothing properly, not even the voice of my Gentile when he presently accuses me. But when the red collar turns to me with a harsh word in Russian, I come to all at once, and I hear perfectly.

A clenched fist hovers before my eyes and dreadful words are sounding in my ears:

'Thief, contrabandist, seller of illegal goods, persecutter, chains, prison, Siberia!'

Suddenly he makes for my ear-locks<sup>8</sup> and, pulling me angrily about, he seizes a pair of scissors from the table and shears off one whole lock! I am bathed in tears at the sight of my ear-lock lying on the floor; my grey old ear-lock which has grown with me from childhood into my old age, which has shared with me, in the course of my life, pains and pleasures galore. My mother stroked both locks and weighed them in her palm and could never look long enough at the beautiful, black curls.

They adorned my face in my good days when I was fresh and strong. They became grey before the time, but their greyiness was no shame to me. Both locks turned grey early through need, wretchedness, worry, unjust enmity.

To whom had my lock done harm? who had been wronged by my grey hairs?

My heart is torn within me and cries, Help! help! but my lips are silent. I look dumbly round, like a saorn sheep, and *kop, kop*, the tears fall thick as beans.

My unmolested cheek flamed, and my face must have altered dreadfully. I must have been a pitiable object.

For soon after the red collar puts away his tongue, so to speak, and speaks kindly to me, laying his hands on to my shoulders. A human heart must have stirred beneath the brass buttons, my grey hairs and my whole appearance have testified to my honesty. And now, as though in apology to me, he turns wrathfully upon my Gentile—why in creation has he dragged here a poor old man like that? and drives him out with a threatening gesture. He himself takes his cap and walks round saying a word now to this one, now to the other.

Then he goes out and soon we hear the trap driving away.

All the people in the room come to life again.

The notary gives the pen a fling with a farewell imprecation. The *stárost* and the *sotski* stretch themselves and lift up their heads.

Somebody waves his hand toward the street and his eyes say: Off with you and don't show your faces here again! The *stárost* draws a deep breath, runs his fingers through his hair and follows the hint with a 'That's a stanovoi,<sup>9</sup> if you like!'

<sup>6</sup> Russian = village bailiff. <sup>7</sup> One responsible for the taxes etc. of 100 houses.

<sup>8</sup> Worn by every orthodox Russian and Galician Jew.

<sup>9</sup> Police commissioner of a district.

Spektor also is an ideal popular story-writer. He has neither the vigour of Abrámovitsh, the artistic perfection of Perez, nor the brilliance of Rabbínovitsh. But there is a playfulness and repose, an absence of all bitterness and gloom, that render his books peculiarly winning. There are few more lovable characters in any literature than those of Fránya and her father in Spektor's *Jewish Students and Jewish Daughters*.

But so unpretending is the tale, that not till we close the book do we realise how Fránya's unselfishness and refinement have won our heart.

The life depicted here seems to belong to another day than ours; but at the end of the book, typically enough, we find a letter from Fránya's friend Clara, full of the wonders of the Paris Exhibition of 1889.

Spektor's *Three Persons* is a small but extremely valuable work. It describes, in the guise of a story, three present-day types. The Russian orthodox Jew, the Assimilator (who would be Russian in everything but religion), and the Palestinian.

The following extract borrows a mournful interest from certain recent events.

The period is one of anti-Semitic disturbances. Jacob (the Assimilator) and his wife hear that not even Russified Jews like themselves are safe from the approaching mob of rioters. They are in great terror and perplexity. Close by lies a small Jewish town of the usual squalid and lively type.

'Jacob also has gone "to the Jews" to ask for advice as to what is to be done.'

He has gone to the Jews, to the people he used to avoid, with whom he had no dealings, and would often ridicule into the bargain.

Reader, do not be hard on Jacob—God keep misfortune far from every one of us! . . .

It was past midnight when he came home 'from the Jews.'

His wife had not yet lain down to rest, and was impatiently awaiting his return.

'Well, what is the news? Why have you been away so long? I have not known what to think.'

'I have been with the Jews, and it was all I could do to get away.'

'And what do they advise? What do they say? What did they tell you to do?'

'What do *they* advise me, you ask? I will tell you. I wondered, as I went, what I should do, where I should go, and decided to look first for the Rabbi, who would tell me where the people had assembled, and I intended crossing the market-place. But it was impossible! The whole square is filled with Jews, with women and children, old and young. I saw that I need go no further to make my inquiries. But before I could get to one of the elder, well-to-do householders, all the Jews surrounded me with great delight and the women began to weep.

"The dear Pani<sup>10</sup> Jacob has come to counsel us! We Jews were in trouble, and so he remembered us. 'There is no pricing a Jewish soul.' The Jewish heart has awakened in Pani Jacob, because the Jews were in distress!

<sup>10</sup> Polish = lord.

"Save us with our husbands and children! Advise us in this judgment from God, so that our daughters and the holy books in the synagogues be not defiled!"

"And I heard a hundred other voices imploring me on all sides.

"What can I do for you, dear Jews?" I answered.

"*Was heist was?*"<sup>11</sup> You are no simple Jew like ourselves, whose heads are muddled with the worry of getting a livelihood. You are a Jew of to-day, you keep company with great people, they think a lot of you, you will be a good advocate for the Jews.

"We see that they treat you like one of themselves, you are hail-fellow-well-met with them. Tell us what to do! Advise us, have pity on our wives and children! They say there will be a riot this next Sunday, there has just been one in B——, and they say that the B—— rioters are coming to us, that they are already just outside the town. Have pity on us, dear Pani Jacob, you know better what is to be done than we blind ones!"

'My head began to swim' (Jacob went on to tell his wife). "I did not know what to do next. Should I look at the unfortunate people, should I speak to them? comfort them, or give them some advice? I began to wish I had never come, and all the while I hear my praises sung on every side:

"A Jew after all, the Pani Jacob—he has no dealings with any Jew, he never even enters a synagogue, and now—now that a great calamity has befallen the Jews, he comes—may God reward him for his goodness! Grant him to live a hundred and twenty years' and then to enter Paradise."

'A wave of compassion swept over me—and there I stood!'

Madame began to cry.

'And how did you answer them, the poor things?'

'How I answered them? I asked: What were they thinking of doing, meantime? Why were they all assembled in the market-place?'

'My head was going round, my heart ached, it grew black before my eyes. I only just managed to say: "Wait a little, I will come again directly and tell you what to do."

'They made way for me and I struggled through and came home.'

'But why—what for?' asked Madame in some astonishment.

'What's the good of asking me? I don't know! My heart is very heavy, I could weep bitterly—my head is splitting.'

'But Jacob' (said Madame—in great alarm) 'the wretched people are waiting for your answer, they are hoping. . . .'

'Well, let us go, perhaps we two together shall find something to say to them. . . .'

It may be asked:

What is the attitude of the Jargon writers toward the Russian Government?

I can only answer by pointing to the words, in Russian characters, on the title leaf of every Jargon book:

'With the permission of the Censor.'

'The rest is silence.'

There is, however, a spirit of conciliation abroad for which we are grateful and which is not without a dignity of its own.

In Dienesohn's *Yossele*, one of the saddest tales of child life ever written, the boy is brought before a court of justice to be tried for theft. The patient endeavours of the judge to get at the truth are in marked contrast with the vindictiveness of Yossele's Jewish accusers.

<sup>11</sup> What do you mean by 'what'?

Spektor, in his *Jewish Peasant*, does full justice to the efforts made by the Russian Government to induce Jews to settle on the land. These efforts have been few, but then the naturally suspicious Jews gave them no very encouraging reception.

Perez has 'A Chat' between two old Hebrews taking a holiday stroll. One of them tells of the delight with which he recites, every Passover, the list of the plagues of Egypt. His words have a double meaning.

Whereupon the other describes how a certain holy Rabbi grew melancholy at the Passover festal board :

'Melancholy--on a feast day--Passover--what do you mean?'

'Well, we asked him the reason why!'

'And what did he answer?'

'God Himself (was his reply) became melancholy on the occasion of the Exodus.'

'Where had he found that?'

'It's a midrash.'<sup>12</sup>

'When the children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea, and the water had covered up and drowned Pharaoh and all his host, then the angels began to sing songs, seraphim and ophanim flew through all the seven heavens with hymns and glad tidings, all the stars and planets danced and sang, and the transmigrant souls--you can guess what rejoicings!'

But the Creator put an end to them.

A Voice issued from the Throne :

'My children are being drowned in the sea, and you rejoice and sing!'

Because God created Pharaoh and all his host--the devil himself was made by God, and it is written :

'His tender mercies are over all his works.'

'Certainly,' sighs Reb Zerach.

He is silent for a while and then asks :

'And if it is a midrash, what conclusions did he draw?'

Reb Shekenah stands still and says gravely :

'Firstly, Belzer<sup>13</sup> fool, no one can be original, "there is no chronological order in the Law," the new is old, the old is new . . . Secondly, he showed us why we recite . . . even the plagues . . . to a mournful Sinai tune, a tune that is steeped in grief. Thirdly, he translated the precept : "Al-tismách Yisra'el el gil ca'amim"<sup>14</sup> thus : Rejoice not in a materialistic way, you are no boor!'

'Revenge is not for Jews.'

Somewhat apart from these three men stands Linetzki, the author of one single masterpiece, the *Kassidic Boy*, or *Polish Boy* as it has also been called. He wrote it in the bitterness of his soul, for it is in great part a disguised autobiography, and he had suffered incredible things at the hands of the Kassids. But, 'Farewell' (says the hero of the book to these same fanatics) 'and know that, although I lost my chance in life through your sweet Polish way of educating children, I leave the world happy, hoping that after the *Polish Boy* you will bring up no more such "Polish boys" as your victim *Linetzki*.'

The information contained in this work respecting the manners

<sup>12</sup> Talmudical exposition of the Biblical text. <sup>13</sup> Follower of the Rabbi of Belz.

<sup>14</sup> Hosea ix. 1.

and customs, social and domestic, of a certain portion of Jargonland renders it priceless. It is none too refined in tone, its jokes are broad and its caricature ruthless; but there is no mistaking the earnestness of its purpose and the intensely tragic impression left on the reader. The *Kassidic Boy* is one of the more difficult works, being full of Hebrew expressions and very idiomatic. The student will do well to commence with the simpler, but no less pure, Jargon of Spektor and Perez. The *Songs from the Ghetto* by Morris Rosenfeld, edited by Professor Wiener, with an English prose translation and German lettering, form an excellent introduction to the study of Yiddish. Since Perez has left off writing in verse, the first living Jargon poets are A. Goldfaden and Frug. The former, who founded the Jewish theatre in 1876, is the more powerful of the two; but my personal knowledge of his work is of the slightest.

Frug is one of several who, in a time of national distress, gave up Russian for Jargon, that they might speak to the people in their own tongue.

He is no great poet, but within certain limits, which he wisely does not overstep, he possesses considerable merit.

Frug was born in a Jewish agricultural colony. Hence his love for nature, a feeling of which the expression in Jargon literature is somewhat rare. This love he would fain impart to his humble brethren. They are still mentally overshadowed by the stone walls of the ghettos, and their longing after vines and fig trees is apt to be more intense than literal.

.   .   .   .   .  
The vales and the dales, and the wide-stretching plain,  
The clouds and the stars and the wind and the river,  
The green little leaflets that rustle and shiver,  
That glance in the sun and are wet with the rain :  
The snow-wreath of silver, the gold of the fall,  
The heaven above and the earth at my feet,  
Of hope and of gladness they sang, one and all,  
And oh, but their singing, their singing was sweet !

My Rabbi was Nature—she set me to learn,  
She taught me to sing and she taught me to play,  
She taught me to think and to feel, day by day,  
And all that is beautiful swift to discern.  
The heart must be fresh, and the brain clear and steady,  
The scales and the measure be waiting and ready,  
And I, after all, have become—why, you know it :  
A poet, my brothers, a poor Jewish poet !'

The following are three of Frug's shorter poems :

#### ON THE GRAVE OF MICHAEL GORDON

One more gravestone—one more heart,  
Cold and still, has found relief  
From the joy and bitter smart,  
From the wrath for other's grief.

Where the ash is strewn about  
Lies the dear old fiddle, lone ;  
And the crazy song ran out  
With a sudden sound of moan.

Strong and earnest, unafraid  
Rose the song, and clear and high.  
Ring the bell—the piece is played !  
Hushed the laughter, hushed the cry.

In the land where, free from pain,  
Thou, dear soul, art gone to live,  
One assurance still retain,  
All the comfort we can give.

This, while yet there lives a Jew,  
Through the many coming years,  
Shall thy songs be sung anew,  
Some with laughter, some with tears.

Sleep, thou spirit sweet and rare,  
Where the leaves of life are shed !  
Thine own songs shall be the Pray'r  
Spoke in blessing o'er the dead.

#### THE JEWISH CHILD

In the airless gloom and darkness  
Where no sunlight falls,  
Dost thou mark the blindworm yonder  
Where he crawls ?

In the earth the worm in darkness  
Had his birth,  
And his lot—to crawl for ever  
In the earth.

Wormlike, in the dark and helpless,  
All the undefiled  
Years of childhood thou art passing,  
Jewish child !

By the cradle-side thy mother,  
Rocking thee,  
Sings no song of peace, of gladsome  
Liberty ;

Of the gardens, of the valleys  
Where, the livelong day,  
Free as air, the rosy children  
Laugh and play.

Nay, a bursting tide of anguish  
Flows along,  
Ever welling—oh, the bitter  
Cradle song !

Deep-drawn sighs and tear-drops scalding,  
In a rushing stream,  
Night and day are sounding ever  
Through thy dream;

Deep-drawn sighs and tear-drops scalding,  
Cold and pain,  
Drag their weary length, like spectres,  
In thy train.

And from cot to grave, unbroken  
All the long, long way,  
Stretch whole forest-leagues of trouble.  
Grim and grey!

#### SAND AND STARS

Shines the moon, the stars are glowing,  
The night sweeps on o'er hill and plain,  
In the tattered book before me  
I read, and read them once again,

Ancient words of promise holy,  
And loud, at last, they speak to me :  
'As the stars of heaven—my people,  
And as the sand beside the sea !'

Lord Almighty, Thou hast spoken,  
Unchanging is Thine holy will,  
Ev'rything at Thy commandment  
His own appointed place shall fill.

Yes, dear Lord, we're sand and pebbles,  
We're scattered, underfoot are trod,  
But the stars, the bright and sparkling,  
The stars, the stars—where are they, God ?<sup>15</sup>

Space forbids me to say more of Dienesohn, whose work bears some resemblance to that of Spektor, or to speak of S. Rabbínovitch.

The latter, besides some good stories, has done excellent work as a critic, in which he is seconded by Frishman.

In spite of their unceasing efforts, sensational trash is still piled high in the Jewish book-market. It seems, however, to be more harmful for its unfaithfulness to life and utter worthlessness as literature than for any other reason. It is mostly written in a corrupt Germanised Yiddish of no interest to the philologist. This form of the language was introduced, with the best intentions, by one or two north-western writers early in the last century.

If, again, I dwell on the poet Morris Rosenfeld, I shall be led to speak of others who, likewise of Russian birth, have made their

<sup>15</sup> These translations are reprinted, by kind permission, from the *Jewish Quarterly Review* of April, 1902.

home in America. They belong to what, for the convenience of the moment, I have termed the Yiddish group of writers. This group is of no small significance, but it lies beyond the limit of this sketch.

The American writers have been active in the translating line. The Jargon library of translations, if I may so call it, now includes *David Copperfield*, *Don Quixote*, *Anna Karenina*, certain works of Jules Verne and Zola, stories by Maupassant and others.

The Yiddish literature of the eighteenth and preceding centuries was either religious or partook of the nature of folklore.

The *Maisse Buch* of the year 1602 was intended to wean Jewish womenfolk from the Gentile tales over which they pored to the displeasure of the Rabbis. The stories and legends in this volume are mainly of Jewish origin. Meanwhile, unwritten fables and fairy tales, fantastic children of every nation, age, and clime, were circulating by the thousand. Quantities have since been committed to print. The rest continue to lead a winged existence, which becomes more precarious from year to year.

The educated Jewish public in Russia is presumably out of touch, for the most part, with the Jargon language and literature.

Whether this is to be regretted, as making for a want of fellow-feeling between rich and poor; whether the passionate appeal of Perez for 'the help of the really intelligent' will find any response—these are questions which I must leave to others. One thing is certain: the cause of Jargon literature is the cause of the Jargon-speaking people in a very special sense, because of the scarcity of any but religious instruction.

Those by no means 'men of leisure,' therefore, who have gladly given time and talents in its interest deserve the gratitude of Jew and Gentile alike.

If no individual can be better or worse without influencing the rest of the world for evil or for good, how much more is this true of a whole people?

And if true of any race, it is very specially so of the one whose recent literature we have been hastily considering.

What civilised nation can afford to be indifferent, at the present day, to the moral and intellectual condition of the Polish Jew?

HELENA FRANK.



## A

## REMINISCENCE OF COVENTRY PATMORE

IN 1870, when a student of medicine, a natural affinity to literature led me to form the acquaintance of another student, possessed of, as possessed by, considerable originality both of phrases and ideas. A friendship began which, I am happy to say, still continues, and which led me to another lasting pleasure—an invitation to his father's house in the Easter of 1872.

Coventry Patmore was to me until then a *nominis umbra*, though for a boy my knowledge of literature was fairly extensive. I remembered how I had been told that his verse was a healthy reaction against the morbid Byronic influence, and at that time it seemed to me that one might as well attempt to drown fire with cups of milk-and-water instead of with pump and hose. I had a quick receptivity (a quality injudicious friends are wont to mistake for ability), and, though deeply interested, I started on my journey that Easter both critical and prejudiced. That my recollection of that visit remains most clear and vivid is not strange. Nothing more curious than the personality of my host could be presented to a boy of my temperament.

At Uckfield my friend and I met by chance a good priest, who acted as chaplain to the establishment at Heron's Ghyll. His 'Would you like to walk?' was accompanied by such a pleasant smile of invitation that we thought we could not decline. For some reason we young ones were already tired out. The walk flagged, and conversation dropped. After some miles the poor priest looked so weary that we expressed a regret for not having driven, when he exclaimed, with half-assumed distress, 'Ah! if I had only known! You should not be so shy of expressing your preferences in the presence of your elders.' It was not in this way that I was shy.

Heron's Ghyll, I believe, was formerly named 'Buckstead,' though I see that Mr. Edmund Gosse calls it 'Brixsted.' It was an improved, and rather obviously improving, estate, with new plantations and new paths, very effectively arranged and well kept. The

house also looked new, though much of the old building remained. The windows had stone mullions, and the whole house was fronted with a warm-coloured stone.

It stood naked and clean in the landscape. The interior of the hall, with tiled floor and bare walls, was airy and cool, like a model dairy. It was a thoroughly good and comfortable house, well arranged, and manageable with few servants. The arrangements everywhere were simple, but never primitive; a simplicity with distinction. The absence of the ordinary water-drainage system I, rightly or wrongly, took to be the suggestion of the well-known Sir John Simon, whom I met there during my visit.

A lady, very winning and gracious and kind, met us in the hall. She was dressed in a long dark robe narrowly edged with blue, made, I thought, somewhat like a religious habit. I am, throughout this reminiscence, recalling my impressions of the time, and earnestly trust that these may, when unworthy of my subject, in no wise be taken as representing my maturer and later judgment, which, as regards everyone I met in that kind household, is wholly grateful and affectionate. I was steeped in Shelley, romantically Radical in my sympathies, and somewhat of a 'prig.' Moreover, I knew nothing of my host and hostess, who lived in a certain higher and more rarefied atmosphere. I thought I lived on richer soil, more prodigal of flowers, than theirs.

Later, when I was in the dining-room, Coventry Patmore entered. My most vivid recollection of him is as he stood in that doorway. It was a living picture. His clothes seemed too loose for his spare frame. He wore a comfortable black velvet 'shooting' coat, and light check trousers. A thin, rather untidy wisp of black necktie made more distinct the large ends of his upright linen collar, apparently not separable from his shirt, all spotlessly clean and white. He seemed as erect as an arrow, and lithe as an osier; the eyes shone on me brilliantly like a bird's. The lower part of his face, which was devoid of hair, seemed small in comparison with a large and very broad brow, wide at the temples. But the lower part of his face was made ever memorable by his mouth, shaped like a Cupid's bow when fleetingly at rest, but almost incessantly changing in outline. The lips rarely apart, perhaps more rarely to me as one unworthy of his speech, often pressed together by some inward thought, then shooting forwards with a sort of prehensile rapidity!

But his eyes were kind, and had wit and humour. He shook hands and at once I was at ease. Never perhaps did grey hairs seem so young.

Two girls slipped in, shy and silent. The younger, fragile and more like her father than the elder, looked extremely interesting; the elder was beautiful. Shyly they sat down at table, and all we younger ones looked down at our plates, speaking only when spoken

to. This was the type of our first meals. After two or three of them the silence grew to be oppressive. An effort to say something, perhaps to shine, took possession of me. I had just been reading *Romola*. Greatly daring, I hazarded some criticisms which elicited a response from Mrs. Patmore, who, smiling, said that it was strange how completely George Eliot had misunderstood and almost laughably travestied the character of St. Theresa, which the authoress had cited as a parallel to that of Dorothea in *Middlemarch*. No Catholic would have thought of such an absurd comparison. It was a complete misunderstanding of the mind of the saint.

I felt at once dreadfully out of my depth. But, knowing nothing of St. Theresa, it did not follow that I had nothing to say. Perhaps I said something in ignorant defence. No doubt it was something foolish. The table grew more silent! I spoke again, and looked at the velvet-coated figure away to the right—a long way it seemed—at the head of the table, with an expectation of sympathy.

The lips shot out and quivered, like a snake's tongue at a fascinated rabbit, and I felt a blow was coming. 'Have you read any of St. Thomas à Kempis?' said the snake.

I had seen the book on the table of a Positivist. There was an undercurrent of humour at the conjunction, which emboldened me to smile and say, 'Yes'—hoping the undercurrent would bear me to safety and conversation.

Then all my nerves, conversational and other, were paralysed by the quiet remark, 'He says, "Talk little, especially with young people."'

It was a direct blow, and the room whirled. Then a wound of shame began to throb. I stole a look at the son; his eyes were on his plate. Did he faintly smile?—I could not tell. The elder daughter gazed with unnatural firmness at her plate, a faint rose blush pervading her. The younger?—she also looked at her plate. They all had their hands in their laps. Was conversation tabooed at meals? The silence lasted until we rose. Oh, the relief, when the study door closed, and we emancipated boys escaped into the open air!

The poison rankled in the wound all day. Not till night fell, with its inward illumination, did full relief come. It was born of revenge. I was young and ignorant, and had been beaten. But the longed-for sense of power came back. I elaborated the sentence, 'Coventry Patmore's poems are the Drivelling Domesticity of an Uxorious Simpleton,' and fell asleep happy. So might a savage slumber satisfied, having shot his arrow at the sun's eclipse.

The next morning a fine view of the Weald of Sussex was to be seen from the windows, the house was bright with sun, all was clean and fresh and happy. My friend and I spent the forenoon bird's-

nesting in the woods which, forming part of his father's property, stretched downwards to the left. Our deep enjoyment of an irresponsible freedom had its contrast in the afternoon, when we all, including a Miss Robson, who was staying in the house, went for a walk with the poet—one never to be forgotten. The striking personality of the previous day was manifested in a new aspect out of doors. The tall erect figure was bent, the head projecting forwards; a grey-and-black plaid shawl was thrown over the back, accentuating the stoop of the shoulders. For the time the poet was a valetudinarian. We walked slowly, conversing with the gardeners, and visiting the newly planted shrubberies, in which the poet took a great pleasure, and of which I was reminded when, years after, I was reading of Sir Walter Scott. He said little, and seemed to be warming himself in the sunshine, full of thoughts into which we dared not break. Slowly and gravely we reached the sportive woods of the morning, and visited a pool whose margin was imprinted with the feet of many small birds. These, he told me, were the footprints of the heron, from which the domain took the name, conferred on it by himself, of 'Heron's Ghyll.' Country-bred, I knew these were not the marks of herons, but of smaller birds. I hazarded an unheard whisper of water-wagtails. I was in a half-illuminated state of mind; the poet seemed to live in a dream, 'where nothing is but what is not.' I thought, 'To what's unreal thou coactive art, and fellow'st nothing.' To accuracy of fact in the scientific sense he then, and often afterwards, seemed to me to give no allegiance: that which he himself thought things to be was the more important truth. The beauty of a thought was, in a way, objective to him. From it he seemed to derive the same sense of satisfaction which to plainer men is derived from the contemplation of a seemingly concrete world. What this world of mine might be to him was a mystery to me; that the world was mystic to him was plain. The fascination which his power exercised on me grew to a liking for him as I began faintly to understand him.

That evening we had a service in the chapel, where we all knelt and prayed.

During the days we boys played as boys do. A new light by this means was thrown on the poet's gentle nature. We took a grey horse out of the stables, and hunted the fields, and the usual misfortune of a borrower pursued me. I wrenched the grey's shoulder in a rabbit-hole and, temporarily I trust, lamed him. I told my host, like a good boy, expecting another quotation from Thomas à Kempis, but was met with a smile, many movements of the lips, but no remark, nor did he once refer to my meddlesomeness in any way whatever. It was true kindness, for I was much distressed. I felt he did not dislike me in the least, so, less shy, I was encouraged to speak to him occasionally.

In the evenings we sometimes had music from his wife and elder daughter. He liked simple airs, and said that modern music was abhorrent to him. One evening we played at impromptus in the manner of Lear's nonsense verses. The poet sat reading. After a while someone gave out the word 'Cadiz,' and with a smile he looked over his paper and said :

There was an old fellow of Cadiz  
Who lived in a place where no shade is ;  
So he lighted his cloak, and sat under the smoke,  
That clever old fellow of Cadiz.

" After that he often made nonsense verses, which, alas ! I have forgotten.

We always spent the evenings together, the poet mostly reading. He disliked tobacco, and told me that Ruskin said perhaps the worst thing about smoking was that it enabled young men to do nothing contentedly.

The conversation turned one evening upon ghosts and apparitions. Suddenly he told me a most extraordinary story in detail, with place, time, and circumstance complete.

He said that one evening he was staying in a house together with Mr. Holman Hunt. They were in a room with double folding doors, and were sitting alone together, when, looking through into the further room, which was lit up, he saw a little figure seated on the corner of the table. It was alive and looked about, and was dressed in a quaint dress with a little peaked hat shaped like a harebell, and with pointed shoes. He called Holman Hunt's attention to the figure seen by himself, and Holman Hunt saw it equally distinctly. Taking some paper, the latter made a sketch of it exactly as it seemed to him to sit there, the sketch corresponding in every particular with Coventry Patmore's vision of the same. On looking for it again the figure had disappeared. I remember thinking it strange that the figure was so like that of the conventional gnome of the story-books, and I suppose that my host looked on me as a child, and told me a fanciful story. But it was told in a way to impress me with its veracity, and some time afterwards I endeavoured to find out if Mr. Holman Hunt remembered anything of the circumstance or possessed the sketch, but was told there was absolutely no foundation whatever for the story. Documentary evidence, as I think Professor Huxley once took the trouble to prove, is always absent in such cases. Happily Mr. Holman Hunt is still with us to delight us, and, should he think it worth while, could clear up the mystery.

I was asked one evening what of George Eliot's I had been reading. Referring at once to poetry, I named *Armstrong* and the *Spanish Gypsy* and the headings of some chapters of *Middlemarch*. 'Ah!' said the poet, with infinite meaning of depreciation, 'that is what I call "important" poetry.'

A remarkable saying of his is treasured in my memory as the best definition I have ever heard of the elusive term 'gentleman.' 'A gentleman,' said he, 'is one who does everything with the least possible expenditure of force.' The extreme felicity of this definition is not of a kind to startle the hearer at once, but it is extraordinarily accurate. The 'gentleman' is not, of course, necessarily an idler: he may 'do everything.' Yet all he does is done in this way; the great loss of force in mechanics through *friction* can only be reduced to a minimum by extreme skill, and the analogy will be clear to the student of manners: the subtleties of manner and of speech characterising a gentleman were never so surely brought under a general term. It is too good to be fully appreciated by any but those experienced in society and in human nature.

When my visit was drawing to its close the poet's son told me that his father wished to have some little private talk with me before I left.

The message was conveyed as if it were a mark of great favour shown to me, and I took it as such. But I was nervous and shy, feeling I was about to be weighed in the balance and found wanting. At the hour named I entered his study and found myself alone with him. The room was at the further end of the house, and he was seated at his writing-table. I sat at the side of the table, and he talked a little of my aims in life. Then of my tastes in poetry, which were very catholic, but tending towards the obscurely psychologic and inchoate; towards wayward expressions of deep feeling and wild growths; towards Shelley, Browning, and Rossetti. He thought my taste should be more reserved and chastened; and I was greatly interested by a remark of his that the final and supreme art of poetry was to be extremely simple and clear—that I might be misled into thinking this was easy, and that I might mistake Art's greatest reach, *simplicity* for *poverty*. I glanced at the neat papers on his desk, and thought he was thinking of himself and defending his own work. In saying this I am trying to observe the simplicity he inculcated. It was a feeling I do not mind acknowledging to my shame, since 'my conversion so sweetly tastes, being the thing I am.' That this was his own high aim, and that he greatly succeeded therein, no one of critical faculty can doubt.

He asked me if I liked Tennyson. I was full of the *Palace of Art*, and spoke of it with enthusiasm. He drily remarked that *Maud* was Tennyson's greatest poem, and would ultimately be thought so. At that time I admired *Maud* so much that I knew it all by heart; but the golden moment for saying so was gone. After most kind expressions from him, the little interview came to an end.

That it was of pure intent to influence me for good is obvious, and I am ever grateful to him for that unforgettable hour. After many years I take his words more to heart, though still without

entire assent. But for his direction I might never have seen the perfect intricacy in simplicity and the extreme artistic finish of such a poem as *The Toys*, and have been touched only by its pathos, which is limitless—an example of profound effect gained by the employment of apparently simple means. I never read it now without being lost in admiration. It is sure and unerring, and shows the hand of a master. The pathos is even terrible, for it referred to his much-loved son Henry, whose great promise faded with his early death.

.. A long walk ended the visit. His son and I walked with him from Heron's Ghyll to Eridge Park. Occasionally again that curious inaccuracy of fact peeped out. I was fond of running and jumping, and would jump the hedges and gates; for this he checked me, saying I should not jump, as it was a frequent cause of rupture. I have never known it occur in intentional jumping: a sudden slip of a valetudinarian on orange-peel is much more vicious: and sports are the saving of a boy.

We left him at a charmingly situated house on the farther side of Eridge Park, overlooking that beautiful and almost feudal extent of proud wild country in the heart of domestic Sussex. He was kind enough to entertain me several times in London, but I never saw him again in intimacy. His poems are on the shelves of a convert. The response to the influence of his penetrative mind grows with increasing years.

PAUL CHAPMAN, M.D., F.R.C.P.

## *THE NEXT LIBERAL MINISTRY*

AMID accustomed controversy on political problems there is a rare consensus of opinion that the result of the next General Election will place a Liberal Ministry in power. Whether the shifting of the burden will follow upon a Ministerial rout at the poll, or whether the majority will be of ordinary proportions, is the only point of difference in the forecast. Up to May 1903 Mr. Chamberlain, a shrewd judge of electoral chances, avowed the opinion that the Liberals would come in with a majority under fifty, and, after ineffectively struggling along through a Session or two, would suddenly collapse as did Lord Rosebery's Ministry in 1895. But a great deal has happened since May 1903. The country has had placed before it, personally conducted by a powerful statesman, a programme involving return to Protectionist principles. An early result was the disruption of the Unionist party. Later came a series of by-elections which, almost without variation, testified to distrust by the electorate of the proposed new departure. By-elections are not to be accepted as infallibly indicating the drift of public opinion. But it is a simple mathematical proposition that, if the proportion of Unionist disasters at the poll indicated through the last twenty months be spread throughout a General Election, Liberal candidates will be returned by a majority recalling the triumphs of 1890 and 1885.

By the exercise of constitutional courage and display of a dexterity that occasionally verged on disregard of Parliamentary traditions, Mr. Balfour succeeded in falsifying the general expectation that a dissolution would interrupt the progress of last Session. There was in the actual situation no reason why the Prime Minister should voluntarily dismiss Parliament. It is true his majority was steadily decreased by the operation of by-elections. But what was the turnover of a score of votes among so many? Whenever the problem of fiscal reform cropped up in the House of Commons the Ministerial majority ran down below the half hundred. On questions of general policy a majority of fourscore was the minimum result. Why should a Minister thus supported go to the country? Nor was impetus in that direction given by evidence of decrepitude accompanying old age on the part of the sitting House. When the first Parliament of King



Edward the Seventh reassembles next February it will be on the threshold of its fifth year. It is true it met for a dozen days in December 1900. But that was for merely formal work, and does not count as a Session. As far as years are concerned there is nothing in practice or usage that should prevent Parliament quietly proceeding through the coming Session, deferring dissolution till the year 1906.

Will effort be made in that direction? Here again the potent personality of Mr. Chamberlain intrudes itself. With characteristic frankness he has publicly proclaimed his plan of campaign. Admitting the inevitable succession of a Liberal Ministry, he is content to stand aside during its term of life, awaiting the opportunity of its downfall to take the field with his programme of Preferential Tariffs. That would be all very well if the propagandist were in, say, his fiftieth year. But when the shadow of his seventieth year looms over a statesman, months become as precious as are years to careless youth. Mr. Gladstone, as his private friends can testify, felt this acutely when in 1886 he espoused a cause not less revolutionary than that Mr. Chamberlain has abruptly made his own. With a coarseness of phrase that did not detract from the accuracy of the diagnosis, Lord Randolph Churchill described the author of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 as 'an old man in a hurry.' At that period, sped nearly nineteen years, Mr. Gladstone was not much older than Mr. Chamberlain will be at the date when, after a moderate interval of Liberal administration, he counts upon finding himself in a position to 'dethrone Free Trade. With a majority starting at forty, steadily wearing away to nothing, the Ministry placed in power in 1892 lived on till 1895. The next Liberal Ministry will certainly have a majority exceeding forty, and, free from the disintegrating influence of a Home Rule Bill, may reasonably expect to run into their fifth Session. However that be, Mr. Chamberlain can ill afford to be lavish in the matter of years. Contemplating the stupendous task assumed towards the close of a strenuous life, he must come to Macbeth's conclusion, arrived at in quite other circumstances :

If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly.

It was a marvel to many that he withheld his hand throughout last Session. With a following of 200 in the Ministerial camp, he was master of the situation, and might have decreed dissolution at any time, so hastening approach to his final opportunity. Actuated by whatsoever reason, he was content to leave his old colleagues in office. It is exceedingly improbable that patience will be extended through the coming year. The time may, therefore, be opportune briefly to review the achievements of Mr. Balfour's first Administration and contemplate contingencies that may follow on its dismissal.

In the matter of the number and magnitude of legislative accom-

plishments it will not fill large space in history. If it attains distinction in that direction it will be by reason of its singular barrenness. Its first complete Session, running with brief interval from the 16th of January to the 18th of December, 1901, was the most productive. But in respect of anything approaching first-class measures the record does not go beyond the reform (left incomplete) of Parliamentary procedure, the passing of an Education Bill for England and Wales, and the carrying of the London Water Bill. One searches in vain through the journals of the first Session opened by the King in person for anything that might rank as a legislative measure of prime importance. The Session of 1903 saw the Irish Land Bill added to the Statute Book, the prize of this year's Session being the Licensing Bill. With an overwhelming, up to the introduction of the tariff controversy a docile, majority, the aggregate is not much for four years.

With one Session still in hand, Mr. Balfour has the opportunity of adding to his list of legislative achievements a work that would bring up the average to a level more nearly approaching that reached by some of his predecessors. In a recent number of this Review Sir H. Kimber set forth the case for a measure dealing with the redistribution of seats. It needs only to be stated to demonstrate the gross absurdity of a system patched up at intervals during the last seventy years. The assumption underlying it is that all duly qualified electors enjoy equal privileges. The fact—one among many—is that the vote of an elector of Newry counts for eighteen times as much as the vote of a Romford elector. Of the nearly seven million electors on the register, two and a half millions return 370 out of the 670 members constituting the House of Commons. The remaining four millions and a half are perforce content with returning 300 members. Thus the minority of the electorate are in a position to settle affairs of State against the will of the overwhelming majority.

That such a state of things should continue to exist is evidence of the conservatism that, in spite of Reform Acts, underlies the temperament of the nation. Mr. Balfour is in a position, rarely occupied by a Prime Minister, of grappling with this stupendous anachronism. He still has an irresistible working majority in the Commons, and has no fear of overthrow in the House of Lords. Actually, the matter is not one of party politics. In the readjustment of electoral force Liberals and Conservatives would equally win and lose. Ireland would chiefly suffer. Her Parliamentary representation, settled in proportion to population, would be reduced by thirty out of 103. But there is no reason in mathematics why Ireland should continue to be favoured at the expense of England and Scotland. Certainly, there is nothing in the average of Irish representation at Westminster that insists upon continuance of exceptionally favoured circumstance.

Mr. Balfour is further fortunate in having at hand at this particular

juncture an instrument that, dexterously used, would smooth the way of settlement. The Irish members would, naturally, protest against having their number, with its potentiality of good or evil, reduced. Assuming them to be inspired solely by patriotic desire, they would welcome a chance of bartering over-representation at Westminster for the devolution of Irish local business upon local authority. I have personal reason to believe that the Prime Minister has for some months had under consideration the possibility and desirability of grappling next Session with the question of the redistribution of seats. A deal with devolution is not a necessary corollary. The combination would, in truth, form a colossal task, alluring to Gladstone in his prime or to Disraeli in his desperation. There are, nevertheless, what some regard as portentous signs abroad of dallying with the question. The programme put forward by the new Irish Reform League, under the presidency of Lord Dunraven, if it serves no weightier purpose, acts admirably as a kite to test the current of the wind. It will not be forgotten that the action of an analogous body meeting in Dublin under the same presidency directly, to the marvel of mankind, led to the introduction and enactment of the Irish Land Purchase Bill. However that be, whether with or without devolution, Mr. Balfour may brace himself up to the pitch of devoting the last Session of the Parliament supporting his First Administration to the great work of making the representation of the people in Parliament a veritable thing.

Since the secession from the Cabinet of Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Balfour's Ministry has more than ever been a one-man Administration. Almost in equal degree, though in varying fashion, the Premier of to-day centres upon himself the attention of the House and the country as in their time did Disraeli and Gladstone. It has of late grown to be the fashion to accuse Mr. Balfour of failure as a Leader of the House of Commons. Certainly, if success in that office be measured by the number of Bills added to the Statute Book in the course of a Session, failure must be admitted. With supreme intellectual gifts Mr. Balfour lacks something of the qualities of a business man, notable, for example, in the character of his predecessor William Henry Smith. Mr. Smith got Bills through. Mr. Balfour witches the House with charm of manner, extorts admiration by the dexterity with which he skates over thin ice. But turning over the ledger of the Session in search of business done, the record, as we have seen, is disappointingly meagre.

During the last two Sessions Mr. Balfour has found himself handicapped by a state of things for the initiation of which he has no responsibility. Possibly with the advantage of retrospection he may be convinced that it would have been better in the interests of himself and the Unionist party had he put his foot down when Mr. Chamberlain first raised the flag of Preferential Tariffs, plainly declaring

that he would hold no truck with the thing. A mind constitutionally prone to subtleties, a disposition that shrank from open hostility to an old colleague, led him into the dubious course that has marked his attitude on the question. He has tried to walk on both sides of the road, declaring against taxation of food, whilst protesting that, after all, there can be no harm in inquiry into the bearings of Free Trade at the commencement of a new century. Meanwhile he relies upon the efficacy of that blessed word Retaliation. This concatenation of circumstances created perennial difficulty, through which Mr. Balfour has steered with brave assumption of light-heartedness. In a familiar passage in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck* Disraeli describes Peel sitting on the Treasury Bench watching the flower of his party pass by to join in the division lobby the Opposition bent on wrecking his Ministry. So time after time, during the past two Sessions, Mr. Balfour has seen a section of his following, important by reason of character and intellect, withdraw from his side when the question at issue involved the sanctity of the principle of Free Trade. The conclusion of the matter was frankly set forth by Lord Londonderry addressing a meeting of Primrose Leaguers gathered in the autumn in his Northumberland park. 'I do not hesitate to say,' he declared, 'that if the dissentients from the ranks of the Unionist party over the fiscal question are allowed to continue, we must look forward to the next General Election with feelings of the greatest possible apprehension.'

This brings us back to the road whither all portents point, the near succession of a Liberal Administration. Who will undertake to form it, and how will the more important posts be distributed? In a narrow circle likely to be acquainted with Mr. Balfour's feelings on the subject, it is understood that if, on surrendering the seals of office as the result of a General Election, he be invited by his Majesty to suggest the name of a successor, he will submit that of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Of course it does not inevitably follow that, in such circumstances, the Sovereign should seek the advice of the retiring Minister. When in March 1894 Mr. Gladstone tendered his resignation to Queen Victoria, he, in conversation with Mr. John Morley, frankly admitted he expected the Queen to consult him on the subject of his successor. Her Majesty made no advance in that direction. Acting solely on her own initiative, she sent for Lord Rosebery and pressed on his acceptance the seals of office. Had Mr. Gladstone been consulted, he avowed that he would have advised the Queen to send for Earl Spencer.

Earl Spencer's claim to the Liberal Premiership is established on the basis of long and conspicuous service. It can never be forgotten how, carrying his life in his hand, he undertook residence in Dublin and the government of Ireland during the turbulent times of 1882-5. Remembering protests made from below the gangway on the Liberal

side against the nomination in the person of Lord Rosebery of a peer to the Premiership, recurrence of revolt might be expected in the event of Lord Spencer's attempting to form a Ministry. The objection to Lord Rosebery was, however, in great measure personal. The Radicals would still prefer to have the Premier seated in the Commons. But, remembering old days, there would probably be no repetition in the case of Lord Spencer of the acrimonious Radical protest that hampered Lord Rosebery during his brief term of Premiership. The general idea with a section of Liberals anxious for a truce is that Lord Spencer should form a Ministry; that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman should join him in the House of Lords with the portfolio of Secretary of State for War; and that Mr. Asquith should lead the House of Commons with the style of First Lord of the Treasury. It is hinted that the arrangement would be more easy of accomplishment if tacit understanding were arrived at that Lord Spencer, gratified with having, howsoever tardily, received the well-earned prize of faithful self-sacrificing servitude, would not regard his tenure of the Premiership as a permanency. The long-racked Liberal Party, settling down for a year under placid leadership, might at the end of that term find it desirable to seek younger and more vigorous captaincy.

This arrangement assumes acquiescence on the part of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, an assumption it might not be well to count upon. Cynics may discover in Mr. Balfour's preference for the present Leader of the Opposition's promotion to the Premiership suspicion of the idea that such an arrangement would at the outset of its career introduce a germ of disintegration into a Liberal Ministry. It is quite true Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's lot as Leader of the Opposition has not proved a happy one either for himself or his party. To those who recognise his equable temper, his sound sense, his wide knowledge of affairs, and a certain pawky humour helpful to a public man, his failure to dominate dissensions within the Liberal party, that for years have made it impotent in Opposition, has been a surprise. It would be idle to affirm that as Leader of the Opposition he commands the respect of his political opponents or the obedience of his party friends. This is, however, only the House of Commons' aspect of the case. Throughout the country Sir Henry has a support as wide in range, as hearty in character, as in the House of Commons it is limited and lukewarm. The country elector, regarding the scene at Westminster with the advantage of perspective, has convinced himself that the nominal captain of the Liberal Parliamentary forces has not received fair treatment. Undertaking at a critical period in the fortunes of the party the thankless task of leadership, he, from the outset of his career, found his authority flouted, not only from the back benches, but notably on that where he sat with ex-colleagues in a former Administration.

He has borne the discipline with imperturbable good humour, has rarely made complaint, has come up smiling after repeated rebuffs. That is the kind of man the country elector respects, and when it comes to the choice of a Liberal Premier, the country elector, who has made the occasion possible will expect to be heard in debate upon personal claims. The friendly scheme cherished by affectionate colleagues on the front Opposition bench, whereby after life's fitful fever, represented by thirty-six years in the House of Commons, Sir Henry may rest well in the House of Lords, will, for its realisation, require Sir Henry's more or less cordial acquiescence. If he insists on reversion of the Premiership it will be difficult to withhold it. —

Whosoever be the next Liberal Premier, he will find himself in the more or less fortunate position of having at his disposal many high posts upon which there is no personal lien. In the nine years that have elapsed since Lord Rosebery returned the seals of office, death has been unusually busy with his colleagues. His Foreign Secretary was the Earl of Kimberley. Lord Herschell sat on the Woolsack. Lord Cork was Master of the Horse. Lord Kensington and Lord Playfair occupied minor offices in connection with the Court. Mr. Seale-Hayne was Paymaster-General; Mr. Thomas Ellis Chief Whip, Mr. Woodall Financial Secretary to the War Office, and Sir Frank Lockwood Solicitor-General. All, all are gone, the old familiar faces. In addition, other circumstances have removed members of the last Liberal Administration from the list of competitors for appointments in the new one. Lord Rosebery himself, who in 1895 combined with the Premiership the Lord Presidency of the Council, with occasional excursions persists in occupancy of his lonely furrow. Sir William Harcourt, who ten years ago left an indelible mark on the records of the Exchequer, has, after a long career spent in the public service, taken an honoured seat at the Scæan Gate. Sir George Trevelyan, his colleague as Secretary for Scotland, has happily given up to literature what was never meant for the hurly-burly of politics. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, President of the Local Government Board in Lord Rosebery's Ministry; Mr. Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General; Mr. Acland, Vice-President of the Council; Sir John Hibbert, Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary to the Admiralty; Mr. George Russell, Under-Secretary for the Home Office; Mr. J. B. Balfour, Lord Advocate; Mr. George Leveson-Gower, Comptroller of the Household, are for divers reasons all out of the running. Here are just a score of offices, from the Premiership to a Lordship-in-Waiting, at the disposal of the next Liberal First Minister of the Crown untrammelled by a claim of vested interest—a start almost unique. It means that there is an opening for at least twenty new men.

In the case of the Woolsack, for example, one of the most prized gifts at the disposal of a Prime Minister, the appointment on the formation of a Ministry is as a rule practically predestined. Lawyers,

a tough trained race, live long. There is rarely lacking one whose personal position and his claims upon the gratitude of his party do not make his succession to the Woolsack a matter of course. The next Liberal Premier will find himself in this respect with a free hand. It is true that, following precedent, Sir Robert Reid, Attorney-General in Lord Rosebery's short-lived Ministry, might look for preferment. But the mind refuses to realise the prospect of this almost pragmatistical Radical presiding over an assembly of hereditary legislators supplemented by a body of bishops. A sound lawyer, an upright man, an honest politician strongly imbued with sentimentality, Sir Robert Reid is much too good for the daily food of party controversy. He would make an admirable judge. But it is understood that aversion to the contingency of having from time to time to condemn a fellow-being to death closes against him that avenue of promotion. •

There is one post Sir Robert Reid seems predestined to fill. It is exceedingly improbable that Mr. Gully will offer himself for re-election as Speaker. Assuming the dissolution comes next year, he will have completed ten years of distinguished, dignified service in the Chair. In respect of years he will have reached the limit after which man's labour is but sorrow. It will be hard for any man to follow in Mr. Gully's footsteps. Sir Robert Reid has many of the qualities that promise success. Another name mentioned in connection with the Chair is that of Mr. Lawson Walton. To cite it is to show that in this important requirement the Liberal majority will have an embarrassment of riches. There would not in the particular case be embarrassment of other kind, since, if the Attorney-General of Lord Rosebery's Administration becomes Speaker of the House of Commons, vacancy would be made for Mr. Lawson Walton to accept office as one of the Law Officers of the Crown. His colleague would undoubtedly be Mr. Robson, who has during the existence of the present Parliament steadily advanced to the position of one of the most powerful, persuasive debaters in the Opposition ranks. •

It is certain that, whosoever may be called upon to form the next Ministry, Lord Rosebery will decline any overtures towards collaboration that may be made to him. His acceptance of the Foreign Secretaryship would be a tower of strength to the Ministry. But he will prefer his lonely furrow. He could not serve under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and he would not work in Cabinet with Lord Spencer. Failing Lord Rosebery, Sir Charles Dilke is the best man available for the Foreign Office. He served an apprenticeship as Under-Secretary, in which he displayed remarkable aptitude for the delicate work of the Department. His return to Ministerial life is inevitable. He would do well at the head of any of the great spending departments. He is equally at home in the administrative details of the Army or Navy. On the front Opposition bench he has only one competitor for the seals of the Foreign Office. That is Sir Edward

Grey, whose sympathies are, however, more with the Colonial Office than with Foreign Affairs. However that be, with Sir Charles Dilke at the Foreign Office and Sir Edward Grey at the Colonial Office the new Government would get a fair start.

Whilst personally Lord Rosebery will have no active part in the new Ministry, it does not mean that it will contain no Roseberyites. A Liberal Ministry will be the result of a coalition between men who have been content to follow Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman with modified discipline and enthusiasm, and others who have yearned for Lord Rosebery to lead them to battle. When the Unionist Government was formed, and throughout its existence, even up to the latest reconstruction, the Liberal wing of the allied army had a share of loaves and fishes disproportionate to their numbers. An analogy will probably be found in the constitution of the next Liberal Ministry. If Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman permits himself to be reverentially shunted to the House of Lords, Mr. Asquith will take his place as Leader of the party in the Commons. Whether Sir Henry is or is not transmogrified, Mr. Haldane will most probably become Lord Chancellor. He has gifts of intellect, temperament, even of personal appearance, that mark him out for the Woolsack.

No name leaps to the lip of rumour in connection with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Suggestion of Mr. Fletcher Moulton may create surprise. On reflection it will be admitted that he has special qualifications for the important post. That it should be bestowed upon a member of the Bar in active practice is admittedly unusual. After all, there is nothing prohibitive in the fact. Sir William Harcourt sacrificed a lucrative practice at the Parliamentary Bar in order to enter on the career that triumphantly led him to the Treasury. The particular field in which Mr. Fletcher Moulton carries on his practice provides admirable schooling for a future Chancellor of the Exchequer. If Mr. John Morley be found desirous of again emerging from the shaded groves of literary life, it is not likely he would care to return to the Irish Office. The Presidency of the Council seems a post specially appropriate for a man of letters. It carries with it a comfortable salary and a seat in the Cabinet. Sir Henry Fowler, who did admirable service at the India Office, is understood to be desirous of continuing it under new auspices. Mr. Thomas Shaw is one of the junior members of Lord Rosebery's Ministry who have, in the shade of Opposition, come to the front. Promotion to the Lord Advocacy seems the natural progress of the ex-Solicitor-General for Scotland. Mr. Shaw might with confidence be entrusted with the wider, more important range of duties connected with the Home Office. Mr. Sydney Buxton's patient and painstaking attendance on the front Opposition bench suggests reward by proffer of the Presidency of the Local Government Board.

Of the few peers who rally round the Liberal flag in the House of



Lords, Lord Tweedmouth is obviously marked out as Secretary for Scotland. Lord Carrington would probably return to the dignified post of Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Burghclere to the Board of Agriculture. Lord Crewe, who gallantly suffered ostracism alike by Unionists and Home Rulers whilst serving his party, has established a claim to high Ministerial office. Assuming the recall of Lord Curzon, he would well maintain the high traditions of the Indian Viceroyalty.

Amongst members on the Liberal side new to office, the claim of Mr. Lloyd-George is undisputed. At a time when leadership was a little limp, and the spirits of a distracted party faced by a yet unriven majority of over a hundred were hopelessly depressed, he, with much of the spirit and something of the manner of the light-hearted street *gamin*, pegged away at the Treasury Bench. As a free lance in the untrammelled state of Opposition he has proved most effective. There is, however, world-wide difference between the jayaunce of undisciplined attack and a seat on the Treasury Bench with the care of a Department on one's shoulders. Time was when a promising young member on either side selected for promotion was proud to accept a Junior Lordship of the Treasury, was elate on receiving proffer of an Under-Secretaryship. The House, whilst grateful for relief from its chronic state of boredom, following on the personal sallies of the member for Merthyr Tydvil, does not regard with complacency the prospect of his being, as his countrymen and friends prognosticate, pitchforked to the headship of a Department with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone started his Ministerial career as a Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Lloyd-George might begin as Under-Secretary to the Home Office. Seated there he will have the satisfaction of reflecting that it was the jumping-off ground of Lord Rosebery on his way to the Premiership. Other unofficial members whom the framer of the next Liberal Ministry would do well not to overlook are Mr. Reginald McKenna, Mr. Lambert, and Sir Joseph Leese.

Cataloguing these conjectures, we arrive at an adumbration of the next Liberal Ministry which thus resolves itself :

Premier . . . . .	Earl Spencer.
Foreign Secretary . . . . .	Sir Charles Dilke.
Lord Chancellor . . . . .	Mr. Haldane.
Lord President of the Council . . . . .	Mr. John Morley.
First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons . . . . .	Mr. Asquith.
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . . . .	Mr. Fletcher Moulton.
Home Secretary . . . . .	Mr. Thomas Shaw.
Colonial Secretary . . . . .	Sir Edward Grey.
Secretary for War . . . . .	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (with a Peerage).
Secretary for India . . . . .	Sir Henry Fowler.

Secretary for Scotland . . . .	Lord Tweedmouth.
President of the Board of Trade . .	Mr. Bryce.
President of Local Government Board .	Mr. Sydney Buxton.
President of Board of Agriculture . .	Lord Burghclere.

It will be observed that, whilst omitting offices below Cabinet rank, this does not include the full tale of Cabinet appointments. If the Minister for War is seated in the Lords, the First Lord of the Admiralty must necessarily be in the Commons, a reversal of the order of things in the present Administration. Nomination to the offices of Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland, the Chief Secretaryship, and the Post Office may depend upon a fresh deal of the cards set out above. Doubtless, objection will in some quarters be taken to this list, on the ground that it deals tenderly with what Lord Randolph Churchill, at an analogous period in the history of the Conservative party, irreverently called 'The Old Gang.' There is a cry (especially from below the Gangway) for new blood. Having given some thought to the matter, I venture to predict that it will be borne in upon any who may attempt to fill up the hiatuses, or to improve on the probability of appointments suggested, that the next Liberal Premier will not find it easy adequately to allot the twenty surrendered places in the Ministry which at first sight look like a happy heritage.

HENRY W. LUCY.

*. LAST MONTH*

THE holiday month of September has been true to its own traditions. It is the month when, according to the common idea and the voice of the Press, nothing ever happens in public life. Ministers are out of town, the permanent officials who, with due respect to the occupants of the Treasury Bench, are sometimes of still greater importance than their nominal chiefs, are taking holiday like ordinary mortals, the clubs are shut, the West End is a wilderness, and we are always asked to believe that, so far as public affairs are concerned, business is at a standstill. This is the popular superstition, fostered, I imagine, by newspaper editors, who are no more averse than other people to taking their holidays in the recognised holiday season. The reality, as it happens, is something altogether different, and September, the month when we are told that nothing happens, has seen more happenings of importance than most other months of the year. There was September 1870, for example, which witnessed the culmination of the tremendous drama of Louis Napoleon's attack upon Prussia, and the fall of the Second Empire amid the ruins of Sedan. That was the most momentous September of the last forty years, and everybody knows that, the holidays notwithstanding, it 'made history.' Six years later we had the September in which the clarion of Mr. Gladstone rang through the land, and history was made again by the refusal of the British people to support their Government in the attempt to uphold the Empire of the Sultan in the Balkan peninsula. Even so recently as last year we had an eventful September in this country over the fiscal question, and the endeavours of Mr. Chamberlain to capture the Conservative party in the interests of his bread tax. So far as domestic politics are concerned, last month, up to the moment at which I write, had not come up to last year's record, though there are still possibilities, even in the tranquil, sunlit days of early autumn. as was proved to me but recently, when a very eminent member of the House of Commons proposed a wager that Parliament would be dissolved before the end of the month, and frankly gave me the reasons on which he based his apparently extravagant calculation. That the dissolution is coming swiftly nearer every well-informed person knows. It has been often predicted, and each prediction in

turn has been falsified ; but now I am assured by those who ought to know that the final term for the existence of this moribund Parliament has been fixed, and it is not far distant ; though it is hardly likely to come within the limits of the current month.

But for a parallel, so far as the affairs of the great world are concerned, to September 1904 we must go back to September 1870. Indeed, the events of last month have shown so close a resemblance to those of thirty-four years ago that they have almost made an elderly man seem young again. The first week of the fateful month witnessed events in the Far East which bore an extraordinarily close resemblance to those of that September which witnessed the bloody battles in Lorraine, and the fall of the Second Empire. Such fighting, such losses of precious human lives, and such grave results as those which furnished the record of the month in Manchuria have certainly never been witnessed since that earlier September of which I speak. The world was making history again last month, and making it at a startling pace ; but before I deal with the astounding progress of the campaign in the great struggle in the Far East I must refer to those political questions involved in it which are of special importance to our own country. At the beginning of the month grave trouble between ourselves and Russia over questions concerned with contraband of war seemed still to be impending. It is unfortunate that our painful experiences of Russian diplomacy in the Far East have engendered in the British mind a deep suspicion of any professions or promises that may be made by the St. Petersburg Government. The feeling is not, perhaps, unnatural, but it is certainly one that, when engineered by the Press of to-day, may be just as embarrassing to ourselves as to our opponents. Our newspapers a month ago were full of the wrongs we had suffered at the hands of Russia, and to judge by their tone it might have been supposed that we were on the verge of a war with that country. The worst of these newspaper heroics is that they always meet with an echo from the other side, and the Russian Press, it need hardly be said, was as vociferous on the subject of English turpitude as our own newspapers were on that of Muscovite perfidy. Happily the end of the month has in this respect been better than the beginning, as even those journals which sought to import party prejudice into a purely national question, by inventing a so-called 'pro-Russian' party in this country, must now admit. The two Russian cruisers of the volunteer fleet, the *Smolensk* and *Petersburg*, which, after their serious interference with our commerce in the Red Sea, and their subsequent disavowal by the Government at St. Petersburg, had apparently disappeared into space, have now been located by a British cruiser, which proceeded on its quest at the desire of Russia herself. They have been informed of the mandate of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg, and from them, at least, it is reasonable to suppose that no further trouble need be anticipated.

Thus ends one chapter in the history of the international difficulties springing from the war, and it must be admitted that it has ended in a way entirely honourable to the Russian Government. The other difficulty, out of which a vigorous attempt has been made to create bad blood between the two nations, was of a more serious nature. It was that caused by the Russian proposal to treat food as contraband of war without regard to the fact of whether it was or was not intended for the use of armies in the field. This, it need hardly be said, was a question of paramount importance for this country. In time of war we must necessarily depend to a large extent upon foreign sources for our supply of food. It would have been impossible for the British Government to acquiesce in a doctrine which would have exposed the people of Great Britain to the risk of starvation in the event of our ever being involved in a war with one of the great Powers. Ministers recognised this fact, and at the close of last Session expressed themselves strongly and clearly on the subject. The question became one of immediate urgency, owing to the seizure of the *Calchas*, a British steamer, by a Russian cruiser. The *Calchas* had a miscellaneous cargo for Japan and other destinations in the Far East. It included nothing that we recognise as contraband of war, but among it was a certain quantity of food, intended, not for the use of the Japanese army, but for private consumption in Japan. The Russian prize court at Vladivostok condemned this part of the cargo as contraband, and thus raised directly the contention on which it is the duty of Great Britain to insist. But here, again, after there had been a momentary scare in our belligerent Press, Russia acted with prudence and moderation. She called in Mr. Maartens, her most eminent authority on questions of international law, and, after consulting with him, formally accepted the British contention with regard to food. I am not advocating the Russian cause in the present terrible war. On the contrary, I am one of those who believe that Russia has only herself to thank for that war, and for its far-reaching consequences. But we shall forfeit our reputation as a just and level-headed people if we allow ourselves to lose our self-control over every untoward incident in a war of colossal dimensions, and impute offences to Russia which it is clear, from the conduct of her authorities, that she has no desire to commit. Sensational journalism could hardly do more mischief at the present moment than by exaggerating our real or imagined differences with a country placed in the tragical situation that Russia now occupies. It is surely not too much to ask that our own experiences three or four years ago, when we had to face the hostile public opinion of the world, should not entirely be forgotten.

Another political question associated with the war which has agitated men's minds during the month has been the attitude of Germany towards the belligerents. Suspicion of Germany, and ill-will towards her, have, unfortunately, distinguished an important

section of the Press and public in this country. No one will pretend to deny that Germany herself, or, rather, the German newspapers of a certain class, must be held to be in a large measure responsible for this fact. It is, however, a misfortune to both countries that our own newspapers should have been so ready to accept the taunts of journalists as evidence of the feeling of a nation, and that they should have poured oil, instead of water, upon the flaming embers of mutual ill-will. What foundation there may be for the statement of the *Times* that a secret agreement exists between Germany and Russia which virtually gives the latter country most of the benefits of an alliance with the former, and that certainly sets on one side the obligations of neutrality, I do not pretend to say. What is, however, clear is that as yet no tangible evidence of the existence of this agreement has been furnished, and that the German Press, including the most important semi-official organs, strenuously deny the allegation, denouncing it as a mere invention. If the story were true, then it would seem to show that the hand of the Berlin Foreign Office has lost its cunning, and that Russia has gained a diplomatic triumph of no mean order. Sensible men may well suspend their judgment upon this difficult question, and wait at least for some substantial grounds on which to base their condemnation of German policy. One cannot, of course, forget that the German Emperor is now, as always, the most energetic and resolute agent of the interests of his own people. He does and says many things which are calculated to touch British susceptibilities, and to arouse our suspicions, and undoubtedly in commercial matters he has proved himself to be our keen and, possibly, not over-scrupulous rival. We have to reckon with him everywhere throughout the world; but it is one thing to acknowledge him as a formidable rival, bent upon getting the utmost advantage for his own country in every international complication, and quite another to denounce him as our secret foe, resolute upon bringing about our ruin by any means, fair or foul. Here again British *sang froid* and perspicacity should enable us to keep our heads, and to hold our own even in the troubled waters in which we have now to fish. At all events we pay a poor compliment to our Foreign Office if we doubt its ability to deal successfully with such subjects as those which have hitherto been raised by German action in the present war. It is the duty of the Government—of any British Government—to see that no other country obtains unfair advantages from one of the belligerents to our detriment. If the present Ministry is unable to do this, it is unfit to remain a day longer in office. Only let us beware of raising false alarms, and inventing bogeys for our own affrightment.

After all, however, it is the war, and not any question of diplomacy, that has riveted the attention of the world during the past month. One almost shrinks from attempting to tell, however briefly, the story of those weeks of carnage and historic struggle that have passed

since I last wrote. Human intelligence is baffled by records which, though they are summed up in a few bald telegrams in one's morning paper, present us with the most stupendous and terrible facts with which this generation has had to deal. It is easy to write or speak of 50,000 casualties in a single battle—a battle which lasted without intermission for days at a stretch. But who can form even an imperfect picture of all that is involved in that brief statement—the agony of physical pain, the wide-spread mourning in both the belligerent countries, the fierce intensity of the passions that have been aroused, and above all the real loss to our common humanity caused by such a sacrifice of human life? The Angel of Death has, indeed, been abroad in Manchuria during the sunny days of our own holiday month. When August drew to a close there was a general anticipation in this country that we were about to witness a repetition of the events of 1870. The Russians under the leadership of General Kuropatkin had failed so completely to win any success in their resistance to the advance of the Japanese, and the latter had shown such masterly precision in their tactics, that public opinion in England jumped to the conclusion that a victory as dramatic and complete as that of Sedan awaited Marshal Oyama and his army. It was known that he aimed at cutting off the retreat of the Russians by throwing his forces across the road from Liao-yang to Mukden, and there was a wide-spread belief that he would succeed in doing so. When, after the struggle of which I have spoken, he failed in this attempt, and Kuropatkin, by a stubborn heroism that can hardly be too highly praised, succeeded in extricating his army from its desperate plight and in installing it within the walls of Mukden, we witnessed a curious change of front on the part of the professional critics of the war in this country. Journals which had been most conspicuous by their ardent championship of Japan and their unswerving faith in its success suddenly turned round, acclaimed Kuropatkin as the real victor in the terrific combat, and spoke of Oyama as though he were a general defeated in battle. This change of front was another proof of the worthlessness of the newspaper criticisms of the day. The amateur strategists who insisted that the Japanese ought to have achieved another Sedan, and that their failure to do so was equivalent to a great defeat, had manifestly forgotten the conditions under which the original Sedan was won by Von Moltke. I do not believe that the passing change in the sentiment of the British Press was due to the fact that some of the war correspondents sent out by this country to the Japanese headquarters conceived that they had been very badly treated by the military authorities, and even shook the dust of Manchuria off their feet in testimony of their indignation. Great wars are not conducted for the benefit of newspapers, and in nothing has Japan shown herself more absolutely right during this campaign than in her stern refusal to allow even the least of her interests to be sacrificed to the claims of

an exacting foreign Press. One can sympathise with the correspondents who find themselves hemmed in by many irritating restrictions, and who consequently lose the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in their own special work. But no reasonable man will blame either of the belligerents for their determination to conduct the campaign unhampered by the attentions and possible indiscretions of an army of journalists.

But as to the allegation that the great battles at the beginning of September were unfavourable to Japan, it is not one that will bear a moment's dispassionate examination. True, there was no Sedan, and it may be questioned whether, under the circumstances, a Sedan was ever possible. But that there was a real, substantial, and almost overwhelming defeat of the Russians is now evident. For many months Kuropatkin had been engaged in preparing a position of great strength at Liao-yang. It was a strong position naturally—apparently the strongest on the long line from Port Arthur to Harbin. It was made immensely stronger by the works with which the Russian engineers protected it. Vast stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions were accumulated in the place, and every preparation was made for withstanding there the Japanese assault. The sanguine Russian public had accepted readily the fanciful statements as to Kuropatkin's strategy. His purpose, it had been said, was to lure the Japanese forward, until he got them into the place which he had prepared for their reception and there dealt them the crushing blow by which they were to be utterly defeated. This curious theory even reconciled St. Petersburg to the earlier defeats of the war and to the continued retreat before the enemy. But there was no mistake upon one point. The retreat was to be stopped at Liao-yang, and at that place Kuropatkin was to accept battle. It was undoubtedly a place which gave him immense advantages over his foe; for not only was its natural strength such as I have described, but it was in direct railway communication with the base at Harbin. The Japanese had to drag their supplies with infinite labour over the mountains and quagmires of Southern Manchuria. The Russians at Liao-yang were in easy reach of all that they desired. It was here then that, according to St. Petersburg, the decisive battle was to be fought, and here that every patriotic Russian expected Kuropatkin to win his great triumph.

It is needless to say that the triumph was never gained. After more than a week of the bloodiest and most desperate fighting of modern times, Liao-yang was captured by the Japanese, and Kuropatkin driven out of that place—north to Mukden. The accounts that have been published of the actual struggle among the hills around Liao-yang, and of the successive capture of one position after another, show that the courage and energy displayed on both sides was magnificent. No stones can be thrown at the Russians for the manner in which they defended their carefully-prepared fortress. They died literally by thousands, for a cause which they believed to be just and



holy, and all who admire valour and self-devotion must pay them the honour which is their due. But no less brave or resolute were the Japanese, and it is apparent from the story of the struggle that they had two advantages over the enemy, the two advantages which they have enjoyed ever since the beginning of the war. The first is the absolute disregard for death, which is one of the most marked features of the national character; the second, the superior training of their officers. It is interesting to note, in presence of the silly sneers that have lately been directed against the tactics of Marshal Oyama because of his failure to give us the spectacle of another Sedan, that in his official account of the abandonment of Liao-yang General Kuropatkin acknowledges that he was driven out of the place by the strategy of the foe. They did not succeed in cutting off his communications with the North, but after a combat, in which he had suffered grievously, he found his communications so seriously threatened that he was compelled to abandon his own chosen battle-ground and to make a hasty retreat upon Mukden, leaving among other things the important coal mines of Yen-tai in the hands of the enemy. The truth about the losses on both sides in this bloodiest of modern battles we shall probably never know, but the latest semi-official account from St. Petersburg gives us the following figures as those on the Russian side: Two generals, 256 officers, 21,800 men, and 133 guns, besides stores worth several millions of pounds. And these losses were incurred by General Kuropatkin in fighting what some of our newspaper critics declare was a really successful series of engagements!

The great success of the Russian commander-in-chief came after he had sustained this decisive and costly defeat at Liao-yang. Once more he showed the Russian capacity for making a forced retreat. By almost superhuman exertions he succeeded in withdrawing his beaten troops from Liao-yang, and in bringing them by road and rail to Mukden. Some day we shall hear the story of that retreat and of its horrors; at present we can only acknowledge the fine soldier-ship, the tenacious heroism, by which it was accomplished, and the vanquished army saved from complete annihilation. That the troops on both sides were utterly exhausted after the fighting around and inside Liao-yang is evident. Possibly, if the rains had not fallen heavily at this time, the Japanese Field-Marshal might have been able to intercept Kuropatkin on his precipitate retreat to Mukden; but with roads no better than a quagmire, with soldiers exhausted by more than a week of incessant fighting, and with all the difficulties of his supply from his distant base, it was hardly a task that mortal man could have accomplished, and Oyama failed accordingly. Looking at the whole business from the sentimental point of view, it may perhaps be conceded that the honours are divided, for Kuropatkin's retreat was undoubtedly a masterly achievement. But it was to Oyama that all the substantial spoils fell. He was able to beat his

opponent in a fair fight, in which the advantages of position, defences, and supplies were all on the side of the Russian. He was able to subdue and occupy the great fortress encampment deliberately chosen by Kuropatkin as the scene of the decisive battle, and he was able to send the enemy flying northwards, leaving behind him immense stores of ammunition and provisions, and more than a hundred cannon. It is not often that a general succeeds so brilliantly as Field-Marshal Oyama did in last month's fighting. True, he purchased his success at a terrible cost. I have stated the figures given by the Russians of their losses in little more than a week of fighting. It is probable that the Japanese losses were still more severe. Lives were not spared in this epoch-making combat, and it is not wonderful that on both sides the belligerents were compelled to pause to recover breath after exertions that almost overstepped the limits of human endurance. As I write the indications for the immediate future are obscure. It is officially announced in St. Petersburg that General Kuropatkin has received instructions to defend Mukden, and a part of his force which had been sent still further north to Tie-ling, where apparently another Liao-yang is being prepared, has been brought back to the sacred city of the Manchu dynasty. Field-Marshal Oyama is evidently preparing to take the field again, and it seems possible that the next event in the war will be the capture of Mukden. In the meantime both countries are beginning to feel the severity of the strain which the great struggle imposes upon them. The Czar is mobilising fresh divisions, and in Japan the reserves have been called out in order to supply Oyama with reinforcements said to amount to 200,000 in number. But terrible as is the strain upon both combatants, there is as yet no word of peace, and it is difficult to say whether Russia or Japan shows greater indignation at the mere suggestion of intervention. Each hopes to win in the end by virtue of its own special sources of strength—Japan by its fierce power of attack, its contempt for mere death, and its highly-developed military organisation; Russia by its superior weight in numbers and wealth, and the stolid patience with which her people can endure hardships that would be too much for more sensitive races. Japan hopes to crush Russia before all the resources of the latter have been brought into the field; Russia to exhaust Japan by evading as long as possible the final struggle. And each is filled with a genuine patriotism; whilst both lay claim to the special favour of Heaven! Truly, the gods of the old mythologies would smile if they looked down on such a drama as that of September 1904; it is the tragedy, not the comedy, however, which is perceptible to mortals.

It is not easy to sink from the study of these Homeric episodes in the world's history to the comparatively trivial story of our own domestic politics. As a matter of fact, indeed, there is hardly a story to tell for last month. The 'raging and tearing agitation' on behalf of Protection and the food tax which was at its height twelve months

ago has been all but invisible. Even the newspapers have almost ceased to discuss the 'new policy' of Mr. Chamberlain, and the nation as a whole seems content to await the pronouncement of the ballot-box upon it. Two significant incidents have, however, happened during the month which may be commended to Mr. Chamberlain's followers. The first is the meeting of the Trades Union Congress, a body whose importance as representing trained British labour is beyond dispute. At this Congress the members once more indicated, by a direct vote, their unconquerable hostility to the idea of any taxation of food, and the President (Mr. R. Bell, M.P.) summed up the attitude of the British workmen towards the Birmingham propaganda in words which will bear quotation. 'Mr. Chamberlain,' he said, 'did not seem to have convinced many workmen that by the taxation of their food they would be able to get more of it, though he had undoubtedly convinced many manufacturers of the advantage of his scheme, for under it they would accumulate greater wealth in a shorter time.' This seems to be the verdict which, after more than a year of strenuous work on the part of the new Protectionists, the working men of Great Britain have pronounced upon their proposals. Until that verdict can be reversed—a process of which there is yet no sign—the friends of Free Trade can sleep in peace. But even more striking is the statement of Mr. Reid, the new Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia, on the same subject. It touches upon that much-disputed point the alleged 'offer' from the Colonies to the Mother Country. Mr. Reid declared that, with regard to the preferential question, the Government of the Commonwealth would wait till some definite proposal was submitted by the Imperial Government. 'The British Government, however, had officially declared that it would not accept any system of preference that would entail taxing the food of the British people, and he believed that from the British point of view this was a just and statesmanlike attitude.' This speech was made some weeks ago, but we have yet to learn how Mr. Chamberlain proposes to reconcile it either with his own repeated statements as to offers of preferential treatment from the Colonies, or with his exposition of the views of Colonial statesmen on the general question of preferences and the food tax. Lord Rosebery, who made the only important political speech of the month, drew the attention of the country to this curious contradiction between Mr. Chamberlain's affirmations and the facts. The ex-Premier's speech was the most vigorous and sweeping indictment of the Government that has as yet been framed by any of our politicians, but its central point was its keen analysis of the alleged 'Colonial offer' and the declarations of Colonial authorities themselves upon the subject. Something more may possibly be heard upon this point at the forthcoming annual conference of Conservative Associations, but in the meantime the ardent politician has had to be content with an amusing controversy in the Press on

the subject of the alleged 'disloyalty' of those Conservatives who have declined to accept the new gospel of Protection and have proclaimed themselves 'Free Fooders.' Fiscal reform, it is evident, is one of the movements that have allowed themselves to be arrested by the seductive holiday influences of September. As for the attempt which has been made in certain quarters to raise afresh the fears of Unionists on the subject of Home Rule in order to warn Unionist Free Traders of the perils they may run if at the coming General Election they do not support their party without regard to the fiscal question, it is difficult to view it as anything but a political demonstration *pour rire*. The men who are responsible for the rather half-hearted movement in favour of 'devolution' in Ireland are, almost to a man, Conservatives and Protectionists, and there is no section of the Liberal party, certainly none worth reckoning with, which is not pledged not to raise the question of Home Rule in the next Parliament. If that question should be raised at all it will be by those who proclaim themselves the friends and supporters of Mr. Chamberlain. Apparently, however, it is not only in West Africa that the bogey is regarded as a formidable weapon in the government of States or tribes.

To the great relief of the nation at large, and probably to the equal relief of his Majesty's Ministers, our 'armed mission' to Tibet has completed its work, and has apparently secured an unqualified success. If the published version of the treaty signed at Lhasa is to be trusted, we have got all we desired—freedom for trade between our Indian frontiers and Tibet, and the emphatic assertion of our right to prevent any foreign intervention in a country whose independence is of such supreme importance to the security of our Empire. Ministers may congratulate themselves on having brought an expedition, in many respects so hazardous, to so happy a conclusion; nor need they be greatly troubled by the threats in which some Russian newspapers have already seen fit to indulge as to possible troubles in Tibet in the future. The national prestige, it may be hoped, has been vindicated and secured in a corner of the world in which we have a peculiar and exclusive interest. Yet there have been adverse criticisms on the settlement arrived at, chiefly on the ground that it opens the way for that occupation or annexation of Tibet which the Government declared was entirely outside its policy. It is too soon, as yet, to say how far these criticisms are justified. Their fulfilment or non-fulfilment will depend chiefly upon the ability of the Tibetans to carry out the engagements into which they have entered.

Lord Rosebery's speech, to which I have referred, swept over the whole ground of the Liberal opposition to the Government. It spared ministers neither in their home nor in their foreign policy. It treated them, indeed, as being not merely a drawback, but a danger to the country, and it was specially critical on their policy with regard to the army and education. Nothing, it must be confessed, has been

done to strengthen the position of the Government on either of these questions during the past month. We are still groping in the dark as to the extent to which Mr. Arnold-Förster's well-meant schemes have been, or are in process of being, carried out. The Secretary for War may secure the credit of having laid the foundations of a great scheme of reorganisation ; but it is evident that a stronger driving-power than any to be found within the present Administration will be needed to carry this or any other large scheme into effect, and Lord Rosebery's oft-repeated suggestion as to the utilisation of Lord Kitchener's unequalled strength of character and will is beginning more and more to lay hold upon the public. As for the education question, its story during the month may be summed up in numberless prosecutions of passive resisters for their refusal to pay the education rate, in the confused and directly contradictory decisions of revising barristers as to the effect which these prosecutions have upon the right of the passive resisters to retain their Parliamentary votes, and in the progress which Mr. Lloyd-George and his friends have made in their organised resistance to the application of the Education Act in Wales. That measure is still a sword, and it cuts both ways.

The reigning families of Europe have, in some respects, been fortunate during the last few weeks. Last month I had to chronicle the birth of the long-wished-for heir to the throne of Russia, an event which, for a few days at least, seemed to dissipate over the vast Muscovite Empire the gloom of war. Since then Italy has had the same reason to rejoice, and direct heirs have thus appeared to the Crowns of two of the chief countries of Europe. Germany is rejoicing over the betrothal of its Crown Prince, another event of distinctly happy augury. In France there is increasing evidence of the fact that the Ministry of M. Combes has the support of the vast body of the nation in its anti-clerical policy. The French people themselves have been sorely perplexed by the Russian reverses ; but more and more, as time passes, it is made clear that the last thing which France desires is war, and that she will avoid it at every cost, provided neither her honour nor her most important material interests are affected. The death-roll of the month is longer than usual, and contains some names of importance. The unhappy ex-Sultan Murad, after a quarter of a century of captivity, died at the end of August. Count Herbert Bismarck, the son of the great Chancellor, who was at one time regarded as the heir of a possible Bismarck dynasty of statesmen, has also succumbed. The Bishops of Carlisle and Southwell, and Mr. James Lowther, the well-known Protectionist member of Parliament, and a typical representative of a class once eminent in politics, have also to be counted among the dead of the month.

WEMYSS REID.

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*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
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THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



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*THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRALS*

*PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PROPOSED CONFERENCE*

DURING the present war the dangerous state of uncertainty as to some of the rights and duties of neutrals has been manifest. There have been many irritating incidents, and more than once the tension in the relations of this country and Russia has been grave. Nor have the differences been altogether ascribable to exorbitant demands by one belligerent. The controversies which have arisen have revealed the absence of precise rules and diversity of opinion as to their meaning. Men of business have been amazed to find that the rules governing several matters of capital importance are clouded with doubts, and that some of those which are generally accepted, when brought into the full light of day, seem framed with reference to circumstances unlike our own—to a world in which commercial intercourse was on another scale and of another kind than what we know—to isolated communities for which maritime trade was of little moment, and in which each country produced its own food and raw materials. If extremities have been averted, this has been owing to

causes upon which neutrals cannot count in any war where one or both of the belligerents possess a powerful and effective fleet. It is probably a mistake to assume that in this war there have been wholly exceptional grounds of offence to neutrals (the recent mad acts of the Russian Baltic squadron excepted), such as will not exist in any future war. Incidents as irritating, though with altogether different circumstances, as the sinking of the *Knight Communder* and the seizure of the *Allanton* and *Culchas*, have been known in almost all wars in which belligerents had ample sea power. They might be more numerous than they have been if the theatre of operations were nearer home, or if the belligerents were, say, Germany or the United States, with many cruisers patrolling all the great routes of commerce.

In these circumstances President Roosevelt's promise to the Interparliamentary Union to call a Conference to complete or continue the work of that of the Hague is to be welcomed. The decision is marked by his usual courage. His advisers must have warned him of the difficulties to be encountered, the conflict of interests which exists, the traditional policies of certain Governments in regard to matters as to which the United States have pledged themselves. I think, however, that they would be justified also in assuring him that America could with peculiar hopes of success convvoke such a Conference. She is not disinterested or unpledged as to several questions which may come before it. Successive Presidents and Secretaries of State have taken as to the rights and duties of neutrals a distinct line of their own—notably as to immunity from capture of private property at sea. But for many reasons an invitation which would be regarded with distrust if it came from, say, Germany—which would certainly be denounced as veiling sinister designs if it proceeded from England—may be accepted when the invitation is by the President of the United States. It would be inexpedient to meet while war was in progress: a useful discussion of many points, and those among the most urgent and delicate, would be out of the question; as well might one calmly consider improvements in the structure of a house while it was on fire. The representatives of Japan and Russia could not attend; their presence (if conceivable) would freeze up frank debate; and resolutions come to in their absence might be of small value. Besides, as experience shows, the close of a great war is favourable to the adoption of new principles and the introduction of new practices: experience has accumulated; new questions are propounded; old solutions have been found faulty; a new spirit enters on the scene; and so the Congresses or Conferences of 1815 (Vienna), 1856 (Paris), 1874 (Brussels Conference as to usages of war), and 1878 (Berlin), introduced great changes in international law.

The precise object of the proposed Conference has not yet been defined. 'Our efforts should take shape,' the President said, 'in

pushing forward to completion the work already begun at the Hague.' 'Whatever is now done should appear, not as something divergent therefrom, but as a continuation thereof.' That is the only definite announcement. In the final 'Act' of the Hague Conference six wishes for the future were expressed: (1) The revision of the Geneva Convention; (2) that 'the questions of rights and duties of neutrals may be inserted in the programme of a conference in the near future'; (3) an agreement, if possible, as to the employment of new types of guns; (4) the limitation of armed forces; (5) the inviolability of private property at sea; (6) the question of the bombardment of ports and towns. Each of these subjects is important. The first need take little time. Whether the third and sixth are ripe for discussion I do not know. There is reason to think that the fourth proposal would not fare much better at a Conference held this year or next than it did at the Hague. A Conference called by the United States Government will be pretty sure to be asked to consider the fifth suggestion—the proposal for immunity of private property at sea from capture. The President by his Message of last December showed that he agreed with his predecessors as to this 'humane and beneficent principle'; and both Houses of Congress passed last April a resolution in favour of it. Of this much debated question, involving so many considerations of policy and turning on high speculative matters, I will only say that it appears to me that more and more the interests of England become those of a neutral State, and that it would be to her advantage on the whole that private property on sea were exempt from capture. The arguments of Mr. Hall and others in favour of this course have been greatly strengthened. For us the capture of the sea-borne property of other countries is not the weapon of offence which it once was, or was supposed to be. It is inconceivable that the destruction of commerce at sea of any rival could determine in our favour the issue of a war in which we were engaged; while the systematic harrying of our trade might in certain circumstances be a serious blow to England. The conditions under which a maritime war would in these days be carried on by or against England do not resemble those existing when she was supreme at sea; on the contrary, as Mr. Hall says,

in some ways they are startlingly altered for the worse, and in none is it clear that they are bettered. Her probable enemies are not more vulnerable than before—perhaps they are less so—while she is herself far more open to attacks upon her trade, and the consequences of attack may be grave. . . . The fact is, whether we like to face it or not, that in a purely maritime war England can reap little profit, and might find ruin.

And all this is seen by the jurists of other countries. I doubt much whether at the present time the chief maritime States are prepared to accept the proposal so often made at Washington.



The greatest service which the President could render in the present circumstances would be to convoke a Conference at which should be considered, as far as time permitted, the rights and duties of neutrals. It would be the first occasion upon which their side of questions of importance to them received full attention. Belligerents' interests have been always studied. It is high time that those of neutrals were equally regarded. It would be foolish to hope that at any one Conference a complete code of neutrality could be framed; in view of the diversity of opinion as to important points, the time has not come for framing any complete statement on the subject. But some questions which it is probably dangerous to leave open might be settled. To many the interest in the Conference arises from the hope that the claims of neutrals will for the first time be fairly and fully recognised. For them, as well as for belligerents, some of these matters are of supreme moment. For the first time, it is to be hoped, it will be assumed that, peace being the normal state of things, it lies on belligerents to show cause why their requirements should prevail, to the disadvantage of neutrals. It is clear that, if real business is to be done, there must be a precise statement of the objects and scope of the Conference. Upon this may depend whether certain Powers will enter into it. The choice will be particularly difficult for this country. Are we to decline, as in 1874 at Brussels and in 1899 at the Hague, to join in a discussion of maritime rights? It is putting the same question in another form to ask, Are we prepared to uphold in its entirety the system of rules which Lord Stowell expounded, and which our navies enforced, in the French wars? And so we face the question, Are our interests in the main those of neutrals? These are the initial questions. According as we answer them the projected Conference may or may not prove a failure.

In deciding as to the course to be taken one fact is of moment: public opinion on the Continent, the conviction probably of the bulk of those who will attend any Conference, is and has been that the present maritime law is unduly favourable to England, and that many of the customs or rights originated in her prolonged naval supremacy. In every country, America excepted, that view, expressed by Hautefeuille, Gessner, Duboc, Dupuis, and a score of other writers, is dominant. It may be assumed that the majority of the representatives of Continental States will approach many of the questions to be discussed in that spirit. And yet it would be unfortunate, as it seems to me, if this country, in spite of the prejudice against her to be looked for in some quarters, were to hold aloof. Only let us not enter into such a Conference until we know what we want, what we are prepared to concede, and what is, on full consideration of facts as they stand to-day, vital to national interests.

And that brings back the question, Are they, on the whole, the interests of a neutral State?

Here may be mentioned some matters as to which, without any serious sacrifice of our potential efficiency as a maritime Power, peaceful discussion will be useful. One of these is the need of some restriction on the right of search in the interest of peace; in the enlightened interest, I might add, of belligerents as well as neutrals. We have lately seen what inconvenience may be caused by two or three cruisers stationing themselves in a much frequented channel and holding up passing vessels. Exercised by a country with a large fleet at its command, and with cruisers in every one of the great highways and at all the gates of commerce, this right might conceivably become an intolerable nuisance. The conditions of intercourse by sea have wholly changed since the Napoleonic wars. The vessels which were then overhauled and confiscated were generally of no more than 200 or 300 tons. The articles which were seized were cheese, barrels of tar, or ships' spars or masts. A treasure galleon from Brazil might occasionally be snapped up. A rich Indiaman might fall a prey to a French frigate or a privateer from St. Malo. But the *Surcoufs* and *Paul Joneses* inflicted small wounds. They did not sever one of the arteries of a nation or cut off a limb; the existence of a community was not put in jeopardy by impeding the importation of a prime necessary of life. Further—and it is a not unimportant circumstance—when private persons were ruined by the capture of their property the community might hear nothing of it until it was a very old story. Nowadays the vessels which may be stopped and perhaps confiscated may be of several thousand tons burthen and of the value of half a million. To overhaul them, if ships' papers are not deemed conclusive, may take hours; to bring them into port may be seriously to interrupt the intercourse of the subjects of nations with no concern in the dispute; to stop mail communication and disorganise traffic; to put to much, it may be irreparable, inconvenience a multitude of innocent persons. Suppose that in a war with Germany we were freely to exercise this right of search against every American vessel which our cruisers met; what must be the result? Our experience in South African waters suggests the answer. There is force in the remarks of Admiral Réveillère: 'Le droit de fouiller les neutres est absolument incompatible avec les besoins de circulation des neutres. Le droit de visite est un dernier vestige des temps de petite industrie.'<sup>1</sup> Whether in these days any prudent belligerent dare exercise persistently the right of search against the mercantile marine of a powerful neutral is questionable. It might mean war; its free exercise did mean that, and no less, in the past; and the peril is much greater in these days when the uninterrupted flow of traffic by sea is of vital

<sup>1</sup> *Journal des Economistes*, September 1904, p. 395.

consequence to nations. The working plant of the modern civilised world includes mail steamers, cargo boats conveying food or raw materials, and telegraph cables. It may well be doubted whether powerful neutrals will submit to this machinery being broken up and their industries dislocated, in order that the ring may be kept clear for the combatants, and the game of war be played out in the old way.

It is not to be supposed that any Conference called by statesmen would discuss visionary suggestions for the abolition of the right of search, though probably its value as a weapon to belligerents has been much overrated. But it is well worthy of consideration whether a plan might not be devised by which shipowners who do not wish to carry contraband—and those who will have nothing to do with such business are perhaps not the majority—could obtain practical immunity from search. Among the schemes which have been suggested are these: The issuing at the port of shipment of a certificate by the Consul of a belligerent which would be deemed conclusive as to the nature of the cargo; immunity, at all events, for mail steamers provided with such a certificate; immunity of mail bags from examination—an immunity which would rarely be seriously injurious to the belligerent; international agreements not to exercise the right of search except within certain areas in waters adjacent to ports of belligerents. The practical objections to one and all of these suggestions are pretty obvious, and their shortcomings not a few. Even if they were adopted they would not remove some of the inconveniences which shipowners now experience. Still it might be worth while to examine these and other suggestions for restricting the exercise of a right which rarely fails to exasperate neutrals.

Another matter to be considered is the sinking of neutral ships carrying alleged contraband. Hitherto in this country and in most others it has been understood that, to quote the words of Dr. Lushington in the *Leucade*:

When a vessel under neutral colours is delayed, she has the right to be brought to adjudication, according to the regular course of proceeding, in the Prize Court: and it is the very first duty of the captor to bring it in if it is practicable. . . . The general rule is that if a ship under neutral colours be not brought to a competent court for adjudication the claimants are, as against the captors, entitled to costs and damages.

That is the rule expressed with some ambiguity and reservation by Lord Stowell in the *Felicity*. It is also the rule of plain justice. But it is to be owned that, in conformity with the tendency in the past to sacrifice everything to the interests of the belligerent, certain writers seem to countenance destruction of neutral property when it is very convenient to him. No high-spirited or self-respecting nation could submit to such indignity; and

the sooner there is a universally recognised rule on this matter the better for the peace of the world.

We have heard much lately about the necessity of defining contraband and the perplexity of shipowners on the subject. I am not very hopeful that a Conference will wholly remove the difficulties which always arise as to this. There is the fact that there prevail radically different opinions; and unfortunately these opinions have become identified with the supposed interests of particular nations. It is not easy to see how to prevent indefiniteness on this subject. Among the untenable proposals in the field is that of doing away with accidental contraband. Any attempt to frame an exhaustive list of articles of contraband or to eliminate altogether accidental contraband is sure to be disappointing. It implies an impossible degree of foresight; it ignores the fact that articles which if sent to one destination may be of no use except for ordinary purposes of commerce may be of great value to an army or a fleet if they reach another. So various are the circumstances of warfare that it is hopeless to try to predetermine, by treaty or otherwise, what may be of capital importance to a belligerent. (One alleviation of the inconvenience flowing from the present system may be suggested: a freer, fairer use by the captor of pre-emption; a further extension of what was a humane accretion on the old system; compensation for seizing a neutral's goods alleged to be contraband, not on an artificially low and inadequate scale, as given now, but awarded with a liberal hand, as due to one whose property has been forcibly seized.<sup>2</sup> I touch here a matter of wide significance. The creation of a tribunal enjoying the confidence of both belligerents and neutrals, to decide claims by the latter for damages, is much needed, not only as to pre-emption, but as to cases of unlawful capture. A Prize Court of the belligerent State is not the tribunal to assess the injury which a belligerent has inflicted.

A point of importance which might be cleared up without much difficulty is the extent and nature of the right of belligerent vessels of war in neutral ports, the supply to them of coal and provisions, and the carrying out of repairs. The matter was little regarded until the English Government, compelled by the operations of the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and other Confederate cruisers to consider the matter, laid down for the guidance of colonial Governors regulations which have been generally followed. In the discussion with

<sup>2</sup> After referring to the 'more mitigated practice of pre-emption,' Lord Stowell remarks in one case: 'I have never understood that on the side of the belligerent this claim goes beyond the case of cargo avowedly bound to the enemy's port or suspected on just grounds to have a concealed destination of that kind; or that on the side of the neutral the same exact compensation is to be expected which he might have demanded from the enemy in his own port. . . . Certainly the capturing nation does not always take the cargoes on the same terms on which an enemy would be content to purchase them.'—*The Haabet*, 2 C. Rob., pp. 182, 183.

reference to the Russian vessels, the *Diana* at Saigon and the *Askold* at Shanghai, it has appeared that there is still a good deal of uncertainty on the point. Our rule on the matter is tolerably clear, but it appears to differ from that recognised by France, which fixes no definite time for a belligerent vessel remaining in neutral ports. Much is to be said for the opinion that such a vessel taking refuge in a neutral port, to escape pursuit or by reason of being disabled so as to continue her voyage, should remain interned until the end of the war. That agrees with the practice observed in land warfare. It was recently followed in Chinese ports. It has much to recommend it; and it seems in a fair way to obtain general acceptance.

Hitherto this matter has been looked at almost exclusively from the point of view of the belligerent. There has been solicitude on the part of neutrals not to give him cause of complaint by allowing the territory of the former to be used as a base of operations or the place from which an enemy draws his resources and supplies. In the course of this war it has been shown that neutrals may be well advised in seeing that facilities for coaling and refitting are not used to their disadvantage. To refuse supplies altogether would be to break a well-settled custom, and might produce consequences revolting to humanity; it would be particularly offensive to States with no colonies. On the other hand it is absurd—it is an abuse of hospitality—that vessels should be free to coal at English ports and then to sail out and overhaul, confiscate, or detain English vessels. I see no reason why such supplies should be granted, such repairs be made, only on condition that the belligerent promised to allow the vessels of the State whose hospitality he had enjoyed to be undisturbed within certain limits or within a certain period—say, in the case of supply of coals, within such time as the supply of coal will normally suffice. As Professor Westlake has well said, ‘the preservation of her commerce from any impairment is quite as necessary to Great Britain as the retention of Manchuria is to Russia.’

While Prize Courts are constituted as they now are—composed of judges with commissions from a belligerent Government and sitting in the territory of the belligerent—neutrals will have cause to complain. The constitution of such courts has been condemned by almost every writer from the time of Galiani to our own. Of the many proposals of amendment all agree in suggesting the removal of the anomaly of a purely belligerent court determining neutrals' rights. One of the most reasonable of the suggested amendments is that made by the Institute of International Law, which has worked out with much care the organisation and procedure of an international tribunal upon which neutral States are represented.

Another matter, subsidiary, it is true, but not unimportant, may

one day have to be considered. There is need of a free examination of a mass of traditional rules or customs which operate harshly against neutrals, and certain, if they were ever put into operation on a large scale, to be resented. I refer in particular to the rules affecting the sale of ships or goods during war. In time of peace people may agree that the property in such, whether on land or on water, whether stationary or in transit, may pass at any moment. True, the municipal law may require formalities as a condition of valid transfer; these complied with, the real intention of the parties, broadly stated, governs the transaction. In a time of war neutrals supplying belligerents with goods (I exclude for the moment contraband) might and often do agree that the property in them should not pass, that the risk should be the seller's, until they reach a belligerent port. Or belligerents who own ships might and often do when war breaks out dispose of such as are at sea to neutral owners. Examined in a court of law, such transactions would indeed be viewed with suspicion; the strict observance of obligatory forms would suggest some unavowed design or some secret trust. If, however, the parties meant what they said—if there was a real, not a formal, sale—their acts would stand. But this would not do for a belligerent, accustomed to have it all his own way; in some Prize Courts a different rule is introduced; a transaction is declared to be 'fraudulent' which may in good sense and morals not be fraudulent; the intention of the parties may be disregarded—and why? Because otherwise, as is cynically remarked, the belligerent would have little to seize—the wolf would have nothing to pick up if the sheepfold might be closed.<sup>3</sup> Our courts have adopted a somewhat more liberal principle, though, considering the difficulties placed in the way of a neutral claimant proving his case, the concession does not in practice amount to much. I note that the Supreme Court of the United States has lately declined to follow the old rule.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that most civilised countries would do the same. But it is scarcely safe to leave the matter in the present state of uncertainty. It is to be hoped that at some Conference there will be a united condemnation of the old form of the rule—'the result,' to quote an American judge, 'of political expediency, and as evincing a determination in the British Councils to destroy all commerce with their enemy rather than as rules of international law'—and that in future the validity of such transfers will be always a question of fact to be decided without any bias either way, suspicion and presumption not being substituted for proof.

Many other questions of great importance to neutrals are ripe

<sup>3</sup> See Arnould on *Marine Insurance*, 7th ed., s. 659, and *Wheaton*, 4th ed., p. 50, as to English and American rule. A similar doctrine prevails as to mortgages. As to the French jurisprudence, which apparently follows the old rule, Duboc on *Le Droit de Visite*, p. 92, and Dupuis, *Le Droit de la Guerre Maritime*, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> See 176 U.S. 568.

for discussion, such, for example, as the restrictions which belligerents may impose upon the use of wireless telegraphy by neutrals in the vicinity of the scene of warlike operations. What is urgent seems to be a full consideration of the rights and duties of neutrals; a Conference of a kind hitherto unknown; one in which for the first time the neutral side of the questions above mentioned should be stated and should receive due weight, and concerted measures be taken to see that neutrals' interests are respected, and the necessities of peace as well as those of war recognised. Such a Conference might leave many matters untouched or unsettled, and yet give the world by peaceable discussion more than the Armed Neutrality of the past ever promised.

JOHN MACDONELL.

## *ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA*

It is often assumed that English public men who explain the aims and devices of the Foreign Office at Berlin are animated by feelings of hostility towards the German people. There is no warrant for this assumption. It would be more reasonable to accuse them of overrating the political tenacity of the Germans and the solidity of the German Empire. That Empire, as at present constituted, is apparently threatened with serious trouble. But when the dangers which menace it become pressing, German statesmen know they can be conjured away in the outburst of enthusiasm with which war with England would be welcomed from one end of their country to the other. The attack on Denmark in 1864, the raid on Austria in 1866, the war with France in 1870, were all organised by Bismarck to checkmate revolutionary movements at home, and to establish the present German Empire. The war with England, for which preparations are now as openly made as they were previous to 1870 for the war with France, will be undertaken with a view to consolidate and expand that Empire. Those who wish to prevent this war are merely obeying the call of duty when they urge the English people to make it impossible. The initial step in this direction is to provide for the maintenance of the Navy in such a state of efficiency and strength as would render a German attack on this country too hazardous to be attempted, even if it were supported by powerful allies. To do so is certainly not beyond the means of Great Britain.

It is only natural that leaders of opinion in Germany should exhort their countrymen to strive with might and main to win the foremost position in the world. They believe that, to gain this end, the power of Great Britain must be broken, and they do not think this would be so difficult a task as it appears to Englishmen. They hold that the British Empire stands in the way of German world-power, and that the English people of to-day have not the heart to defend it. Their belief is confirmed by the conduct and speeches of persons who occupy positions of responsibility at Westminster, and by indications of a feverish desire to reduce and hamper the fighting strength of the country, both by sea and land. This found



expression in the debates on the Estimates during the last Session of Parliament, and was particularly inopportune because complications might at any moment arise out of the war in the Far East. A general impression was created that Great Britain did not take seriously her moral obligations to Japan, and that when the time came for arranging the terms of peace she would not be ready to give efficient support to her gallant and high-spirited ally. This has tended to confirm the conviction of Germans that England is unworthy of her place among the nations, that the simple, stern patriotism which enabled her to acquire it is now paralysed by the intrigues of political faction, her powers of endurance and self-sacrifice weakened through habits of luxury, and her sense of national honour impaired by the corroding action of cosmopolitan finance. It seems clear to them that the break-up of the British Empire would be followed by the creation of a greater Germany in Europe and beyond the seas. They are not to be blamed if, holding these views, they try to realise their ambitions. We, on our side, may possess our souls in the certain hope that the great living forces of the nation will, at the appointed hour, place some Chatham or Cromwell at the head of affairs. This hope is strengthened by the faith that the heart of England is as stout and true to-day as when she crushed Napoleon, defeated Louis the Fourteenth, or when the great Elizabethan mariners sailed for the Spanish Main.

Germany has a population of about 60,000,000, but large numbers are annually lost to her flag. To hinder this, she seeks to extend her influence in Europe and acquire extensive possessions beyond the sea. To realise these aims, she must prepare for collision with England, possibly with the United States, and certainly with Japan if the policy inaugurated by the seizure of Kiao-chau is persevered in. She therefore requires a fleet which would make her supreme upon the ocean. To create a navy of such strength it is essential that Holland should be brought within the German sphere of influence, and become for practical purposes a vassal State of the Empire. Bismarck himself acknowledged as much to Beust.<sup>1</sup>

Many people in this country persuade themselves that the next movement of German expansion will be in the direction of Austria, that being, they contend, the line of least resistance. But it is almost sure that aggrandisement of Germany at the expense of Austria would provoke the gravest international complications. Neither France, Italy, nor, above all, Russia, could allow it without fatal damage to their influence, and England would hardly look on with indifference at the establishment of German power in the Adriatic. I am convinced, moreover, that, notwithstanding formidable separatist tendencies in Austria, the forces of cohesion in the dominions of the House of Hapsburg are stronger than most people imagine.

<sup>1</sup> Beust, *Aus drei Viertel-Jahrhunderten*, vol. ii. p. 481.

The situation in Austria is, no doubt, full of danger and difficulty, but the true character of the perils that threaten her can only be understood by those who have mastered the questions that agitate the political feelings of Germans, Czechs, Magyars, and the other nationalities that compose the Empire. Everyone remembers the old epigram, 'Bella gerant alii, Tu, felix Austria, nube,' but few reflect that the Austrian Empire is the outcome of marriages, heritages, and artificial arrangements by which German counties, Italian principalities, and kingdoms like Bohemia were joined together. The link that bound them was allegiance to a common sovereign. The Tyrolese obeyed the Count of Tyrol, the Austrians the Archduke of Austria, who happened to be the same person, and was also King of Bohemia. This personage held, however, an exceptionally exalted position. He was for centuries, with short interruptions, the Head of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. There was a moment in the history of these countries at which they might have been welded into a close political union. This was at the time of the Reformation. The most ardent admirer of the Reformation will hardly now deny that it had many drawbacks. It paralysed the movement, represented by such men as Erasmus and Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's, one of the last and greatest of the ecclesiastics of the old pre-reformed Church of England, of whom William of Wykeham, William of Waynflete, and Archbishop Chicheley were such magnificent types. The Humanist influence would have gradually but thoroughly destroyed superstitions and obscurantist opinions, which derived fresh life and strength from the action of Luther. In Germany, however, the Reformation was a national movement in the deepest sense of the term, and it was a far-reaching misfortune for that country that Charles the Fifth did not grasp the situation. He neither appreciated Luther when he met him at Worms in 1521, nor did he gauge the forces which were working for the Reformer.<sup>2</sup>

The Reformation took as firm a hold on the countries which compose the present Austrian Empire as it did anywhere else. This is shown in the secret reports made to Rome by the confidential agents of Clement the Seventh and Paul the Third. The priesthood seemed at one time likely to die out. In one Austrian See only five priests were ordained in four years. For over twenty years no candidate from the University in Vienna presented himself for ordination.<sup>3</sup> The Nuncio, Vergerio, could find no candidates for the priesthood in Bohemia. Breslau became entirely Protestant.<sup>4</sup> Instead of meeting this movement with intellectual and spiritual weapons, the House of Hapsburg, under evil counsel, suppressed it with the arm of the

<sup>2</sup> For what took place at Worms, Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th of April, 1521, see Armstrong's *Life of Charles V.*, i. chapter 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ranke, *Römischen Päpste*, ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Armstrong, *Charles V.*, i. 319, 320.

flesh. The whole nobility of Styria, with the exception of seven families, were deprived of their property in consequence of their adhesion to the Protestant cause.<sup>5</sup> Wholesale confiscations in Bohemia transferred the estates of the ancient families of the country to a motley crew of foreigners—Spaniards, Italians, Walloons, Portuguese, and Irish. This policy has been continued almost to our own time, and men are still alive who remember the expulsion of the Protestant community in the Zillerthal in 1837. Popular expressions recall to this day the means by which ecclesiastical orthodoxy was preserved. If a man has been brutally beaten in a public-house, it is said that he has been made a Catholic. If a mother intends to inflict severe corporal punishment on a naughty child, she expresses her intention to make it a Catholic. This ecclesiastical policy was injurious to the true interests of Church and State. Men like Kepler and Comenius, when driven from the country, could not be replaced as intellectual guides by persons agreeable to the Court and to the Father Confessors of the sovereign.

The attitude of Austria towards intellectual independence was the first serious cause of her estrangement from Germany, and at the same time Prussia was becoming the representative of German progress. Men like Leibnitz, Puffendorf, Thomasius, and Spener, were drawn towards the Prussian State. Puffendorf and Spener ended their days in Berlin, Thomasius lent enduring fame to the University of Halle, and Leibnitz founded and was the first President of the Berlin Academy.

The intellectual state of Austria caused her to fail in her duty to Germany. The abdication of the Imperial office and dignity by Francis the Second in 1806 is a great instance in point. That office was held in trust, and its holder was not free to deal with it as he thought proper, much less to act in a manner which involved the annihilation of the office itself. It is true that just then the Empire was in a state of confusion. Prussia was largely responsible for this, and looked on with satisfaction. That rebel to the German nation proceeded to invent a German patriotism of her own. When, in the subsequent struggle for national unity, Germans, keenly alive to the true greatness of their country, were forced to let this spurious Prussian sentiment pass for patriotism and use it in the national interest, the irony of the situation was complete. Firmness and perseverance would have enabled Francis the Second to overcome his difficulties. This is demonstrated by the facts of history. The Note written at Vienna by Count Münster on the 25th of November 1814 shows that the Elector of Hanover, who was also then the King of England, never acquiesced in the validity of the dissolution of the Empire. Neither did the Cabinet of St. James's till after the German Confederation was created. The

<sup>5</sup> Bernhardt, *Vermischte Schriften*, ii. 262.

attitude of Russia may be gathered from the proposal which Alexander made in 1812 to restore the Holy Roman Empire, on condition that Austria would co-operate against Napoleon. Such a consummation, if accompanied by necessary reforms, would have been received with enthusiasm throughout Germany. How strong this feeling was at the time of the Congress of Vienna is well known to readers of Flassan, Débidour, and Treitschke. The most distinguished patriots of the time longed for the restoration of the old Empire under the House of Austria. In the autumn and early winter of 1814, during the Congress of Vienna, representatives of many German States and grand old German Houses persistently besought the Emperor Francis to resume the crown and sceptre of Otto the Great.<sup>6</sup> He declined the offer, on the ground that it would not be consistent with the interest of his own dominions.<sup>7</sup>

The real difficulty in the way of reconstructing the old Empire under the House of Hapsburg was the creation of the new Austrian Empire in 1804. In May of that year Napoleon assumed the Imperial title. Cobenzl made its recognition by Austria dependent on the same title being assumed by Francis the Second in his capacity of ruler of the hereditary dominions of his House. Thus the new Austrian Empire came into existence. Shortly afterwards war broke out between Austria and France. The battle of Austerlitz was fought on the 2nd of December 1805, and the Peace of Pressburg was signed by the Emperor Francis on New Year's Day 1806. In the articles of that treaty he bound himself not to object to independent sovereignty being assumed by any members of the German body politic. This was practically the dissolution of the Empire. On the 19th of July following the Confederation of the Rhine was formed; and on the 6th of August Francis the Second formally laid down the sceptre of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Constitution of Germany established by Charles the Fourth in the Golden Bull was finally and totally destroyed. This was the inevitable consequence of the Treaty of Pressburg. The existence of the Austrian Empire prevented afterwards the restoration of the old German crown to the Hapsburg dynasty, and committed Austria to the German and European policy which she followed throughout the nineteenth century.

In the transformation of the political order which has led to the present condition of Europe, Austria and Prussia have had their conduct shaped by necessity. In their essential character both were originally colonies. They grew out of conquests and settlements founded for the purpose of protecting the frontiers of the Empire from the inroads of hostile tribes. Both were military in origin, and both became superior to their Mother Country in power. Had they been divided from her by the sea they would probably

<sup>6</sup> Débidour, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe*, i. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Flassan, *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne*, ii. 271.

have separated. Their geographical continuity prevented this. Some of their original provinces were parts of the Empire, and this inspired them with the desire to extend their territory within the Empire itself. So it came to pass that the colonies began to take possession of the Mother Country. They were persistent in their attempts to secure for themselves as much German territory as they could. This is shown in the movements of Prussia in the North, and in the constant endeavours made by Austria to acquire possession of Bavaria. It explains the true inwardness of the Confederation of the Rhine. The idea of forming a South German Confederation originated with Cardinal Richelieu; Choiseul took it up; Talleyrand got it from him. The Confederation of the Rhine could not, however, have been formed, even in 1806, if many Germans had not been reconciled to German territories being collected together under French protection against the encroachments of Austria and Prussia.

The Confederacy of States formed by the Congress of Vienna did not meet the national requirements, but it was hoped that the defects of its constitution would be gradually corrected by the intelligence of statesmen, the patriotism of the people, and the goodwill of the Princes. It soon, however, became apparent that the Princes, generally speaking, were hostile to the movement for national unity, and an open rupture took place between them and the Germans who favoured it. Moderate reformers were driven to exasperation by the action of bureaucratic absolutism, directed against their most loyal intentions to their sovereigns and their respective States. The hopes of a satisfactory reform of the Confederacy were blighted, and a revolutionary party came into existence determined to bring about the unity of Germany at all risks and hazards.

In a very suggestive article, written by the late Duc de Broglie, that distinguished personage speaks of the difference between nation and nationality. 'On disait,' he writes, 'autrefois une nation; et ce mot avait un sens très-déterminé, puisque c'était l'appellation collective d'une réunion d'hommes soumis à un même régime politique. Nationalité veut dire apparemment quelque chose d'autre.' Nationality, as now understood, is a pretension, based on the genealogy of races or tribes, to form a nation. This revolutionary principle could not be adopted in Austria, because it would break up the Empire into a greater number of States than the whole of Europe now contains. Austrian statesmen were therefore right in considering it subversive, and in looking on those who adopted it as political criminals. Prussia, on the other hand, stood differently. She had nothing to fear from the revolutionary principle of nationality except as far as her Polish provinces were concerned, and her sins against the German nation, black and grievous as they were, were forgotten or condoned. Gradually the idea of uniting Germany by the instrumentality of Prussia

acquired partisans. They grew steadily in number, and their wishes came within the region of practical politics when Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia in September 1862. Their policy involved the expulsion of Austria from Germany, which was accomplished four years afterwards, and a new chapter opened in the history of the Dominions united under the House of Hapsburg.

These dominions were then divided into two groups called Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, separated south of Vienna by an insignificant affluent of the Danube called the Leitha. Cis-Leithania is made up of seventeen countries, different in size, race, history, and culture. Each of these countries has a local Diet, and they send representatives to a Central Parliament in Vienna. The official designation of this agglomeration is 'The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Parliament (in Vienna).' Trans-Leithania, or Hungary, includes Croatia, which has also a local Diet. The Central Parliament for this portion of the monarchy consists of two Houses, and meets at Buda-Pesth. Foreign affairs, military and naval matters, and finance are considered common to both halves of the monarchy. The power to deal with these affairs rests with so-called Delegations. There are two Delegations, each consisting of sixty members, twenty being chosen by the Upper Houses of the two Central Parliaments, and forty by each of the Lower. These Delegations do not deliberate in common, but communicate with one another in writing. If, after three interchanges of documents, no decision can be arrived at, they meet together and vote without debate. There are three Ministers for the affairs of the Dual Monarchy. Knowledge of the political divisions of the Austrian Empire will not, however, enable us to understand the problems which perplex Austrian statesmen, unless we master the aspirations and feelings of the different nations which compose it, and which do not find expression in its political divisions and subdivisions.\*

According to the official statistics of 1901 the total population of Austria is 48,000,000. There are 22,605,000 Slavs, 11,730,000 Germans, 8,610,000 Magyars, 3,020,000 Roumanians, 800,000 Italians; the remainder is mostly made up of Jews, Gypsies, Armenians, Albanians, Ladins, and Frioulians. There is also a French colony in the South of Hungary which was established about 1770. These colonists no longer speak French and are devoted to the Magyar cause. Statesmen should contemplate these various divisions not as ethnical groups but as nations. The Slavs, for instance, are five or seven nations, according as we classify them; the Czechs and Slovaks are

\* Those who desire to master this intricate question should begin by consulting Bertrand Auerbach's *Les races et les nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*; Hugelmann's *Das Recht der Nationalitäten in Oesterreich*; Sax's *Die Nationalitätenfrage in Oesterreich*; Lavissee's *Vue générale de l'histoire politique de l'Europe*; Chéradame's *L'Europe et la question d'Autriche*; Weill's *Pangermanisme en Autriche*; and Henry's *Questions d'Autriche-Hongrie*.

7,920,000 in number; the Poles 4,230,000; the Ruthenians 3,930,000; the Slovenes 1,275,000; and the Croat-Serbs 5,250,000.

The Austrian nationalities are not separated from each other so sharply as the French, Germans, and Italians are in Switzerland. There are 9,500,000 Germans in Cis-Leithania, and 2,220,000 in Hungary. They form about 24 per cent. of the total population of the Dual Monarchy; they are 36 per cent. of the population of Cis-Leithania, and the great majority are Catholics. They occupy the highland fringe of Bohemia, the valleys of the Eger and the Elbe, a small district in the north of Moravia, the west of Silesia, and the Valley of the Danube from the mouth of the Inn to that of the Morava. They also inhabit Vorarlberg, the greater part of the Tyrol, the country about Salzburg, and most of Carinthia and Styria. There are, moreover, German settlements scattered about Moravia, and there is a German community at Czernowitz, isolated amongst Ruthenians and Roumanians.

The Germans in the kingdom of Hungary form 11 per cent. of the population. They are divided into three distinct categories. The Saxons in Transylvania are a settlement of the twelfth century. They have acquired special privileges in return for their services as wardens of the frontier. They are almost all Protestants, energetic and jealous of their independence, and they cling tenaciously to their racial connection. In the North of Hungary there are some urban German colonies, founded about the same time as that in Transylvania. The third category of Hungarian Germans live in villages on the Danube. They were settled along that river in the eighteenth century to re-people and cultivate the region laid waste by the Turks. They are a good-natured, robust race, Catholics in faith, and the more southern communities of them were for a long time organised as military colonists on the Turkish frontier. It will be perceived that the German population in the Dual Monarchy is not a concentrated force, but is divided into communities of various forms of faith and clinging to different traditions. It therefore cannot maintain the political influence which its numbers, taken as a whole, would seem to indicate.

The Magyar nationality is divided into two groups of unequal importance—the Szeklers, who occupy the eastern slopes of the Transylvanian mountains, and the great body of the nation settled in the region about Lake Balaton and in the great plain between the Danube and the Theiss, which the Hungarians call the *puszta*. On that plain they cultivate their cornfields, tend their flocks and herds, and rear their famous horses. The Magyar loves his *puszta* with a feeling similar to the Englishman's affection for the sea, and this has found winning expression in the poetry of his race. The Hungarians have the happiness of being an agricultural people. Their towns have a distinctly rural character, with the exception of their metro-

polis, Buda-Pesth, which, on the right bank of the Danube, is an historical Acropolis and on the left a conventional modern city.

The Roumanians number 2,780,000 in the kingdom of Hungary. There are 240,000 of them in the other portion of the Dual Monarchy. Some of the Hungarian Roumanians belong to the Orthodox Church, and some are Roman Catholic Uniates, with a national ritual and a married clergy. They are an agricultural people with strong tribal feelings, exceedingly hostile to the Hungarian Crown, but professing loyalty to the Austrian Empire.

The Italians are scattered over the Dual Monarchy. They number 384,000 in Tyrol. Trieste is almost entirely Italian, but its outskirts are Slovene. In Goritz and Gradiska the Italians are 36 per cent. of the population, and in Istria 38 per cent. They have the municipal government of Fiume in their hands, and in the towns of Dalmatia there are Italian colonies established by the Republic of Venice in the days of its power.

The Slav population of the Austrian Empire is split into two great divisions, separated by the German, Magyar, and Roumanian settlements. In the north of the Dual Monarchy the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Ruthenians are situated, and in the south the Slovenes, the Croats, and the Serbs. There are 3,000,000 Ruthenians inhabiting Bukovina, Galicia, and part of Hungary. They are Roman Catholics with a national ritual, mass in the vernacular, and a married clergy.

The Poles, as we all know, inhabit Galicia. There are 4,000,000 of them in this province, and they are congregated towards the western portion. Towards the east they are rarely found except in towns and about the country houses of the nobility. There are about 200,000 Austrian Poles who do not live in Galicia. These are settled for the most part in Austrian Silesia and in Bukovina.

The Slovaks are a portion of the Czech nationality. About 2,000,000 of them inhabit the north-west of the kingdom of Hungary, in the region dominated by the Tatra, and along the Carpathians towards Pressburg. They are a people of agriculturists and shepherds, partly Catholic and partly Protestant, with a picturesque national costume and a beautiful ballad poetry. Though they form part of the Czech nation, they do not contribute much to its national force; their very exaggerated provincialism keeps them separate from the great body of their people.

A very insignificant portion of the Slovene nationality—only about 5,000—is in Hungary. There are about 1,270,000 in Cis-Leithania. They are for the most part mountaineers, agriculturists, and Catholics. They are powerful in Carniola, form the immense majority of the population of Laibach, occupy large districts in the south of Styria and Carinthia, and are over 60 per cent. of the population in Goritz and Gradiska. They are also very powerful in



Istria, where with the help of the Croats they seem to be driving the Italians steadily backward towards the Adriatic.

The Croats and the Serbs are often counted as a nation. They speak the same language, though their written characters are different. They are, nevertheless, two distinct peoples, often at enmity. It has been supposed that the reason for their want of sympathy with each other arises from the circumstance that the Croats are Roman Catholics and the Serbs Orthodox. This is not, however, a complete explanation, for their antipathy has its roots in past history and complicated political circumstances.

The most important and powerful of the Slavs of Austria are the Czechs. They inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. In Bohemia, out of a total population of 6,300,000, the Czechs number 3,960,000. They inhabit the centre of the country and have completely in their power the historic city of Prague. In Moravia, out of a total population of 2,460,000, there are 1,730,000 Czechs. In Silesia they are not so numerous, being only 150,000 out of a population of 670,000. They form, on the other hand, a very large portion of the inhabitants of the imperial city of Vienna. The Slavs are loyal to the dynasty. Grillparzer's well-known line, alluding to Radetzky :

In deinem Lager ist Oesterreich

might be applied to the Austrian Slavs to-day.

These are the chief nationalities of the Austrian Empire, and it is often contended that, on the death of the present Emperor, to whom they all look up with affectionate veneration, their action will bring about the dissolution of the Empire. It is expected that Roumanians, Italians, and Germans will clamour for union with the great States of their people. It is difficult to follow politicians into the region of prophecy. As regards the Roumanians, I cannot see that the movement towards Bukharest has presented, up to now, indications of a formidable character. The Roumanians, it is true, are disloyal to the Hungarian kingdom, but in all their public manifestations they seem to expect satisfaction for their aspirations from the Emperor at Vienna, and distinctly proclaim their attachment to the Austrian Empire. The Italian danger is also much exaggerated. We have seen that the whole Italian population of the Dual Monarchy is less than a million. Of these, the only true-separatists are to be found among the 380,000 Italians who inhabit the southern slopes of the Alps. At Fiume the Italians could not hold their own against the Croats without the assistance of the Magyars. In Dalmatia they are overshadowed by the Slavs, and Trieste, though an Italian city, depends for its prosperity on the surrounding country, in which they have no place.

The Germans alone are a serious danger to the Dual Monarchy. The pan-Germanic party makes no secret of its desire for the union

of Austrian provinces with the German Empire. It has now twenty-one representatives in the Parliament of Vienna, but this number hardly represents its Parliamentary strength. The fifty-one deputies of the popular German party ('*Deutsche Volkspartei*') give it general support. The old German Liberal party looks askance at the pan-Germans, but sympathises with them in their anti-clerical fanaticism and in their hatred for the Slavs. I do not, however, myself believe that the separatist party amongst Austrian Germans is so strong in the country as the tendencies of the German groups in the Parliament of Vienna lead many to believe. Just as it would be a mistake to imagine that people in England who vote for Liberal candidates do not condemn the discreditable language made use of by leading members of the Opposition during the Boer war, or that the revolutionary movement in Germany may be gauged by 3,000,000 votes cast for Social Democrats, so it would be an error to imagine that Germans in Austria who vote for candidates advocating an extreme German programme really wish that programme to be carried out. Austrian Germans frequently support pan-Germanists in order to offer vigorous opposition to the Slavs. Austrian Germans cannot bear the notion of being placed on an equality with that nationality. But if annexation of Austrian territory to the German Empire became a pressing danger, a different state of things would be seen. The strong under-current of animosity to Prussia, which exists in Vienna, in the Alpine territories of the Empire, and in the rural districts of Upper and Lower Austria, would at once make itself felt. The great Austrian German nobility, the German Federalists, and the Christian Socialists are all bitterly hostile to the incorporation of any portion of Austria into the German Empire. I am quite certain that the number of Austrian Germans who really and truly sympathise with the pan-Germans is in a small minority everywhere, except in certain industrial districts in Bohemia.

That a serious German danger for Austria nevertheless exists is quite certain. Although the German separatist movement in the Dual Monarchy, estimated by its own inherent strength, is contemptible, it derives force from the encouragement it receives from across the northern border. The people throughout the German Empire have been taught to sympathise with it. Although not openly aided, it is secretly encouraged by the Government at Berlin with a view of being used should occasion serve. To estimate the force of this danger to Austria, the policy of the German Empire towards the Dual Monarchy has to be considered.

We all know that the governing idea of the policy of Bismarck was the expulsion of Austria from Germany, to be followed by the closest possible union between the Austrian Empire and reconstructed Germany. But, as Dogberry says, 'An two men ride of a horse, one must ride behind.' Bismarck was quite clear that the hindmost

position should be taken by Austria. For four years after Königgrätz the Court of Vienna declined the mount. Men of leading in Austria cherished the hope that another appeal to the iron dice might alter the arrangement made in 1866. They looked forward with apprehension to a future when, in consequence of final separation from Germany, the disintegrating tendencies of the various nationalities would work with dangerous energy. The German element appeared to them to be the cement of the political conglomerate called the Austrian Empire. They considered it the strongest binding force. Its power consisted in its intelligence and industry, in its supposed love for law and order, and in the circumstance that the dynasty was German. It was, however, numerically in a great minority, and, though it appeared to them to be the soul of the Empire, its influence must steadily decline unless Austria reconquered her old supremacy in Germany. This conviction led to the negotiations for a triple alliance between France, Italy, and Austria, with the object of invading Germany in the spring of 1871, and settling accounts with Prussia once for all. This plan was defeated by Bismarck, who fell on France in July 1870, and crushed her before any Power could come to her assistance.

The proclamation, in the palace of Louis the Fourteenth, announcing the formation of the new German Empire, strengthened to such an extent the power of Prussia in Germany that the Emperor Francis Joseph had to reconsider the whole position. He resolved to turn for support to the Slav subjects of his Crown, and on the 4th of February, 1871, he charged Count Hohenwart to form a Ministry for 'the kingdoms and lands represented in the Parliament in Vienna.' This nobleman enjoyed the confidence of the Czechs, and the consequences of his appointment were immediately felt. The Czechs had ceased to attend the Parliament in Vienna from 1863. In 1867 they seceded from the local Diet at Prague, and in 1868 they published a declaration asserting the sovereignty of their ancient kingdom and refusing relations with other parts of the Austrian Empire, with which they contended they had no other connection except common allegiance to the House of Hapsburg. They claimed also that Moravia and Silesia, which formed a portion of the old Bohemian Kingdom, should be reunited with it. When Count Hohenwart became Prime Minister they resumed their seats in the Diet of Prague. On the 14th of December, 1871, the Sovereign of the country addressed a message to that assembly in which he declared that, 'in consideration of the former constitutional position of Bohemia, and remembering the power and glory which its Crown had given to his ancestors and the constant fidelity of the population, he gladly recognised the rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and was willing to confirm this assurance by taking the

Coronation Oath.' It was at the same time clearly pointed out and accepted by the Czechs that the constitution for Bohemia must harmonise with the constitutions already in existence. The Czechs proceeded to work out a constitution of the kind indicated, and there is no reason to assume that the great difficulties in their way might not have been overcome. Had this happy consummation been arrived at, a new bent would have been given to the policy of Austria. An understanding with Russia, as regards the Balkan Peninsula, would have followed in due course, and the Foreign Office at Vienna would not have fallen under the dominating influence of Berlin.

No one perceived this more clearly than Bismarck. He has often been compared with the great statesman of Louis the Thirteenth, but, in all his dealings, especially with Austria, he showed that he possessed the craft of Mazarin as well as the energy of Richelieu. In the summer of 1871, at Ischl, Salzburg, and Gastein, the Dual Monarchy was inveigled into his toils. The Emperor Francis Joseph was persuaded to renounce his policy of conciliating the Czechs. On the 30th of October Count Hohenwart was suddenly dismissed and a completely German Government was formed. A fortnight or so afterwards Count Beust ceased to be the Chancellor of the Dual Monarchy. Andrassy took his place, and Austrian policy ever since has been largely directed from Berlin.

To maintain this state of things is the aim of German statesmen. As long as Austria continues in German leading-strings they can have no desire to see a change. In the first place it is obvious that the annexation to Germany of a considerable portion of the Austrian Empire would alter to a serious extent the balance of religious division in the German Empire. Catholics and Protestants would then be about equal in numbers, and this might produce unpleasant political disturbance. Moreover, a strong latent antipathy still exists between North and South Germany, and the incorporation of large numbers of Austrians into the Empire would strengthen the South German element to so formidable an extent as to endanger the existing hegemony of Prussia. Sooner or later, however, Austria will claim her independence. It is out of the question that so great an Empire, with its exalted dynasty and its proud traditions, will indefinitely continue to do obsequious service to any other Power. But when the moment of Austrian emancipation arrives, and there are indications that it is not far off, the statesmen of Berlin will have to consider the expediency of annexing large portions of Austria, notwithstanding the risk of serious political complications at home and the danger of foreign war. The reason why the pan-Germanic wreckers in Austria are not effectively repudiated by the Government at Berlin is because the Kaiser and his Ministers wish to prepare for the contingencies of that anxious hour.

In 1896, the year in which Kaiser Wilhelm sent his telegram to President Krüger, he gave formal expression to the pan-Germanic idea in a speech which was received throughout his Empire with great enthusiasm by the unthinking multitude. It was accurately described as a true pan-Germanic speech, and contained the following passage :

Out of the German Empire a world-wide Empire has arisen. Everywhere in all parts of the earth thousands of our countrymen reside. . . . Gentlemen, the serious duty devolves on you to help me to link this greater German Empire close to the Mother Country by helping me in complete unity to fulfil my duty also towards the Germans in foreign parts."

A German attempt on Austria would, however, now rouse Europe. Italy would be at once affected. It is idle to imagine that she might agree to the annexation of Austrian provinces by Germany on condition of receiving that portion of her separated territory for which she appears to long. But, as M. Weil has pointed out with great force, the military and economic reasons which prevent Austria from handing over to Italy an inch of ground inhabited by Italians will continue to exist should that territory pass under German domination; and even if Germany were willing to give Italy the Trentino in exchange for her consent to a policy of brigandage, Italy would not be less exposed to attack from the German Empire than she is now from the Austrian. Moreover, if the Austrian Empire were disintegrated, Germany would certainly seize Trieste, and also establish a naval base at Pola. She would become then the Queen of the Adriatic, and Italy would be definitely cut away from countries in which she hopes to play a part by a much more dangerous rival than Austria.

As for Great Britain, if Germany became absolute mistress of Central Europe, with one foot in Hamburg and the other in Trieste, and with great naval bases at Kiel and Pola, her position in the Mediterranean would be seriously compromised. But there are few who will deny that the grandeur and the power of England are largely bound up with the interests of other nations whose prosperity depends on the great ocean highway of the Mediterranean being at all times available for the growing sea-borne traffic of the world.

The action of Russia, in case of German extension at the expense of Austria, would be in ordinary circumstances absolutely certain. Nothing is more sure than that on the day when Germany decides to adopt openly a pan-Germanic programme as regards Austria Russia must draw her sword. Political reasons, and the far stronger forces of sentiment, will compel her to appear in arms on the German frontier. The Czechs, as I have insisted, are loyal to the House of Hapsburg; if, however, they were compelled to make a

choice between joining Germany or Russia, they would infinitely prefer the latter country. They will offer the most determined opposition to the German annexation of Bohemia. I surely need not enlarge on the impossibility of Russia deserting the Czechs and permitting that annexation. On the other hand, it is impossible for Germany to bring Vienna and Berlin under the same sceptre without annexing Bohemia. There is no plainer situation in international politics.

The seizure of Austrian provinces by Germany would mark the end of French power and influence in Europe. Some Frenchmen dream of the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine following a French *entente* with Germany. Such persons must have read to little purpose the history of the relations of their country with Prussia. But the plain truth is that Germany, as at present constituted, can in no circumstances restore Alsace and Lorraine, because that territory is the symbol of the conquest of France which made Germany one and imperial.

Beust, when stating in his *Memoirs* that Bismarck informed him that he desired the acquisition of Holland, goes on to say that Bismarck assured Count Bylandt, whom many of us remember as Dutch Minister in London, that Germany's object was to obtain, not Holland, but the German provinces of Austria.<sup>10</sup> The truth is that Germany has her eyes on both. She wishes, for commercial reasons, to obtain the mouth of the Rhine, and for purposes of naval supremacy to acquire the ports of Holland and weld together the Dutch and German peoples, economically and politically, in a confederation under the House of Hohenzollern. Her goal towards the south is a position on the Adriatic.

In view of this situation it behoves the statesmen of Europe to consider the position their respective countries should assume in case of an Austrian crisis. It is quite possible this might come at a moment when the various Powers were engaged in more or less bitter controversies about matters of comparatively minor importance. In such circumstances the Foreign Office at Berlin would certainly take advantage of the situation, and the history of the nineteenth century shows that Prussia owes her success as much to the ineptitude of European statesmen as to the genius of Bismarck.

As far as England is concerned, her statesmen will only act with ordinary prudence if they bear steadily in mind that the determining factor of the international policy of Germany is the desire to promote the disintegration of the British Empire. Those best acquainted with the current political literature of Europe, and with the motives which shape the conduct of Prussian statesmen, have long realised this truth. It has received striking illustration within the last few weeks. On the 18th of October the *Times* announced that German influence was used at Peking to hinder the ratification by China of

<sup>10</sup> Beust, *Aus drei Viertel-Jahrhunderten*, ii. 481.

our treaty with Tibet. A few days afterwards the statement was denied in the *North German Gazette*, but although the *Times*, quoting Prince Gortchakoff, remarked, 'On sait joliment démentir à Berlin,' the contradiction deceived nobody. This effort to thwart England in Pekin is only the latest among many manifestations of the settled policy of Prussianised Germany. The leading journal did not exaggerate when it stated that the Kaiser's telegram to Krüger in 1896 was not more unfriendly and unseemly than the action of his diplomatists in China. Their recent conduct aims at the destruction of the moral effect of the expedition to Lhasa, not alone in Tibet but in Bhutan, more especially perhaps in Nepal, and throughout the East generally. German statesmen also desire to keep alive sources of friction between England and Russia, and to strengthen their case for obtaining co-operation from the latter Power in their future war with Great Britain. It is idle to contend that they wish only to preserve the integrity of China, which England does not threaten. It is Germany herself who initiated the partition of that Empire by her seizure of Kiao-chau. As far as Tibet is concerned, Germany has no more interest there than England in Lippe-Detmold. Her interference with the negotiations resulting from the expedition to Lhasa can only be explained by her persistent animosity to this country. This hostility is Prussian in origin and character, and has grown with the power of that State. It seems likely to last while Prussian hegemony endures. How long this will be is a secret of the future.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

## *MOTOR TRAFFIC AND THE PUBLIC ROADS*

### FAST MOTOR TRAFFIC.

THE rapid increase of light motor carriages, and the wider use of heavy self-driven vehicles to transport goods which must follow the adoption of the Local Government Board Committee's Report<sup>1</sup> on the subject, forces the question of road usage and construction to the front.

The difficulty which engages public attention at the moment is that of reconciling the conflicting interests of swiftly driven passenger motors with those of other users of the highway. This burning question of the hour may first be considered, though the prominence that has been given it obscures, in some degree, the even more important matters that lie behind.

The pleasure to be derived from travelling at high speed along the highway, protected by glass screens from the rush of wind, and by goggled masks and cloaks from clouds of foul dust, may appear doubtful; but the fact that there are persons who find very great satisfaction in it gives rise to the hostile feeling which has been so freely ventilated in the Press.

It should be borne in mind that it is simply a question of *pleasure* so far as the motor-driver is concerned. The stoutest advocates of fast driving have never ventured to urge that there is necessity to travel at twenty miles an hour, or that any purpose other than the motorist's gratification is served thereby. At the same time the frequency of serious accidents stands for proof that rapidly driven motors are a source of grave danger; and the question thus resolves itself into weighing the idle pleasure of motorists, on the one hand, against public safety on the other.

### • MAXIMUM SPEED LIMIT SETTLED ON A WRONG BASIS.

The claim of the motorist to drive at a speed which has been proved dangerous to others has been allowed by the authorities on

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board to Inquire with regard to Regulations for the Purposes of Section 12 of the Motor Car Act, 1903.



grounds which seem at least open to question. The motor experts represented that it is possible to construct cars which can travel at a rate of sixty or eighty miles an hour; therefore, they urged, twenty miles an hour is an extremely moderate rate. The point was settled on this basis, which other users of the highroad regard as radically wrong—the question of maximum speed is essentially one which should be decided, not upon the capacity of motors for fast travel, but upon the character of our highroads, and the lawful uses made of them by the public.

In coming to a decision the authorities apparently allowed themselves to be influenced by the latitude which is permitted to motorists in France, forgetting that there are very wide differences between English roads and French. English motorists, in point of fact, have blindly followed the lead of France from the beginning. Untrammelled by legal restrictions, the motor industry in France made considerable headway before Parliament even released self-driven vehicles from the disabilities which excluded them from our own public roads. Those who were loudest in their complaints of tardiness at Westminster forgot that a method of travel which is comparatively safe in France is not so in this country.

Given roads such as the French National road, sixty feet in width, running straight as a railway line for miles, without hedges to impede the view of those who wish to avoid or prepare to meet the flying motor, and a passion for speed may be indulged with a certain degree of safety. Those who clamoured for licence to do in England what motorists do in France forgot or ignored the fact that the vast majority of English highways are seldom otherwise than narrow (being, on the average, about sixteen feet in width), seldom running straight for a furlong, and seldom lacking high banks or hedges, or both. The hedges and banks which enclose our roads are a very important factor in the case, for they serve, if the expression may be used, as blinkers to limit the vision of the traveller to as much of the highroad as he can see between them.

Motor racing became fashionable in France, and though even the magnificent French roads did not make the amusement free from fatal accidents, the champions of the English motor industry agitated for licence to race in this country. The authorities, warned by the fatalities which had shown the danger of the business on the Continent, placed sufficient restrictions on organised motor racing; but they followed the lead of France in sanctioning a racing speed of twenty miles an hour because it is mechanically possible to drive a motor at three or four times that speed, and because there is no 'speed limit' on the open country roads in France.

In every French town and village, be it understood, the local authority prescribes the speed at which the motorist may travel along the streets.

### SPEED OF HORSE-DRAWN CARRIAGES AND MOTORS.

The right of the coachman to regulate his speed by the capacity of his horses was limited as long ago as 1820. When the talents of Macadam and Telford were at last suffered to furnish the country with hard and smooth roads, the speed of the mail and stage coaches was increased. On every main road the rivalry was such that consideration for other users of the highroad was set aside, and racing coaches became a public danger. So many and serious were the accidents from this cause that in 1820 an Act of Parliament was passed to prohibit 'wanton and furious driving or racing,' under which offending coachmen were made responsible under the criminal law, and to make what the motorist would call an 'accident' punishable as manslaughter.

It was the custom in the coaching days for rival stages to perform their journey at top speed on May Day; and in these races a fast coach was considered to have performed a feat deserving record if it accomplished its journey at a rate of fifteen miles an hour. Such was the speed which the Legislature forbade as dangerous; and why a speed of twenty miles an hour should be regarded as anywhere safe for a motor it is impossible to understand.

### NO ANALOGY BETWEEN MOTORS AND TRAINS.

It would be waste of time to answer the plea that, even as horses are become accustomed to the train, so will they become accustomed to the motor. It has been pointed out, times beyond reckoning, that the cases are essentially different; that a parallel cannot be drawn between trains travelling on tracks of their own and the motor sharing the highroad with horse-drawn vehicles, pedestrians, and live-stock. We need not deal further with the light motor traffic. The claim of the motorist to travel at a pace which would properly render the driver of horses liable to summons for furious and dangerous driving cannot be sustained. The new Act prescribing the twenty-mile maximum of speed has been given fair trial, and experience shows that it has made the roads more dangerous than they were before. It seems clear that the reckless minority of motorists should be restrained by more drastic legislation.

### EARLY ENGLISH ROADS.

Having regard to the road requirements of the new heavy motor traffic, which will be dealt with on a future page, it seems desirable to look more closely into the conditions of our English highroads and learn how they came into existence.

History shows us that new conditions of traffic have always brought about new conditions of road-making; and it is worth briefly sketching the history of travel to show the intimate relations subsisting between the two.

The Saxons, and those who came after them for many centuries, were not sufficiently civilised to use as models the magnificent roads left them by the Romans, even had the circumstances under which they lived made such roads necessary.

The traveller journeyed on horseback; all goods, including coals in the colliery districts, were carried on the backs of pack-horses, led in long trains; and in a land consisting almost entirely of waste and woodland the traveller and pedlar chose their own route from place to place. Hence the earliest roads were the merest tracks, whose course was determined by the features of the country; the track thus chosen was 'the line of least resistance'—that which could with least difficulty be traversed by horses.

#### STREAMS USED AS ROADS.

Where he could the traveller took advantage of natural facilities, and the Saxon horseman soon discovered that the gravel bed of a stream afforded a firmer and better surface than he could find on its margin. Hence it comes that many of our highways follow the course of streams which have long since run dry. The origin of such roads had been lost sight of so far back as Queen Elizabeth's time, if we may accept as evidence in this sense the preamble of an Act of Parliament<sup>2</sup> passed in 1562. This statute says:

forasmuch as the highways in sundry places of this realm be full of continual springs and watercourses, by continual increase and sinking whereof into the ground the said ways are not only very deep and dangerous, but also, for the most part, impossible to be amended and repaired:

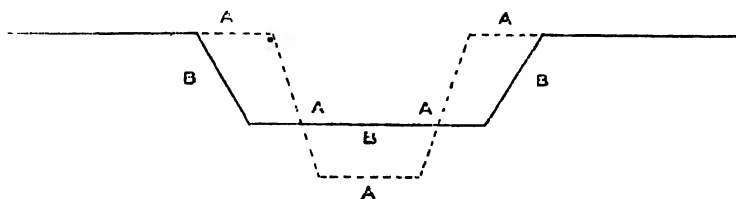
the supervisors of roads are empowered, at their discretion—

to turn any such watercourse or spring from the highways into any ditches on ground adjoining.

The wording of this Act indicates that the very existence of the stream had been forgotten in its adoption and use as a road. It is not difficult to see how this came about. The diagram shows roughly the original and present section of countless highways and byways all over England. The dotted lines, A, A, represent the original banks and bed of the stream; B, B, the banks as they now are, having been gradually cut away by the traffic, the dislodged soil, gravel, &c., contributing to raise the level of the road and compel a greater or less volume of the native water to seek an outlet and a new channel. The

<sup>2</sup> 5 Eliz. c. 13.

higher and more evenly continuous the banks, the greater the difficulty of finding such outlets, and, equally, the more troublesome those 'continual springs' referred to in Queen Elizabeth's Act. .'



The stream actually furnished a model for early sixteenth-century roads. Fitzherbert<sup>3</sup> counsels his readers to 'see that there be no water standing in the highway, but that it be always current and running.'

#### EARLY ROADS SUFFICIENT FOR THEIR PURPOSE.

For many centuries these rough tracks continued to answer their purpose. The able-bodied traveller rode, and ladies and infirm persons were carried in the 'horse-litter'—a species of chair or hammock slung on poles secured to the pads or saddles of two horses, one in front and the other behind. \*Owing, no doubt, to the wretched character of the roads, the horse-litter survived for a hundred years after coaches had come into tolerably general use.<sup>4</sup>

#### FIRST ENDEAVOURS TO IMPROVE THE ROADS.

It is a curious coincidence that the first Act passed to secure improvement in the highroads as such<sup>5</sup> should have been placed on the statute book in the same year (1555) that Walter Rippon built for the Earl of Rutland the first coach ever seen in England. This law of 1555 enacts that inasmuch as the highways are become 'very noisom and tedious to travel in and dangerous to all passengers and carriages,'<sup>6</sup> surveyors were to be elected in every parish by popular vote to take charge of the roads, and these surveyors were empowered to exact four days' work on the roads from every parishioner every year.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of Husbandry*, 1534.

<sup>4</sup> William Lily, in the play *Alexander and Campaspe*, first printed in 1584, makes one of his characters complain of soldiers 'riding in easy coaches up and down to court ladies'; and in the *Last Speech of Thomas Pride* (Harleian Miscellany) occurs mention of General Shippon coming wounded to London in a horse-litter, in the year 1680.

<sup>5</sup> 2 & 3 Ph. & M. c. 8. Earlier Acts aim at the protection of travellers from thieves, and sanction the making of roads by private persons.

<sup>6</sup> 'Carriages' was the term used by legal draughtsmen of the period to describe waggons and carts.

## EFFECT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF COACHES.

'Chariots' of an ornamental kind had been used in ceremonial processions in England early in the sixteenth century; but these were essentially vehicles for show rather than for use. Queen Elizabeth was the first English monarch to own a coach. In 1572, when she visited Warwick, she made her entry in a coach. Again, in 1578, when she went to Norwich, we have it on Sir Thomas Browne's authority that 'she had a coach or two in her train.' Queen Elizabeth was famous as a horsewoman, and it is highly improbable that she made long journeys over roads unworthy of the name in a heavy springless vehicle when she could ride; but it was during her reign that coaches began to come into general use, and it was the fifth year of her reign (1562) that saw the passage of an important Act<sup>7</sup> for the amendment of the highways. By this Act the authorised supervisors of the road were empowered to mend the roads by taking the 'loose rubbish or smallest broken stones'<sup>8</sup> of any quarry within their parish without leave of the owner; and a very suggestive clause requires owners of the ground to cut down 'all trees and bushes growing in the highways.'

The 'stage' or 'long waggon' came into existence about this time. This 'early parent of the stage-coach' was a roomy vehicle with very wide tires to prevent the wheels from sinking into the mud. Long waggons carried passengers and goods between London and some of the chief towns in the East, South, and Midland counties.

Little more was done towards improving the roads until after the Restoration, by which period the stage-coach had become a regular institution, and passenger vehicles both in town and country were common.<sup>9</sup> By consequence, Charles the Second's reign is conspicuous for the legislation relating to roads and traffic. The first important Act<sup>10</sup> was passed in 1662. This forbade any travelling waggon plying for hire<sup>11</sup> to use more than seven horses or eight oxen, or six oxen and two horses, and the tire of the wheels was in no case to be less than four inches wide. The restrictions placed on loads are eloquent of the state of the highways of the time. From the 15th of October to the 1st of May the seven-horse waggon might carry one ton; from the 1st of May to the 14th of October one and a half ton!

<sup>7</sup> 5 Eliz. c. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Fitzherbert, in *The Book of Husbandry*, 1534, recommends the use of gravel and stones for the repair of the roads.

<sup>9</sup> In 1660 the hackney coaches plying in London were so numerous that regulations concerning their use were issued by a Royal Proclamation, which described them as a common nuisance.

<sup>10</sup> 14 Car. II. c. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Provisions of this Act extended to all vehicles by 15 Car. II. c. 1.

### THE INTRODUCTION OF TURNPIKES.

The year 1663 saw placed on the statute-book the Act<sup>12</sup> under which the first turnpike was established to levy tolls for the maintenance of a road. This Act also contained a clause to enable the road surveyors to take gravel, chalk, sand, or stone from the next parish or from private grounds without payment if materials were wanted for repair of the roads.

### ROADMAKING FROM CHARLES THE SECOND'S TO GEORGE THE THIRD'S TIME.

It has seemed desirable to say thus much about our roads and the traffic they carried in Stuart times because the method of road-making then in vogue continued, with little alteration or none, until the days of Macadam and Telford, while the change in the character of traffic was insignificant, from the roadmakers' point of view, till the introduction of springs in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Vehicles of all kinds increased in number between the time of Charles the Second and George the Third; but the roads remained much the same. The roadmaker spread on the surface gravel, chalk, sand, and stone, or such of these materials as the locality afforded, and his road was made. He left the passing traffic to grind it smooth.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes he might dig ditches to drain off the water, but this would depend on the circumstances governing each case, and was by no means the rule. The result was that in course of time the surface was ground into the soil, and the 'road' became a quagmire.

### ROADS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The literature of the eighteenth century, when people began to travel about the country more freely than had been the habit of their forefathers, teems with references to the condition of the roads. Daniel Defoe,<sup>14</sup> referring to the great belt of clay soil which stretches across the Midlands and is in places fifty miles wide, says :

After you are passed Dunstable . . . you enter the deep clays, which are so surprisingly soft that 'it is perfectly frightful to travellers: and it has been the wonder of foreigners how, considering the great number of carriages which are continually passing with heavy loads, those ways have been made practicable. Indeed, the great number of horses every year killed by the excess of labour in those heavy ways has been such a charge to the country that the new building of causeways as the Romans did of old seems to me to be a much easier expense.

<sup>12</sup> 15 Car. II. c. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The road roller was first used about the year 1772.

<sup>14</sup> *A Tour through Great Britain*, by a Gentleman (Daniel Defoe), 1724.

In another passage he mentions having seen, at a country village not far from Lewes, 'a lady of very good quality' drawn to church in her coach with six oxen, 'not in frolick or humour,' but simply because the road was so bad that horses could not be used. It is quite possible that the village referred to lies in the district through which Macadam, a century later, built a very costly road (*vide* footnote, p. 732).

Forty-six years later Mr. Arthur Young<sup>15</sup> wrote in scathing terms of the roads he encountered in Northern England. He could not, in the whole range of language, find terms sufficiently expressive to describe 'this infernal road,' one of the principal highways of the country. He encountered ruts four feet deep by actual measurement and floating with mud, and this the result only of a wet summer. Mr. Young says that he 'passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory.'

#### ROADS UNDER THE TURNPIKE 'TRUSTS.'

It was about three years after this was written that George the Third's important Highway Act<sup>16</sup> was passed. The turnpike, when established by Charles the Second, proved so unpopular that the law became practically a dead letter. George the Third's Act altered the system of road maintenance. It created 'Turnpike Trusts' under popular control, and placed in the hands of locally-elected trustees the duty of farming out the tolls and keeping the roads in repair. These bodies were rapidly formed all over the country. Between 1760 and 1777, 452 turnpike trusts were created under the Act, and between 1785 and 1809 the number created was upwards of 1,062.

It seems to have been assumed that the system of making roads which had been in vogue since Charles the Second's time could not be improved upon, and George the Third's Act sought to preserve the ways from injury by regulating the build of vehicles to reduce wear and tear. For example, a waggon with wheels having nine inches width of tire might be drawn by eight horses, but not more; a waggon whose wheel tires were under six inches wide might be drawn by not more than five horses. On the other hand, vehicles running on rollers sixteen inches wide or more might be drawn by any number of horses, and these last also paid less in tolls than waggons with narrower wheels.

These measures produced varying degrees of improvement in the roads in some parts of England. When Mr. John Palmer, after a long struggle, succeeded in persuading the Post Office to send letters by his mail coach from Bristol to London, the first journey (the

<sup>15</sup> *Tour in the North of England*, by Arthur Young, 1770.

<sup>16</sup> 13 George III. c. 78.

2nd of August, 1784) was accomplished in seventeen hours, or at a speed of seven miles an hour. On other roads the speed of coaches remained very low. In 1779 the coach from Edinburgh to London, about 420 miles, took ten days over the journey, resting over the Sunday at Boroughbridge, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The turnpike system led to the making of many new roads, and to change for the better in some old ones; but the trustees were generally farmers and small tradesmen, who were totally ignorant of roadmaking as then understood. Where they laid out new roads they followed no settled principle, and in most cases they continued to use the ancient pack-horse tracks, with all their inherent defects. Further, the system under which each trust maintained the roads in its own district militated against success. For example, the eighty-two miles of road through North Wales to Holyhead was under seven distinct turnpike trusts, and, until taken over by commissioners appointed by Parliament, was one of the worst roads in England.

#### THE MACADAM AND TELFORD ERA.

In 1818 John Loudon Macadam's system of roadmaking was adopted, and this, in combination with Telford's methods, resulted in the construction of the roads which still serve us. The work of these two great pioneers of road-building must be considered together. They broke away from the traditional method of following the ancient pack-horse tracks, and, where possible, laid new roads over gentler ascents, through cuttings, and clear of soft, low-lying ground.

Their joint system of constructing roads may be considered a partial reversion to the old Roman method. Telford approved a firm foundation. Accordingly he dug out the route and made a regular 'bed' or 'pitch' of rough, close-set pavement, with six inches of broken stones, which was rammed hard, and over this was laid the upper crust of 'macadam.' The result was a road at once hard, smooth, and durable. The English roads made on this principle compare in durability and smoothness—though not in width and straightness—with the great national roads of France. There is all the difference in the world between a road which has been built *as a road* over a carefully selected and surveyed line of country, and a road which has been fashioned out of an ancient stream-bed or pack-horse track.

On the new roads made by Telford and Macadam coachmakers and contractors were able to put into practical operation the improvements in vehicles which had been awaiting opportunity for development. The general adoption of this system brought about the 'golden age' of fast coaching with remarkable rapidity.



## FAST COACHING.

During the 'golden age' of the road, which term is applicable to the period about 1820-40, the fastest mail coaches ran at an average pace of about ten miles per hour. The mail from London to Brighton, fifty-one and a half miles, accomplished the journey in five hours fifteen minutes; that from London to Manchester took a little longer, covering the 187 miles in nineteen hours. The London and Holyhead mail ran its 261 miles in twenty-six hours and fifty-five minutes. One of the fastest coaches was the 'Quicksilver,' from London to Devonport, which on one occasion ran the 216-mile journey in twenty-one hours fourteen minutes, giving an average of just over ten miles an hour.

## COACH AND MOTOR-CAR.

It seems worth pointing out that the danger to others from the old fast coach was infinitely less than the danger from the motor-car travelling at the same pace—ten miles an hour. The rumble of wheels and thunder of hoofs proclaimed the approach of the former from a long distance. On 364 days in the year, also, dwellers on the coach routes knew to a minute when the mail would pass, so jealously was 'time' kept. On May Day, without doubt, there was danger, but we may be sure that the coachmen driving their fastest did not wholly forget that wholesome law which made them personally responsible for injury caused to their passengers and to others on the road. The dangers of the fast coach were regarded with a lenient eye, for that vehicle filled a place in the social economy of our grandfathers very different from that occupied by the motor in our own.

## CONDITION OF MODERN ROADS.

It goes without saying that the cost of making or remaking the roads on the new system was very great. Macadam built one road, from Lewes to Eastbourne, which cost 1,000*l.* per mile,<sup>17</sup> and only the main arteries of coach traffic were thus altered. There remains to this day an enormous mileage of roads in England which have no 'bed'—are, in fact, no better adapted to withstand the strain of heavy traffic than were the roads of a century ago. When the Locomotive Amendment Act of 1898 came into force, an inquiry into this question was held by the Middlesex County Council, with the result that a very large number of district roads in the county were scheduled and closed to traction traffic as unfit to bear the strain.

<sup>17</sup> This was an expensive road to build, owing to the nature of the soil; in some places three feet of stones, &c., was laid on a foundation of fagots. The village referred to by Defoe (p. 780) was no doubt in the district through which this road was carried.

## THE NEW HEAVY MOTOR TRAFFIC.

We have now to consider the heavy motor traffic which, if the Local Government Board Committee's recommendations are adopted, will soon take possession of our roads. Our highways, the reader will bear in mind, have been constructed for horse-drawn vehicles. The Local Government Board Committee has recommended that the legal weight of an unladen motor shall be increased to six and a half tons, and that the gross weight on any one axle when the vehicle is loaded shall not exceed eight tons. This method of regulating the weight was adopted with an eye to the possibility of building motor waggons or drays with six wheels, successful accomplishment of which was hoped for by at least one witness interested in the industry. Thus we have to contemplate the need to reconstruct our roads to carry any weight up to twenty-four tons, including the vehicle. Great stress, naturally, was laid on the necessity of framing the new regulations in such wise that they should admit the carriage of a 'paying load,' and also on the necessity of throwing all roads without distinction open to these heavy motors.

As regards the first point, the greater expense of working motors over that of working horse-drawn vehicles admittedly will oblige the user of the motor to carry much heavier loads.

As regards the second point, it was urged by witnesses, and recognised by the Committee, that to confine the heavy motor traffic to specified roads or to a particular class of road would greatly impair the utility of these machines and adversely affect our inland trade.

The Committee's Report includes one clause in the interest of the roads. It recommends that a motor wheel three feet in diameter shall have a width of tire not less than half an inch for every seven and a half hundredweight of the gross weight carried. Now our highways to-day are divided into three classes—main, secondary, and district roads. In the first are the old main arteries of travel which at an earlier day carried the fast mail and stage-coach traffic, and the carriers' huge passenger and goods waggons from one large town to another. To quote from the evidence of Mr. W. W. B. Hulton, chairman of the Main Roads and Bridges Committee of the Lancashire County Council, given before the Local Government Board Committee :

The main road has a much stronger bed, has a thicker crust, and, where the traffic requires it, is coated with three inches of granite macadam on the top. The secondary road . . . as a rule would not have a granite top to it—a good bed, but not a granite top except in such cases as we find the traffic requires it.

Mr. Hulton's council was not hostile to the heavy motor traffic, but it felt obliged to take steps to prevent destruction of the roads in

the county. In twelve months 8,000*l.* had been spent in repairing the damage done by heavy motor waggons travelling on the roads between Blackburn and Preston. This is described as an ordinary macadam road, well constructed in every respect. It was found that horses' hoofs damage a road much less than the grip and bite of the wheels of a motor waggon. As regards roads of the second and third classes, Mr. Hulton said that if there were anything like an organised system of motor-waggon traffic on these it would be necessary to raise them to the rank of main roads—in other words, completely relay them.

Another witness, Mr. Howard Humphreys, who gave evidence as representative of the Roads Improvement Association, said that those counties in which the road material is not good would have to increase the expenditure on their main roads. It would become necessary to renounce the use of local stone and 'bring in Penlee, or basalt, or something else.'

The case of the district roads was worse, and Mr. Humphreys thought that these must be brought up to the same standard eventually. Some district roads, he added, would stand the motor traffic as regulated at the time the Committee was sitting, but there were others which would not—that is to say, there are some district roads which could bear, without injury, a maximum load of four tons travelling over them. The Committee's recommendations propose that all the roads in the kingdom shall be open to vehicles which, with their loads, may weigh upwards of twenty-four tons. It must be observed that this gentleman held that our commerce would be seriously affected were motor waggons not allowed 'a pretty free run in the future,' and he thought it would be a disastrous thing for the traffic to be restricted to specified district roads. In effect his evidence points to the necessity of raising all roads to a standard of strength capable of carrying heavy motor traffic.

Mr. William Weaver, Surveyor to the Borough of Kensington, thought that the macadam road would be found 'utterly unsuitable for motor traffic, and a new road surface will have to be found of some material of an impervious character which will not break up or lick up under the motor traffic.' He observed that 'a lot of country roads are no more fit to sustain heavy motor traffic than our back gardens.'

There are other consequences of heavy motor traffic which the ratepayers must consider. A very large proportion of the canal and railway bridges throughout the country, though quite equal to the weight of any horse-drawn traffic, are not designed to bear such a strain as the loaded motor will throw upon them. Mr. de Courcy Meade, City Surveyor of Manchester, calculates that it would cost 150,000*l.* to rebuild the bridges in that city.

The consequences of vibration are also to be considered. Mr. H. T. Wakelam, County Engineer and Surveyor for Middlesex, said

that his council had 'had a lot of complaints from people living in suburban districts in the north of London where damage had been caused to houses by reason of heavy vehicles going past.' These, no doubt, are 'jerry-built' dwellings; but it is notorious that an enormous number of suburban houses are so built. Are these to be rebuilt, and at whose charge?

Mr. Weaver, the witness already mentioned, also gave evidence concerning heavy motor traffic in London. It has been found that these vehicles travelling along the streets break gas and water mains. The fact that the pipe has been fractured cannot be discovered until the effects of the leak are detected on the surface, and the cost of repair necessarily falls on the ratepayers. He cited a case of a broken water main which occurred in the Old Brompton Road. The earth subsided from the concrete foundation, and the wood-block surface sank.

Can it be seriously urged that increased width of tire will do away with risk of damage to roads of the secondary and district classes; that tires of any width will enable heavily laden motors to use bridges without injuring them, and reduce the vibration which causes damage to suburban houses? Are we to believe that wide tires will dispose of the risk of breaking gas and water mains in the streets of our towns? If this new traffic is to be let loose upon the country, free to use any road the convenience of the owner of each individual vehicle may indicate, the ratepayers are entitled to ask who is to pay for the alterations that must be introduced.

One more point which bears upon both the fast and the heavy motor traffic, and I have done. Our country roads, other than the great main roads, are, as already said, very narrow. It would be possible for every reader of this Review to name a score of places where ordinary carriages meeting must pass one another at a walking pace to avoid risk of collision. The swiftly driven light motor on such roads, particularly when they are winding roads between high hedges, is a source of the gravest danger to horse-drawn carriages, pedestrians, and live-stock. The heavy motor waggon, if the Local Government Board's recommendations receive effect, is to be built with a maximum width of seven feet six inches, or a foot more than that hitherto allowed. A vehicle of this width in our narrow country highways will literally close them to all but pedestrians; in others, less narrow, two such waggons meeting could not possibly pass.<sup>18</sup> The increase of width has been recommended in order to place the motor waggon on the same footing as the horse-drawn vehicle; but the latter makes nothing of passing with its near wheels in the ditch or a foot or two

<sup>18</sup> In course of an inquiry held at Kingston on the 28th of September last, it was stated that a road which the Town Council desired to close to motor traffic varies from 16 feet to 18 feet 2 inches in width. The Cambridge Road entrance to Kingston is 15 feet 7 inches wide.

up the bank. Is the motor waggon, with its ten or fifteen tons of weight, prepared to do the same?

The cost of altering our district roads, then, will not be limited to taking up and relaying on a firm foundation; they must also be widened to make them moderately safe for mixed light motor and horse traffic, and possible at all for heavy motors.

The Local Government Board has dealt very tenderly with the heavy motor waggon interest, even as it dealt with the light motor interest when the question of speed was brought up for decision. It seems fair to suggest that another inquiry is needed in the interests of the vast majority, the ratepayers and the users of horses, who are entitled to ask 'Who pays?'

WALTER GILBEY.

*Postscript.*—On p. 732 reference was made to the enormous mileage of roads in England which have no 'bed,' and are therefore quite unfit to bear the strain of heavy motor traffic. The following figures, from the last complete set of the Annual Local Taxation Returns (those for the financial year 1901-2), show the mileage of main and other roads in England and Wales repaired in that year, with the cost per mile of repairs.

	Miles	Average cost of repairs per mile during the year £ s. d.
Main Roads under County Councils' . .	16,202	67 0 0
Main Roads under Urban Councils and under Urban and Rural District Councils conjointly . . . . .	10,913	109 0 0
Main Roads under Rural District Councils .	7,325	58 0 0
Total mileage of Main Roads . . . . .	<u>34,440</u>	
Aggregate length of Roads, other than Main Roads, under Rural District Councils . . . . .	95,205½	20 14 0

## *FREE THOUGHT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

SOME who look to me for pastoral guidance have been disquieted by the article under the above title, in this Review for September. The writer of the article makes certain assumptions in which (to say the least) I am unable to follow him, and he appears to have a very inadequate apprehension of the position held by many intelligent believers in the Christian revelation.

There are four points in particular at which I should traverse Mr. Mallock's position.

### I

The author refers to the cases of two clergymen who have published opinions bringing down upon them the censure of their bishops. He asks, 'Now, what is it precisely that these two clergymen have done? They have merely ventured to apply to parts of the New Testament those methods of scholarship, criticism, and ordinary common-sense which the Bishop of Worcester has been foremost in declaring that we must apply to the Old; and as the honest result' of their methods they have arrived at certain conclusions.

Here it is necessary to distinguish between the methods and the results arrived at: because other students adopting the like methods, with at least equal honesty, have arrived at different results. Have these clergymen been censured for the methods they have used or for the conclusions they have reached? Mr. Mallock fails to make this distinction, but his arguments are plainly based upon the assumption that the methods rather than the conclusions have been condemned.

If we thought this we should indeed be disquieted; for if we are not to use the methods of 'scholarship, criticism, and ordinary common-sense' in studying the credentials of our Christianity our Church must be at once condemned as an institution of obscurantism. Our position is indeed despicable if we dare not bring our documents to the light, and study them with all the legitimate helps of 'scholarship, criticism, and ordinary common-sense.'

But 'scholarship, criticism, and ordinary common-sense' are not instruments of such precision that everyone using them is led to the same conclusion. Mr. Mallock makes the unwarrantable assumption that the conclusions at which the two clergymen have arrived are the necessary results of their method. But even these two differ very widely as to their conclusions; whilst other students, confessedly their superiors in scholarship, certainly not less versed in the art of criticism, and (as most people would judge) not beneath them in common-sense, have reached by these methods a very different position. It is plain that these two clergy were censured not for their scholarship, not for their method of criticism, but for the conclusions to which their scholarship and their criticism, honestly, but perhaps unskillfully, applied, carried them.

And if anyone thinks that the Church ought to be so wide as to embrace or allow every opinion that is honestly held, let such a one reflect that no Church can possibly exist without some symbol of limitation to give *raison d'être* to membership. A society must have a rule. A Church must have a creed. No association can exist unless membership in it means something. The members must be bound together either by believing something or by doing something, and in a Church one can hardly have the doing without the believing. Let the Church boldly invite scholarship, criticism, and the judgment of common-sense; but there will always be the risk that the uncertain use of these faculties may bring the individual into a position which the Church cannot endorse.

It is, therefore, no reproach to a Church to say that while she encourages liberal thought and honest criticism, she draws a line somewhere. There are conclusions which may not be taught in her name. She has her formularies and her symbols, which may not be transgressed.

## II

Next, I demur to the position which the author of the article assumes in regard to the Virgin birth of Christ. While he holds the Church responsible for the speculations of mediæval times upon the subject, he appears to misapprehend altogether the place of this doctrine in the scheme of the Christian faith.

There are some doctrines of Christianity of such supreme importance that we cannot conceive any preaching of the Gospel without them. There are other elements of the faith which are rather incidental and elucidatory. They may be accessory to the support of cardinal doctrines. They may be accepted by the Church as revealed truth, and yet, if they had never been revealed, the ethics and the hope of Christianity would still have been what they are. For example, we cannot think of any preaching of the Gospel that

did not tell of Christ as a supernatural person. He was not the mere hereditary product of His age and generation. His coming constituted a new departure in the relations of God to man. He was in a unique sense the Son of God. The Godhead was incarnate in Him. And when we say this we are at once implying a miracle. Only by a miracle of some sort could He be what we have described. And if miracle is to be admitted, one mode of miracle is as much within God's power as another, and one form of miracle is as credible as another. What particular form the necessary miracle took is of quite secondary consideration.

In regard to the person of Christ, the essential fact is His divinity. The precise method by which it pleased the fulness of God to dwell in Him bodily is of comparatively little account.

Now, think of any Apostle preaching Christianity as a new religion. From Christian premises what should we expect him to say? Certainly he would speak of Christ as the Divine Son of God. But should we expect him in every sermon to describe the mode by which the Godhead became incarnate? The story of the Virgin birth represents to us the process by which the Word was made flesh. But the Divine Wisdom might have accomplished the same end by other means. What is of importance is not how it was done, but, in fact, that it was done. When, therefore, Mr. Mallock and others dwell upon the circumstance that St. John does not mention the Virgin birth, we say, But does not St. John insist upon the divinity of Christ? It is St. John who tells us that 'the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' and 'the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.' It is, in fact, admitted that St. John gives more prominence than any other writer to the divinity of Christ, though he does not tell us by what particular intervention the Word was made flesh. The result must have been accomplished in some way. If St. John does not mention the Virgin birth as the way, at least he does not suggest any other way.

The Virgin birth, says Mr. Mallock, is only mentioned by two Evangelists. But, I ask, why do we care about the incident of the Virgin birth at all? Only because it witnesses to the divinity of Christ. And if the divinity of Christ be the real doctrine in question, St. John and St. Paul are at least as clear and explicit upon this point as St. Matthew and St. Luke.

Mr. Mallock speaks of the Virgin birth as an alleged 'physiological fact,' and he very needlessly discusses what he supposes to have been the Christian hypothesis—that the imperfection of human nature is due to the human father, and not to the human mother. This is not a correct statement of the hypothesis of mediæval speculation on this subject. But really the question does not concern us. The Church is not pledged to any mediæval speculation, and, from the Christian point of view, the fact that the Word



was made flesh is not a physiological fact, but a miracle, outside the range of the laws of physiology.

On this account we give no encouragement to the essays of well-meaning people who cite instances of apparent parthenogenesis in nature as illustrations of the mystery of Christ's birth. Happily there is no force whatever in these illustrations. If they had any validity, they could only tend to establish the birth of the Sinless One as an accident of nature rather than as the miracle of God. But by whatever freak of nature a man might be born untainted with the hereditary depravity of his race, it certainly could only be by the miracle of God that the Eternal Word could be made flesh.

### III

Mr. Mallock represents the apologists for Christianity as having thrown over all the miracles of the New Testament with the exception of four: the Virgin birth, the Divinity of Christ, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. All the rest, he says, 'are brushed aside as legends or misconceptions of fact, either because the evidences for them are worthless or contradictory, or because they are inconsistent with facts as we now know them.' The Bishop of Worcester (he says) 'leaves only four remaining; and can any reasonable man believe that [the Bishop] has succeeded in showing that the evidence for these is any better than the evidence for the rest?' In another passage Mr. Mallock speaks with contempt of clerical experts drawing nice distinctions between 'the mass of unbelievable miracles and a privileged minority of four.' But Mr. Mallock certainly misapprehends the distinction between the four miracles and the rest. It is not that the rest are unbelievable. We do not make more of the four because of the better evidence in their favour, but because of their inherent importance in their closer bearing on the Christian faith. This is seen in a moment when we consider that if the incident of the walking on the sea, or the feeding of the multitude, or the raising of Lazarus were blotted out of the Gospel records, Christianity would still remain what it is; but if belief in the Incarnation and in the Resurrection were surrendered, Christianity would be overthrown.

I prefer to speak of the four miracles as two. I have already said that the Virgin birth is only an incident in the mode of the Incarnation; and the Ascension is a detail consequent upon the Resurrection. When we speak of the Incarnation and the Resurrection we are practically covering the ground. These two miracles are vital to Christianity in a sense that can be predicated of none other. With the Incarnation of Christ Christianity (as we know it) stands or falls, and with regard to the Resurrection we may say, with St. Paul, 'If Christ be not risen, then your faith is vain.'

The miracles of the Incarnation and the Resurrection are thus distinguished from other miracles by their essential relation to our faith, and not because of the stronger evidence with which they are supported. Nevertheless (*pace* Mr. Mallock), critics must admit that there is immeasurably stronger testimony for these two miracles than for any other. Compare, for example, the evidence for the raising of Lazarus with that for the Resurrection of Christ.

For the one we have a simple narrative written, perhaps, sixty or seventy years after the event. There is no corroboration of the story. It is not referred to in any of the Apostolic sermons or addresses recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. It is not appealed to in any of the Epistles. There is no reference to it (where we might well expect such) in the Apologies of Justin Martyr. The Resurrection of Christ, on the contrary, was the great subject of Apostolic testimony. In the first chapter of the Acts Matthias was chosen to be a 'witness of the Resurrection.' In the fourth chapter: 'With great power gave the Apostles witness of the Resurrection.' St. Paul, like St. Peter, 'preached Jesus and the Resurrection'; and the Epistles are full of reference to the same fact.

And as the first preachers of Christianity are represented as habitually proclaiming the Resurrection of Christ, so they are said to have proclaimed His supernatural personality. St. Peter, indeed, treats the Resurrection as the necessary corollary of this. He being what He was, it was not possible that He should be holden of death. Thus we have testimony that from the very first the Incarnation and the Resurrection were of the substance of the Gospel which was preached.

But when once these miracles of the Incarnation and the Resurrection are accepted, the other miracles fall into place and become the more reasonable. For if Christ was God incarnate, and His coming was an event unique in the history of the world, we should expect His sojourn on earth to be attended by unique phenomena. The credibility of any miracle depends, not on the measure of its strangeness, but on the worthiness of the purpose for which it was alleged to have been worked. So it is what we believe of the personality of Jesus that supplies adequate motive for His works. Given that He was the Son of God, what a stumbling-block would have been presented to the faith if in His life there had been nothing to indicate His Divine power! When we claim distinction for the miracles of His personality, we are not relegating the other miracles to the category of legends or misconceptions; on the contrary, the miracle of His supernatural Being makes the miracles of His ministry the more easily credible.

## IV

Lastly, Mr. Mallock seems to misapprehend the place of the Gospel narratives in regard to the foundation of Christianity. He writes as if any inaccuracy in the narratives would be fatal to our claims. He seems to overlook the fact that the Church existed and flourished for thirty years—many think for fifty years or more—before any of our present Gospels were written, and for fully a century before they were received as canonical Scripture.

It is well, perhaps, for us to consider here how we should present Christianity to an unbelieving world. We should not begin by insisting on minute details of Gospels or Acts, nor should we rely on isolated phrases in the Epistles of the New Testament. This would only be to provoke quibbles of verbal criticism and an endless controversy on the authority of the documents. We should rather begin with the broad facts which no one disputes—the admitted facts of history. Such historical facts are derived partly from profane records, partly, also, from Christian literature; but this literature viewed not from the point of view of the theologian, or even of the Christian, but from that of the expert historian.

We may take it as an admitted fact of history that about the middle of the first century of our era a new religion was being propagated with extraordinary rapidity and success in almost all parts of the civilised world; that the founder of this religion was one Jesus Christ, who had been crucified at Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate; that His followers, to whom its first promulgation was due, were, for the most part, illiterate men, but that there was something in their message which caused it to spread like wildfire, so that by the end of the century, in every city of the Roman world, there were societies of men and women meeting in the name of this Christ, singing praises to Him as to a God; while in some provinces the name of Christ became so powerful that, a year or two after the close of the century, the most famous governor of his day writes to the Emperor to complain that the temples of the national gods are deserted, and asking what policy he is to pursue.

We might enlarge on the wonderful advance of the next two centuries, in which the faith may be said to have overcome the world. But, proverbially, it is the beginnings that are difficult. We may, therefore, fix our attention on the first preachers of Christianity, who inaugurated that success of which history tells. They must have had a message of tremendous power to move mankind as they did. It is nowhere suggested that they were themselves highly gifted men, trained in rhetoric or in philosophy. All evidence concurs to prove that Christianity was spread by the testimony of simple men to simple men. The power was not in the men, but in the message.

What was the power? We get the answer from our Christian documents. But without the Christian writings we know that there must have been the power, for its effect is a matter of history. Let the Christian literature be reduced to its lowest terms in the crucible of criticism, the fact still remains that the first preachers of the new religion had a convincing message to deliver, a Gospel of power. If the Acts of the Apostles be a forgery, and the Gospels be romances of the second century, it must still be asked, What was the power that so wondrously prevailed in the first century?

What was the message which the disciples of Jesus had to deliver? Did they simply tell that they had known a peasant of Galilee who spoke graciously and inculcated a universal charity? Did they speak of a mere man—though the best of men—but one who was now dead and gone?

Did they tell of an ordinary being like themselves or like ourselves—His life attested by nothing supernatural, His death crowned by no sign of victory?

Surely no one is so insane as to suppose that this was the Gospel that overcame the world!

Mr. Mallock asserts that belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures is essential to the Christian faith. From the context of his article I infer that he means such an inspiration as would secure the Scriptures from the possibility of any inaccuracy of detail, however unimportant. The Christian is not bound to believe in any such inspiration. He believes that the Apostles and the Evangelists were men full of the Holy Ghost; but he knows that each wrote in his own style, their science was that of their age, and in compiling their memoirs they used the natural means at their disposal. The Christian recognises inspiration again in the intuition of the Church, in separating these books from other contemporary records, handing down these, and these only, as setting forth the faith once delivered to the saints. But even if we had to give up all thought of the overruling influence of God's Holy Spirit (and in argument with unbelievers we are compelled to treat the Christian documents as any other literature), Christianity would still stand. It stood in the first century, before the canon of the New Testament was formed, and it can stand in the twentieth century, even though the Gospels were proved to have no more than human authority. The historical fact will still remain that the first propagators of Christianity had something to proclaim which proved itself of marvellous power to overcome the world, and no other explanation of their power is suggested or alleged save that which our sacred books afford. We do not base our argument for Christianity first upon the sacred books, but we base it upon admitted facts of history which the sacred books can alone account for.

What, then, *was* the original Gospel of power which overran the

world with such astonishing success? The precise answer can only be found in the Christian literature, and, however much the testimony of that literature be discounted by criticism, its general tenor and effect remain undisputed.

‘Christian literature,’ we say. For it is thus that we regard the New Testament, not as a collection of legal deeds in which every word has a title to be construed as it stands without regard to external circumstances, but as a literature comprising works of different character, works by various authors, in the interpretation of which we must take account of the position and point of view of each writer; a literature, however, homogeneous in this respect, that all its parts were produced under the influence of the convictions which possessed the first followers of Christ; a literature, therefore, which reveals what those convictions were, as infallibly as the Elizabethan literature exhibits the beliefs of the Elizabethan age. The New Testament is, in fact, the literature of that Revelation which, we believe, God gave to the world by Jesus Christ, just as the Old Testament is the literature of earlier revelations.

The earliest Christian writings which remain to us in their original form are the Epistles of St. Paul, of the genuineness of most of which no one has any doubt. Even those persons who deny effective inspiration will admit these Epistles as evidence of what St. Paul thought (rightly or wrongly) about Christianity.

In his view the Gospel was the power of God unto salvation, and its message embraced at least these three points:

1. The supernatural personality of Christ as the Son of God.
2. The fact of the Resurrection.
3. Salvation, or the forgiveness of sins in the Name and power of Christ.

The Acts of the Apostles is a book of later date, but at least it is evidence of what Christianity was thought to be at the time when it was written. It represents the preaching of the first disciples as embodying the three points which we have named—the Divine Sonship of Christ, the fact that He rose from the dead, and the promise of forgiveness through Him.

The preaching of Christianity was thus essentially the preaching of Christ. Because He was the Son of God His words had Divine authority. His Resurrection opened a new prospect of eternity, and men conscious of their own failures and sins found hope in Him as the Saviour.

Every saying of His was, therefore, precious, and every act was to be treasured as a revelation of the Divine character. Doubtless every Christian who could write made his own memoir of all that he was told of Jesus—his own collection of the sayings of Jesus. These earlier memoirs, however, have not come down to us, except so far as they are incorporated in our four canonical Gospels.

These four were accepted by common consent by the voice of the Church, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit (as we believe); accepted and handed down to future generations as embodying the faith once delivered to the saints.

But it is probable that the earliest of these Gospels was not written until some thirty-five years after the Crucifixion. And though we believe the author to have been moved by the Holy Ghost to undertake his work, and though we rely on the Divine guidance in his presentation of the Gospel of Christ, we do not regard him as an infallible annalist.

He had to use the materials that came to his hand, he had to piece them together with such skill as he possessed, and to reconcile as best he might the discrepancies of existing documents.

However well he did his work, we need not be surprised if details are out of place. We are quite prepared to find in his records such inaccuracies as Mr. Mallock refers to. Yet we are not disquieted. We welcome the assistance of scholarship, criticism, and of common-sense, yet we continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and are not moved away from the hope of the Gospel which we have received.

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*All Saints' Vicarage, Margaret Street.*

## MR. MALLOCK AND THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER

[To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY.]

*Dear Sir JAMES,—I have seen an article in the NINETEENTH CENTURY for September on 'Free Thought in the Church of England.' It gives so strange a misrepresentation of my teaching and views that it appears to be doing mischief. A capable clergyman in this diocese, used to literary work, the Rev. H. MAYNARD SMITH, Shelsley-Beauchamp Rectory, Worcester, proposes to compile a brief article, chiefly, he tells me, consisting of extracts, showing that my teaching is something quite different.*

*I would venture to ask that you should admit such an article.*

*Believe me, yours faithfully,*

C. WIGORN.

Bishop's House, Worcester,  
Oct. 1, 1904.]

### I. MR. MALLOCK'S ARTICLE

MANY of the unlearned have been shocked beyond measure in reading Mr. Mallock's article on 'Free Thought in the Church of England.' They know but little of the Bishop of Worcester. Those acquainted with his writings have been shocked also. Mr. Mallock's article fills them with amazement. The more charitable suppose that he has not read the works he professes to criticise, and built up his theories as to what the Bishop believes from isolated sentences supplied to him by another.

We have long been accustomed to the way in which some Biblical critics make an arbitrary selection of a certain number of texts, reconstruct history from them, and assume that all which does not square with their theories must needs be spurious. The methods that have proved so destructive (?) to the works of dead Evangelists Mr. Mallock has been bold enough to apply to a living Bishop. He has selected, or been supplied with, a few texts; he has fabricated his theories. But is he prepared to go on, and contend that the fifteen volumes and more that bear the Bishop of Worcester's name are not of his writing and do not represent his opinions? If not, we will proceed to show that Mr. Mallock has been the victim of a most delusive method.

## II. MR. MALLOCK'S METHOD

The right to handle quotations freely and quite apart from their context is largely exercised by subjective critics; and of this right, or supposed right, Mr. Mallock has availed himself. He gives no references; but on p. 249 of *Luz Mundi*<sup>1</sup> I stumbled on the following sentence:

All that is necessary for faith in Christ is to be found in the moral dispositions that predispose to belief, and make intelligible and credible the thing to be believed: coupled with such acceptance of the general historical character of the Gospels, and with the trustworthiness of the other Apostolic documents, as justifies belief that our Lord was actually born of the Virgin Mary, manifested as the Son of God 'with power according to the Spirit of holiness,' crucified, raised again the third day from the dead, exalted to the right hand of the Father, the Founder of the Church and the source to it of the informing Spirit.

Such a sentence, apart from its context, is, we must admit, hard to understand. We will hope that Mr. Mallock did not refer to such context. He treats it in a way that would do credit to a professor of exegesis in a Dutch university. He takes it to pieces, quotes it in bits, builds up a theory, and arrives at a conclusion that is utterly subversive of the Bishop of Worcester's teaching.

Keeping this sentence in mind, let us follow Mr. Mallock's argument. He maintains that, according to the Bishop of Worcester,

all the New Testament miracles may be explained away as 'ideas not coincident with fact,' four only being excepted and placed on a different footing. These are Christ's Virgin Birth, His Divinity, His Resurrection, and Ascension.

(The reader will discover in a moment Mr. Mallock's authority for this statement.) He goes on:

The belief in the objective reality of these four miracles, which are for them (Drs. Sanday and Gore) the irreducible and distinctive essence of Christianity, has, they say, no direct dependence on the evidence of the Gospels whatsoever. Belief in them rests primarily—to quote the Bishop of Worcester's words—'on certain moral dispositions which predispose to belief, and make acceptable and credible the thing to be believed.'

There for the present Mr. Mallock stops short, for to quote the clause 'coupled with' the one he has quoted would nullify his interpretation of the Bishop's meaning. According to Mr. Mallock the Bishop's words refer to the four miracles. As a matter of fact, the Bishop is in a periphrasis describing what St. Paul summed up in the one word 'faith.' No matter! By changing the subject of the clause, and by isolating it from the rest of the sentence, Mr. Mallock has a text; from it he elaborates an apology for miracles, and attributes it to the Bishop. He proves it to be absolutely absurd—as it

<sup>1</sup> All the quotations are from the twelfth edition.



is ; but he lets the Bishop down lightly—it is ‘less absurd than it looks.’ When Mr. Mallock has time he may read Dr. Gore’s second Bampton Lecture, and compare the Bishop’s apology for miracles with the one he has so obligingly invented for him.

But if Mr. Mallock has made much out of the wording of the first clause, he does better with the rest of the sentence that should have been ‘coupled with it.’ He represents the first clause as the Bishop’s apology for miracles, and quotes a part of the second clause as if it were the conclusion of the Bishop’s argument :

The Bishop of Worcester [he writes] will not allow it (the Christian faith) to be tampered with ; it simply means, he says, after all—what ? *Nothing more than ‘such an acceptance of the Gospels, and the trustworthiness of the Apostolic documents, as justifies the belief that our Lord was actually born of the Virgin Mary, manifested as the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness, crucified, raised again the third day, and exalted to the right hand of the Father.’*

It will be noted how the purport of the sentence has been altogether altered by the adroit insertion of the words ‘nothing more than.’ It is an artistic triumph in the way of misrepresentation ! By the insertion of these three words he commits the Bishop to the statement that neither Gospels nor Apostolic documents are trustworthy, except in as far as they justify what he calls ‘the four miracles’ and the Crucifixion. It will be noted, also, that he omits to quote the conclusion of the sentence. Why ? Because it would prove the Bishop to believe in six miracles, and not in four. Would the reader be surprised to learn that Mr. Mallock has no other authority for saying that the Bishop only believes in four miracles than this sentence that he has so skilfully misquoted ? Yet such is the case. Would the reader be surprised to learn that the sentence we have been considering has no reference to any argument as to miracles at all ? Yet that is the case too. The Bishop is attempting to determine the relation of Inspiration to the other doctrines of the Christian faith. He maintains that the doctrine of Inspiration is not among ‘the bases’ of the Christian religion. The bases are faith in Christ (Clause 1), and an acceptance of the historical character of the fundamental facts of the Creed (Clause 2). It is not, the Bishop argues, until a man has got so far that he will be interested in determining the mode in which the Holy Spirit has worked to present and to preserve the evidence.

I have lingered rather long over this quotation ; but it is pleasanter to trace the method of these ‘critical’ ingenuities than to deal with crude statements in flat contradiction to the truth. Alas ! to such we must come before we close.

\* The *italics* are mine.

## III. THE BISHOP'S BELIEFS

Having given an example of Mr. Mallock's critical method, let us go on to test how far he fairly represents the Bishop's views on (1) the Old Testament, (2) the Fall, (3) the Gospels, and (4) the Miracles of our Lord.

1. Here is Mr. Mallock's summary of the Bishop's views on the Old Testament. It 'begins with mere myths and legends, and then develops into very inaccurate history, associated with a series of doubtful and negligible prodigies and prophecies, "whose (*sic*) inspiration is consistent with erroneous prediction."'

This sentence does not express the Bishop's views as he would like to have them stated; but coming, as it does, from an unfriendly controversialist, anxious to score points, it is only unfair, and not untruthful. Mr. Mallock has only tampered with one word—the most important—in making his short quotation. The word 'prediction' is a substitution by Mr. Mallock.

The reader, however, may be advised to consult the essay on Inspiration in *Lux Mundi* if he wishes to see how the Bishop defines a myth (p. 262), how far the Bishop admits of inaccuracy in the history,<sup>3</sup> and what the Bishop means when he says, 'prophetic inspiration is consistent with erroneous anticipations as to the circumstances and the opportunity of God's revelation, just as the Apostolic inspiration admitted of St. Paul expecting the coming of Christ in his own lifetime' (p. 254).

The reader would also do well to read the Bishop's preface to the tenth edition of *Lux Mundi*, where he states his 'conviction that it was with the more conservative of the recent critics, and not with the more extreme, that the victory would lie' (p. xvi). It is also well to remember that these words were written in 1890, and that critics whom the Bishop then condemned for 'controversial arbitrariness and irreligious insolence' are now looked on in advanced circles as very moderate men. Has Mr. Mallock any evidence to prove that the Bishop's views on Old Testament criticism have advanced with the advancing years?

<sup>3</sup> The following quotation may be of interest: 'The revelation of God was made in an historical process. Its record is in large part the record of a national life: it is historical. Now, the inspiration of the recorder lies . . . primarily in this, that he sees the hand of God in history and interprets His purpose. Further, we must add that his sense of the working of God in history increases his realisation of the importance of historical fact. Thus there is a profound air of historical truthfulness pervading the Old Testament record, from Abraham downward. . . . But does the inspiration of the recorder guarantee the exact historical truth of what he records? And in matters of fact can the record, with due regard to legitimate historical criticism, be pronounced true?' To the latter question the Bishop replies, 'yes,' to the former, 'no,' because 'inspiration did not consist in a miraculous communication of facts' (*Lux Mundi*, pp. 258, 259).

2. *The Fall*.—Mr. Mallock first states that ‘the Bishop of Worcester notoriously admits the opening chapters of Genesis to be mythical’; but, he goes on, these chapters

contain one incident at all events—namely, the Fall of man—which lies at the root of all traditional orthodoxy. . . . Cardinal Newman says the whole orthodox Christian scheme stands or falls with belief in some great ‘aboriginal catastrophe.’ But what is the Church of England coming to teach to-day? As Mr. Beeby has pointed out, *its clergy of all schools have united to throw this old belief to the winds*.

Then, on Mr. Beeby’s authority, he proceeds to quote from some book published by the S.P.C.K. Why did Mr. Mallock start with the Bishop of Worcester’s name, and then run off to deal with an unnamed book? Whatever Mr. Beeby may assert, Mr. Mallock, as the critic of the Bishop, should know that he, at least, has not ‘thrown this old belief to the winds,’ but does believe in ‘some great aboriginal catastrophe.’ Those who wish for proof of this are referred to ‘The Christian Doctrine of Sin,’ appended to the later editions of *Lux Mundi*; to ‘Evolution and the Christian Doctrine of the Fall,’ appended to the second volume on the *Epistle to the Romans*; and to the sermon on the Fall preached in St. Philip’s, Birmingham, last Advent, which was fully reported at the time.<sup>4</sup>

3. *The Gospels*.—Mr. Mallock, on his own authority, states that ‘to most plain men . . . the New Testament must bear to objective fact a position indistinguishable from that borne to the Old.’ I wonder if ‘plain men’ can understand this sentence. If so, I will give them another to consider at leisure:—the later books of Livy must bear to objective fact a position indistinguishable from that borne to the earlier. But I must not digress. If I took to examining Mr. Mallock’s reasoning I should never have done.

He goes on to complain that the Bishop of Worcester will not allow the same principles to be applied to the New Testament as to the Old, and subsequently tries to show that the Bishop has himself admitted how thoroughly untrustworthy the Gospels are when not referring to the ‘four great miracles.’

\* ‘Suppose, then, that the Holy Spirit breathes Himself again, in a new way, into a single pair or group of these anthropoid animals. There is lodged in them for the first time a germ of spiritual consciousness, continuous with animal intelligence and yet distinct from it. From this pair or group humanity has its origin. If they and their offspring had been true to their spiritual capacities, the animal nature would have been more rapidly spiritualised in motives and tendencies. Development—physical, moral, spiritual—would have been steady and glorious. *Whereas there was a fall at the very root of our humanity*; and the fall was repeated, reiterated, and renewed, and the development of our manhood was tainted and spoiled. There was a lapse into approximately animal condition, which is dimly known to us as primitive savagery. So that the condition of savage man is a parody of what God intended man in his undeveloped stages to be, just as the condition of civilised man in London and Paris is a parody of what God intended developed man to come to’ (Gore on the *Epistle to the Romans*, vol. ii. p. 230).

As a matter of fact, the Bishop does assume that the same principles are to be applied to the New Testament as to the Old, but that when so applied they prove the Gospels to be thoroughly trustworthy.

One is bound to allow that the sentence Mr. Mallock quotes from *Lux Mundi*<sup>5</sup> might give colour to the first half of his argument; and Mr. Moffat has preferred the same charge against the Bishop in his *Historical New Testament* (p. 71). But the Bishop, in an article in the *Pilot*, from which Mr. Mallock quotes (though, apparently, at secondhand), has characterised this charge as 'an amazing misrepresentation.' The Bishop goes on:

We [Dr. Driver and himself] both plainly assume that the same criticism must be applied to the New Testament as is applied to the Old, but that, because the historical and literary conditions in the two cases are in general very different, the result also will be in general very different; just as, of course, within the area of the Old Testament, the same criticism yields very different results when applied to the Book of Genesis and when applied to Amos and Nehemiah (*The Pilot*, 10th of August, 1901).

Having now dealt with the first assertion, let us go on to deal with the second.

It is, no doubt, quite fair in controversy to make the most you can of an adversary's admissions in your favour. What is not fair is to turn exceptions that have been admitted into theses that have been maintained. This Mr. Mallock has done. He has collected, or had collected for him, all the admissions that can be found in the Bishop's writings. They are few and unimportant. He has added, in consequence, all the admissions that he can find in Dr. Sanday's article on 'Jesus Christ.' He has mingled them together, and would persuade his readers that he is offering but characteristic samples of the Bishop's teaching.

The Bishop of Worcester not believe in the trustworthiness of the Gospels! Has Mr. Mallock ever heard of his most famous book—*The Bampton Lectures of 1891*?

Here is the Bishop's testimony to St. Mark:

Let a man read St. Mark afresh . . . let him read the Gospel as a connected whole, and he will receive a fresh and vivid impression that the picture brought under his eye represents no effort of imagination or invention, but is the transcript of reality on faithful and simple memories (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 68).

And it is in this Gospel, as the Bishop says, that 'miracle is at its height.'

\* The sentence in question runs: 'The reason is, of course, obvious enough why what can be admitted in the Old Testament *could not, without results disastrous to the Christian Creed*, be admitted in the New' (*Lux Mundi*, p. 260). Noting the words italicised, the meaning is clear. There is no question as to the critical principles that are to be applied. The Bishop states a matter of fact. We may disbelieve in a universal deluge, and yet be loyal to the Creed; but to give up the Resurrection is to give up the Creed.

Here is the Bishop's testimony to St. John :

I state simply, though with sincere conviction, based on the best inquiry I can give, that it is those who deny, and not those who affirm St. John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel, who do violence to the evidence (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 68).

Mr. Mallock writes that the Bishop 'discards, or is prepared to discard, the whole of the Gospel miracles, as due to the imagination, the superstition, or the defective information of the Evangelists.' The Bishop, on the contrary, writes :

I feel sure that if ever such a book as the *History of Testimony* is worthily and fairly written, the Apostles will take very high rank among the world's witnesses (*Bampton*, p. 74).

And again :

The more you consider the intellectual and moral character of the Apostles—not imaginative men, even in the sense in which St. Paul was—the more you will trust them as witnesses (p. 76).

In case Mr. Mallock should quibble over the words 'Evangelist' and 'Apostles,' it may be well to state that the Bishop does believe that the Evangelists have handed down to us the witness of the Apostles.

But, it may be said, this was in 1891, and 'criticism' since then has advanced by leaps and bounds. Let us turn, then, to his last utterances on the subject—to his Advent sermons in St. Philip's, Birmingham, in 1902. He concludes as follows :

Anyway, I have tried, so far as these short intervals have allowed, to bear the witness of a man who is conscious that he has done his best to give all their proper and legitimate weight to the arguments that are alleged against the truth of our Gospel narratives; and who from such examination re-emerges always profoundly convinced that it is those who accept, and not those who reject the evidence, who do violence to it; and that a man has no reason to be afraid of exact scrutinising historical inquiry.<sup>6</sup>

Of course it is true that the Bishop is not pledged to verbal or literal inspiration; neither does he maintain that the Gospels are free from small errors in detail. He is at one with St. Chrysostom, who explains 'how the discrepancies in detail between the different Gospels assure us of the independence of the witnesses, and do not touch the facts of importance, in which all agree' (*Lux Mundi*, p. 263). So, also, he admits that in 'Matthew xxi. 2 the "ass" is added to "the colt"; in xxvii. 15 the *thirty pieces* of silver are specified; in xxvii. 34 "gall" is substituted for "myrrh."<sup>7</sup> Mr. Mallock quotes

<sup>6</sup> These sermons were fully reported at the time of delivery in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, in the *Church Times*, and in the *Fraternal Visitor*. I quote from shorthand notes corrected in the Bishop's own hand.

<sup>7</sup> *The Pilot*, 10th of August, 1901.

these admissions, but forgets to tell us that they are the only three instances the Bishop can find where prophecy has moulded the narrative. To quote once more from the *Bampton Lectures* :

Discrepancies, if they are made the most of, do not approach the point at which, according to the rules of ordinary historical inquiry, they would be supposed to invalidate the record as a whole (p. 67).

So much for Mr. Mallock's sweeping and utterly untrue assertions as to the Bishop of Worcester's views on the trustworthy character of the Gospels.

4. *The Miracles of Our Lord*.—The following quotations from Mr. Mallock are interesting :

(1) But he [the Bishop] and they [his friends] mean something by it [a sentence in *Lux Mundi*], and that something is this. All the New Testament miracles may be explained away as 'ideas not coincident with fact,' four only being excepted and placed on a different footing. These are Christ's Virgin Birth, His Divinity, His Resurrection, and His Ascension.

(2) We have seen with what conscientious boldness, up to a certain point, he discards, or is prepared to discard, the whole of the Gospel miracles, as due to the imagination, the superstition, or the defective imagination of the Evangelists.

(3) As we have seen, when he [the Bishop] comes to the New Testament himself, most of its miracles once believed to be true, and celebrated by his Church every day in her services, fare no better than Adam and the Old Testament prophecies.

(4) We should have, in short, a Christ as natural as the Christ of Renan if it were not for the four miracles that our apologists refuse to abandon.

(5) Whatever nice distinctions may be drawn by clerical experts between the mass of unbelievable miracles and the privileged minority of four, they are certain to be quite disregarded by the plain common-sense of laymen.

Does Mr. Mallock think that his assertions become true by repetition? It will be noted that he begins two of the sentences with 'we have seen'; but he never shows us. He gives no references; and that for the best of all possible reasons—he had none to give. The following quotations are selected almost at random :

Miracles are described as 'His works,' they are the proper phenomena of His person. In fact, the more we consider the character of the personality of Jesus, the more natural do miracles appear in His case; they are not arbitrary portents, but appropriate phenomena (*Bampton*, p. 48).

Miracle is there [in St. Mark] at its height; its proportion to the whole narrative is greater than in any other Gospel. . . . And the miracles are exhibitions of supreme power, such as do not admit of any naturalistic interpretation (*ibid.* p. 65).

[St. Mark] affords us no justification for supposing a process of accretion by which a naturalistic Christ was gradually deified or became the subject of miracles (*ibid.* p. 66).

We are able to repudiate as unhistorical the notion of a naturalistic Christ hidden behind the miraculous Christ, the incarnate Son of God of the Church's belief (*ibid.* p. 78).

In the *Pilot* for the 17th of August, 1901, will be found an article by the Bishop containing a vigorous criticism on the way in which Dr. Abbott had striven to explain away the raising of the widow's son, and Dr. Cheyne had dealt with the cursing of the barren fig-tree. The Bishop concludes :

I think the time has come to tell this class of critics, with very considerable plainness, that their methods and its results on the one hand inspire us, as far as our convictions are concerned, with no kind of alarm, and, on the other, give us no real assistance. Their explanations of the miracles are quite improbable. They do not really emerge out of the historical situation. They are due not to properly historical situations at all, but to dogmatic presuppositions as to the incredibility of miracles.

Mr. Mallock waxes witty on the Bishop and Dr. Sanday explaining away 'diabolic possession.' But does the Bishop do so? Romanes did in his *Thoughts on Religion* (p. 180), and his editor, the Bishop, appended this comment :

Romanes' line of argument in this note seems to me impossible to maintain. The emphasis that Jesus Christ lays on diabolic agency is so great that, if it is not a reality, He must be regarded either as seriously misled about realities which concern the spiritual life, or else as seriously misleading others. And in neither case could He be even the perfect Prophet.

The following quotation is also necessary, for it disproves what Mr. Mallock has asserted—that the Bishop is pledged to every one of Dr. Sanday's beliefs :

Look at St. Mark's Gospel: Do you find there the class of miracles that you could easily explain on a naturalistic basis? No: you find the record is such as yields to no naturalistic explanation at all. The miracle is at its maximum first of all in the earliest Gospel, and we have there not only the healings of demoniacs, though they excited at the time the greatest astonishment, of fever patients and paralytics, of which you may have analogies in faith healings, but you see the healing of the leper, the calming of the storm at sea, the raising of Jairus's daughter, the healing of the issue of blood, the feeding of the five thousand, the walking on the water, the healing of the deaf and the blind man, and the cursing of the barren fig-tree. Now, what the limits of faith healing, as conceivable on a naturalistic basis, are I won't presume to define; but anyone who wants to investigate the trustworthiness of the fundamental Gospel narrative should make a special study of these miracles recorded in St. Mark's Gospel, and see how they defy any naturalistic interpretation, how interwoven they are with the sayings of Christ which appear to be the most indisputably authentic, and how a moral motive of mercy and judgment characterises them all (Second Lecture on the 'Trustworthiness of the Gospels').

To conclude, in his fourth lecture on the Trustworthiness of the Gospels the Bishop says: 'I cannot believe in the redemptive work and eliminate the miracles.'

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In this article no attempt has been made to defend the beliefs of the Bishop. They have been stated in his own words to allay

the widespread feeling of anxiety that has resulted from Mr. Mallock's article. The Bishop holds an official position in the Church ; he is a guardian of the Faith. It is, in consequence, of importance that no falsehoods should be disseminated as to his teaching ; and few read theology except in the pages of magazines.

No notice has been taken of Mr. Mallock's criticism of the Bishop's dissertation in defence of the Virgin Birth, for it would involve a discussion for which there is no space. It is enough to say that Mr. Mallock gives an amusing travesty of a few pages in that essay. It seems to have been Mr. Mallock's object to shock the orthodox by proving the Bishop a heretic, and to amuse the heterodox by exhibiting him as a fool. The charge of heresy has broken down, and the imputation of foolishness may best be counteracted by reading the Bishop's works.

We started with the assumption that Mr. Mallock had not read the Bishop of Worcester's works, and it is charitable to conclude in the same way. Mr. Mallock was probably furnished with his half-dozen quotations and with a scrap or two from Canon Henson and Mr. Beeby. For the rest he relied upon his inner consciousness and the methods of 'constructive criticism.' In future, he may be advised to keep these methods for dealing with ancient documents, lest 'the plain men' and 'sensible laymen' to whom he appeals, who know nothing of 'constructive criticism,' may characterise his achievements in simple Saxon such as cannot appear in these pages. Mr. Mallock, I am reminded, has ere now written much disagreeable fiction. In future it is to be hoped that he will not associate it with the well-known name of a living man.

H. MAYNARD SMITH.



## THE EXHIBITION OF EARLY ART IN SIENA

A GREAT national building that has been for ages the centre of the political and civic life of a race endowed to the highest degree with the power of artistic expression is a continuous record of their deepest feelings and ideals. In the structure itself, as in the works of art which decorate it, a people has externalised itself and eternised itself. Those currents of social feeling that have stirred the emotions of generations of artists and stimulated their inspiration have there found ordered, rhythmic utterance. Of no building is this more true than of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. The devotion of the rich Guelph burghers who built the palace to the city's gracious sovereign Lady, and their ideals of government; the gests of the heroes who fought for the republic; the squalor and decadence of the age that followed the Black Death—the age when Siena was brought low by foreign marauders and civic discord—the brief return of prosperity that marked the early decades of the Quattrocento and the alliance with Florence, typified in art in the achievement of Jacopo della Quercia; the temporary moral and spiritual revival brought about by S. Bernardino; the superficial splendour of the age of the Petrucci; the nation's subsequent fall and enslavement—all these things are recorded in and about the walls of the rose-red palace with the Gothic windows *a colonnelli*, and the tower whose tall stem is crowned with a white flower.

In this year of grace 1904, this pictured chronicle has been graingerised for our delight. Aided by Dr. Corrado Ricci's fine connoisseurship and contagious energy, the Syndic—himself a learned and discerning lover of his city's art—and a band of willing helpers have set in order between the leaves of this book of history many works of the artists of old Siena, gathered from many places. Pictures and objects of art from remote country churches and distant villas, for a sight of which pilgrims of the beautiful have made long and arduous journeys, have been made accessible to those who have no time for such expeditions. Siena, too long criminally

careless of her children's fame and her own glory, has at last set a splendid example to her neighbour cities.

Of the ten thousand objects that have temporarily found a home in the Palazzo Pubblico many, of course, are historical or archæological illustrations, and nothing more. Concerning these things, interesting as they are, we cannot speak here. We must content ourselves with a brief survey of the more important works of art exhibited at the *Mostra Senese*. Even to the student of history such a survey may not be unprofitable; for the most purely artistic work of art is at the same time an illustration of history in the widest and noblest sense of the term.

In the collection of sculpture the great Sienese masters of the Trecento are of necessity unrepresented, for of Lorenzo del Maitano, Tino di Camaino, and Cellino di Nese no work was procurable. Of the sculptors of the Quattrocento several important examples have been brought together. It is necessary to emphasise the fact that in such works as these the heart of Siena has found its most consummate expression; for the tendency to overrate the importance of Tuscan painting has nowhere revealed itself more clearly than in recent writings upon Sienese art. It is necessary to insist again and again that in painting Siena has nothing to show that is of the same significance as the works in sculpture of Jacopo della Quercia or even of Lorenzo del Maitano and Neroccio. That is to say, no artist realised as fully the possibilities of paint as a medium of ordered expression as these three great artists realised the possibilities of stone. For the 'Ilaria del Carretto' we would not take in exchange all the loveliest works of Simone Martini. And all Neroccio's giraffe-like 'Madonnas' are not worthy of being weighed in the balances with one statue of his—the 'St. Catherine of Alexandria.'

By far the greatest of the works of art in the exhibition is Jacopo della Quercia's 'Fonte Gaja,' which at last has found again a fitting home. All that remains of it has been reverently reconstructed in the *loggia* of the Palazzo Pubblico. If Dr. Corrado Ricci and his assistants had done nothing else, for this one act they would merit the gratitude of all lovers of fine things. The compilers of the catalogue have been refreshingly liberal in their attributions to Quercia. At one time, in the early days of scientific criticism, it would have been necessary to oppose such a tendency. But the pendulum has now swung the other way, and some of the great masters have been robbed of works which legitimately belong to them. A wider study of the achievement of modern artists would, I think, correct this tendency. What undistinguished renderings of landscape we sometimes find even amongst the authentic works of Corot and Monet, what weak etchings that bear the mark of the butterfly! And in the field of great allegorical illustration

is there not some skimble-skamble stuff that is adorned with the name of its noblest modern master? Nevertheless critics take from the leading masters of the Quattrocento works which have their chief characteristics, but which are, perhaps, a little laboured and uninspired, and lacking here and there in fineness of quality. In the opinion of the present writer several works now vaguely assigned to his school are by Jacopo himself. I can find no grounds for supposing that any other hand than the master's own designed the Madonna and four saints from the church of S. Martino<sup>1</sup> which are amongst the collection at the Mostra. At the same time I cannot agree that the two interesting wooden figures of St. Anthony and St. Ambrose,<sup>2</sup> so happily rediscovered by Dr. Corrado Ricci, are by Jacopo's own hand. The futile exaggeration of a master's most pronounced mannerisms is one of the common marks of the work of a pupil. A figure formerly assigned to Quercia is Vecchietta's gilded wooden statue of St. John the Baptist from the church of Fogliano.<sup>3</sup> Here as elsewhere his naturalistic tendencies have led him to select a hard, uncomely type. The 'St. John the Baptist' from Montalcino,<sup>4</sup> an altogether feeble work, is obviously by one of Vecchietta's imitators.

A master with very different ideals was Neroccio. The only undoubted work by his hand in this section is the 'St. Catherine of Siena,'<sup>5</sup> a painted wooden statue, from the Chapel of the Contrada dell' Oca. The catalogue has assigned to the artist three other statues, the 'St. Mary Magdalen' from S. Spirito<sup>6</sup> and an 'Angel Gabriel'<sup>7</sup> and 'Virgin Annunciate.'<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Mr. Berenson has attributed to him the bust of St. Catherine from the Palmieri-Nuti<sup>9</sup> Collection, a work which Dr. Ricci, following the greatest living authority on Tuscan sculpture, Dr. Bode, has given to Mino da Fiesole. The 'Annunciation' from Santuccio, though not by Neroccio himself, reveals his influence. The 'St. Mary Magdalen' is undoubtedly a work of Giacomo Cozzarelli. The question of the authorship of the bust of St. Catherine is a more important and a more difficult problem. This work certainly possesses some of the qualities of Neroccio's Madonnas. In the long neck and narrow shoulders, as in the lines of the veil that covers the saint's head, it is possible to trace resemblances to a type common enough in the artist's pictures, a type which is remarkable for a fragile and mannered gracility. But, just because it possesses these peculiarities, we cannot give it to Neroccio; for one of the most obvious facts concerning Neroccio is that his sculpture is as different as possible from his painting in aim and feeling. Take, for instance, two of the master's most typical works—the panel of the Madonna

<sup>1</sup> Sala, ix. 15-19.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 31, 35.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 4.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 32.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 1.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 8.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 7.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 6.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 287.

with S. Bernardino and 'St. Catherine' in the Siena Gallery<sup>10</sup> and the statue of St. Catherine of Alexandria, before alluded to, which is in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Duomo. In this one work, as in almost all Neroccio's presentations of womanhood in painting, is a graceful, slender woman with an abnormally long thin neck. The modelling throughout is very slight, and for its æsthetic effect the picture depends upon its beauty of line. It breathes of the Trecento. It takes us back to Simone Martini. Could you find anywhere a greater contrast to this figure than in the 'St. Catherine' of the Duomo, a woman more massive than Palma's 'St. Barbara'? Her hair is arranged in heavy masses above an Olympian brow. Her neck is as broad as that of the Lemnian 'Athene' and much shorter. About her fine shoulders and nobly moulded form the heavy drapery hangs in large folds. She has quite a Roman solidity and stability. Not grace but grandeur, not sweetness but strength are her predominant qualities. Worthy is she to be one of the mothers of an imperial race, whose function it is 'to war down the proud.'

In form, as in feeling, nothing could be further removed from this figure than is the Palmieri 'St. Catherine,' with the wan, pensive face, the sloping shoulders, and the thin, emaciated body. If we wish to understand Neroccio's style as a sculptor in marble we must fix our attention upon his works in that medium and forget for the time his Madonnas in tempera. We shall then see that he is a faithful follower of Quercia's manner, and the pupil and rival of Antonio Federighi, in whom the spirit of old Roman art lived again. To attribute this bust to Neroccio, Jacopo's imitator, is certainly to make a mistake similar to that of the old critics who gave the work to Quercia himself. For it has nothing of the classical spirit. It is as poignantly pathetic, as intimate, as subtly emotional in conception as a Madonna of Botticelli or an infant of Andrea della Robbia. In its ascetic grace, as in some of its morphological features—the sensitive mouth, the heavy eyelids, the high cheek bones, and the low brow—this bust seems to justify in a measure the attribution to Mino da Fiesole. But yet to me its authorship remains an insoluble problem. Whoever the sculptor may be, this is one of the most impressive works of its period.

Federighi himself is represented by three works. The earliest in date, an imposing wooden statue of the school of Quercia, is his 'St. Nicholas of Bari,' a work given in the catalogue to Jacopo himself. Of scarcely less interest is his 'Moses,'<sup>12</sup> a figure in stone which once adorned the Piazzetta of the Ghetto. The young 'Bacchus'<sup>13</sup> of Count Achille d'Elci is in his most advanced 'Roman' manner, and recalls the works of the master in the Siena Duomo.

The exhibition of painting, through no fault of the committee,

<sup>10</sup> No. 285.

<sup>11</sup> Sala, ix. 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* Staircase, 45.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 311.

is not sufficiently representative of the best periods of Sienese art. The permanent decorations of the Palace compensate, however, for some deficiencies in the list of panel pictures in the galleries of painting. Simone Martini and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Taddeo di Bartolo and Vecchietta are but meagrely represented by paintings in tempera. But in the frescoes of the Sala della Pace and Sala del Mappamondo, the Chapel and the Ufficio di Anagrafi are to be found some of their noblest works. There are some great artists, however, who do not appear in the catalogue, or who are represented by only one genuine picture. Duccio, for instance, is only represented by one panel, Francesco di Giorgio only by paintings of his pupils; and of Domenico di Bartolo, certainly a rare master, there is no single work.

Unfortunately for the reputation of Siena the artists most fully represented are not those who do her most credit. Of the weaker followers of the masters of the golden age there are literally scores of examples. Bartolo di Fredi, the representative of an age of decadence, occupies many square yards of wall space. And, amongst his numerous panels, there is not one of those small miniature-like pictures in which is his finest work; there is nothing that has the flower-like charm, the delicate quality of the 'Adoration of the Magi,' lately in Mr. Charles Butler's collection. Sano di Pietro, certainly not one of the greatest of the Sienese masters of the Quattrocento, occupies half a room, and only four of his works there exhibited rise above the level of the religious pot-boiler.

In quality, as distinct from quantity, the total exhibit of panel paintings does not compare very favourably with that recently seen at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. Most of the really great masters of the school were at least as satisfactorily represented in the smaller exhibition. Duccio, Ugolino, Simone Martini, and Francesco di Giorgio could be better studied in London. And of Beccafumi we prefer Mr. Benson's two pictures to any of the works shown in the Palazzo Pubblico, not excepting the 'St. Michael' of the Carmine. Save the 'Paradiso' of the Palmieri-Nuti collection there is nothing by Giovanni di Paolo that is of the same exquisite quality as his four 'Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist' and Mr. Benson's 'Annunciation.' But for the frescoes on the palace walls and the beautiful setting in which the imported works of art are placed, the *Mostra Senese* would have no enormous advantage in the section of painting over the little exhibition in London. It is in sculpture and in certain of the minor arts, such as goldsmith's work, that the 'Mostra' is memorable and unique.

Of Duccio, as we have seen, there is but one example, the little Madonna of Count Stroganoff,<sup>14</sup> an interesting work of the close of the master's first period, and of about the same date as the

<sup>14</sup> Sala, xxvii. 37.

small triptych in our National Gallery. Of Duccio's pupils there are many examples at Siena. Probably some day we may be able to identify the handiwork of 'Giorgio di Duccio, dipintore,' of whom I have lately found mention in the accounts of the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala.<sup>15</sup> But at present we know little or nothing of several of the master's followers. Of Segna, however, Duccio's pupil and relative, we have some interesting examples, such as the Madonna of Signor Giuggioli<sup>16</sup> and the repainted panels of the Madonna, St. John the Baptist, and St. James<sup>17</sup> from the 'Pieve' of S. Giovanni d' Asso, which are catalogued as 'Maniera di Duccio.' These works show that, though a follower of Duccio, the artist was strongly influenced by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi. A late work of Segna is the Madonna of Fogliano,<sup>18</sup> which, but for its quality, might be by the hand of his son Niccolò.

The greatest of Sienese painters, the master who had the profoundest influence upon the school, is only represented by one work entirely by his own hand, the little 'Virgin Annunciate' of the Stroganoff collection.<sup>19</sup> It is distinguished by a marvellous rhythm of line, a love of bright, pure colour, and an exquisite scrupulousness of technique. It is at once a song, and a prayer, and a delicate flower. And no blossom of art that sprang up in later days within the sheltering, rose-red walls of old Siena had the grace of form and the brilliancy and subtlety of colour of these blooms of the spring.

Simone's artistic ideal is attained, in a measure, in the panels of the polyptych of Orvieto,<sup>20</sup> which, though signed by the master, were executed, at least in part, by his assistant, Lippo Memmi. That ideal, too, is realised in a scarcely less degree in Lippo's 'Madonna del Popolo' from the church of the Servi,<sup>21</sup> and his Madonna from S. Francesco at Asciano,<sup>22</sup> here attributed to Sano di Pietro, but identified by me some years ago as a work of Simone's great assistant.

The Lorenzetti, as we have seen, are somewhat inadequately represented in the loan collection. Of Pietro there is only one fine panel, the Madonna of S. Pietro Ovile.<sup>23</sup> Of Ambrogio there is only the terribly repainted Madonna from Monastero<sup>24</sup> and another injured Madonna from Rapolano,<sup>25</sup> which is perhaps not entirely by his own hand. In the case of Ambrogio the frescoes of the Sala del Mappamondo make up for the deficient representation of his art in the temporary picture gallery above.

In the period that followed the golden age of Sienese painting—a period of commercial depression and intermural strife, a period

<sup>15</sup> Archivio di Stato, Siena, 'Spedale, Entrata e Uscita,' Marzo 13, 1343 (i.e. 1344 present style).

<sup>16</sup> Sala, xxvi. 14.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 38.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 39.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* xxviii. 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 15-17.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 8-12.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* xxiii. 11.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* xxvi. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* xxviii. 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 28.

when the companies of adventurers turned many of the country districts in the Sienese territory into a wilderness, a period of war and pestilence and famine—the arts languished. The degeneracy of this age is well illustrated on the walls of this exhibition by the works of Bartolo di Fredi. His preference for lean, aged, and misshapen types is characteristic of a master of a period of decadence.<sup>26</sup> In his smaller panels, however, he succeeded in reproducing something of Simone's charm of colour.<sup>27</sup>

The name of his son, Andrea di Bartolo, does not appear in the catalogue, and he is unnoticed by any of those critics who have written about the *Mostra Senese*, and yet there are no less than seven panels in the exhibition by his hand. Two of them are signed, and although the signature is now somewhat indistinct it can still be made out with the assistance of the old works of reference in which it is given in full. In these two signed panels are represented the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate.<sup>28</sup> From them, and from another unpublished signed work in the Liechtenstein Collection, we can gather the chief peculiarities of Andrea's style. In his panels the ear is very characteristic, being curiously round in form; the mouth has thick lips and is slightly turned down at the corners; and the hair is arranged in thin, wavy locks. Andrea's modelling is slight, but his work is distinguished by considerable grace of line. In his love of a golden brown tone, as in certain morphological peculiarities, his pictures superficially resemble those of his fellow pupil Paolo di Giovanni Fei. There are, however, certain well defined differences between the styles of the two artists. In Andrea's works, for instance, the eye is larger, more fully open, and has a larger iris than in Fei's pictures; and the hair, too, is treated differently. In Fei's panels it is much stiffer and more curly, and the high lights are more exaggerated than they are in those of his master's son.

Bearing Andrea's peculiarities in mind we can identify his five other panels in the gallery, the 'Madonna' from the priest's house at S. Pietro Ovale,<sup>29</sup> one of the heterogeneous collection of works recently given to Andrea Vanni, the 'St. Anthony' and 'St. Mary Magdalen' from Buônconvento, which bear the official attribution 'Maniera di Pietro Lorenzetti,'<sup>30</sup> and the half-figures of 'St. Augustine' and 'St. John the Baptist' from Montalcino, labelled 'Siena School.'<sup>31</sup> These last I judge to be early works of the master.

<sup>26</sup> This tendency is especially marked in some of his works from Montalcino, such as the 'Baptism of Christ,' the 'St. John led into the Desert,' and the two scenes from the life of St. Philip, all in Sala, xxix.

<sup>27</sup> I have found in the Archives of the Hospital the date of Bartolo's death. It occurred in February 1409-10 ('Spedale, Conti Correnti,' H, f., 195 t).

<sup>28</sup> Sala, xxix. 17, 20. These works are from the Church of SS. Pietro e Paolo, Buonconvento.

<sup>29</sup> Sala, xxix. 19.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 26, 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 21, 22.

Of Paolo di Giovanni Fei himself there is only one work, the great altar-piece from S. Bernardino outside Porta Camollia. It is curious how little is known of Fei's achievement even by those who have written about him. In Siena itself there are authentic pictures by him which have not been included in any list of his works. Of these I may mention here the beautiful 'Assumption' of the Marchese Chigi and the 'St. Peter and St. Paul' which he painted in the year 1409 for the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala.<sup>32</sup>

The revival of Sienese painting began with Taddeo di Bartolo, a prolific artist who reached a fair level of attainment both in panel-painting and in fresco, and who is somewhat meagrely represented at the Siena Exhibition by one characteristic work, his 'St. John the Baptist,'<sup>33</sup> a signed panel from the church of Ginestreto, near Siena, and by a charming panel of his school, a small 'Madonna and Saints.'<sup>34</sup> But the true leaders of the new movement were Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, and Domenico di Bartolo. Of Domenico there is no picture at the Mostra. Sassetta, however, is represented by no less than six authentic works—the 'Nativity' from Asciano, the S. Pietro Ovale 'Annunciation,' the Grosseto 'Madonna,' the little 'Adoration of the Magi' from the Saracini palace, and two panels belonging to M. Chalandon, which once formed a part of the great ancona of Borgo San Sepolcro. In addition to these pictures by the master there are certain panels which, like Vecchietta's 'St. Lawrence' and Sano di Pietro's little 'Assumption,' both in the Siena Gallery,<sup>35</sup> were executed by Stefano's pupils under his direct influence. Amongst these last is the 'Madonna' of Sano di Pietro from Montalcino,<sup>36</sup> in which the six angels above the Virgin might be by Sassetta's own hand, a 'Madonna and Child' belonging to Count Mignanelli,<sup>37</sup> and a *cassone* panel, in which are represented Judith and Holofernes, Delilah and Samson, and Solomon adoring an idol, by the same unknown master as Count Mignanelli's picture.

Sassetta was in some sense a follower of Bartolo di Fredi. His true masters, however, were the great artists of the best period of Sienese painting; and he was especially indebted to Simone. His indebtedness to Bartolo di Fredi is demonstrated in his 'Nativity of the Virgin' from Asciano.<sup>38</sup> Those are mistaken who imagine that he derived from Fei rather than from Bartolo the design for this picture. In order to prove this it is only necessary to place by the side of a reproduction of the Asciano altar-piece photographs of Fei's 'Nativity of the Virgin' in the Siena Gallery and of Bartolo di Fredi's presentation of the same subject, which is in the Church

<sup>32</sup> Archivio di Stato, 'Spedale, Conti Correnzi,' H, f. 386 t. I intend shortly to publish this and other documents relating to Andrea di Bartolo and Fei.

<sup>33</sup> Sala, xxvii. 35.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiv. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Nos. 227 and 577.

<sup>36</sup> Sala, xxix. 8.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiii. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Sala, xxxiii. 7.



of S. Agostino at San Gimignano. It is then seen at a glance that in the general design of the picture, as in the single figures, Stefano's 'Nativity' follows closely Bartolo's, and has little direct relationship with that of Fei. The position of the bed, of the nurse and the child, and of St. Joachim and his companion is identical in the Asciano and S. Gimignano pictures. And in Sassetta's panel the figure of the maidservant who enters the chamber by a door in the centre of the picture is a reproduction of a figure of Bartolo's.

Sassetta, in fact, descends direct through Bartolo and Lippo Memmi from Simone Martini. Unlike Giovanni di Paolo, he owes little to Fei. Simone is his exemplar; he strives to revive Simone's decorative ideals.

Stefano di Giovanni's most beautiful work at Siena is his 'Annunciation' from S. Pietro Ovale, a work which though unmistakably of the Quattrocento is at the same time an imitation of Simone. I need not now recapitulate my reasons for giving this picture to Sassetta. When this attribution was made I did not imagine that in the very period to which, for stylistic reasons, I assigned this picture Stefano lived near the church of S. Pietro Ovale, and held high office in the parish. Only within the last few weeks have I discovered that in the fourth decade of the fifteenth century he was gonfalonier of S. Pietro.<sup>39</sup> He is, moreover, the only painter who is recorded as living in the parish at that time.

Many pictures at the Mostra bear the name of Sano di Pietro, but of these a fair proportion are works of his school turned out according to pattern. He was primarily a miniaturist, and the best qualities of his art are seen in the early 'Madonna' to which I have just alluded, and in Mr. Loeser's beautiful little 'Assumption.' Of his larger pictures the most interesting is his 'St. George,' from S. Cristoforo, of which we have in the catalogue the traditional attribution to Salvanello, but which was given to its true author in a recent article in the *Rassegna d'Arte*.<sup>40</sup>

As in the exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, Giovanni di Paolo is well represented. Here are to be found none of those panels in which he so closely imitated Sassetta, and yet here, as elsewhere, he shows himself to be Sassetta's follower. Amongst Giovanni's works at the Mostra are two beautiful examples of those small pictures in which the best qualities of his art are fully displayed. Giovanni, as I have remarked elsewhere, was very sensitive to influence. The little 'Paradise'<sup>41</sup> of the Palmieri-Nuti collection reveals the influence of Gentile da Fabriano, not only in several of the types, but also in his predilection for flowers and fruits, which he rendered with the minute accuracy of detail of a Memlinc or a Van der Goes. In certain other

<sup>39</sup> Archivio di Stato, Siena, 'Riformazioni, Concistoro,' 2872. The leaves of the book are not numbered. See under 'S. Petri ad Ovale inferioris.'

<sup>40</sup> Sala, xxviii. 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiv. 12.

pictures of his—such as, for example, one of the ‘Scenes from the Life of St. John’—he followed Gentile in adorning the framework of the picture with carefully studied representations of flowers.

His ‘Expulsion from Paradise,’<sup>42</sup> lent by M. Chalandon, and his ‘Voto per Tempesta di Mare’<sup>43</sup> prove that he had a vivid and fantastic imagination. In the ‘Expulsion’ is also manifested his power of rendering the nude, a quality which is more fully displayed in his ‘Hell’ in the Siena Gallery<sup>44</sup> and in his ‘Christ Suffering and Christ Triumphant.’<sup>45</sup>

The beautiful ‘Madonna’<sup>46</sup> from the Conservatorio Femminile is the only picture in the Exhibition that can be given to Vecchietta, and this attribution, though probably correct, is by no means fully established.

I will enumerate but three reasons which incline me to accept the attribution of this work to Vecchietta. In the first place this type of face is to be found in his other works, and notably in the ‘Madonna del Manto.’ Secondly, with the single exception of Sassetta no other artist of this period succeeded so well in painting flesh illuminated by strong rays of sunlight. Of Vecchietta we recall the ‘St. Lawrence’ in the Siena Gallery, and certain angels in the altar-piece of Pienza. Thirdly, I know no other Sienese artist of the Quattrocento who could have been the painter of the folds of the white scarf above the Virgin’s breast. Vecchietta’s masterly treatment of white drapery is one of the notable technical features of the Pienza ‘Assumption.’ At the same time, whilst I am inclined to accept provisionally this attribution, I fully realise the difficulty of the problem that this picture presents. It is in a way unique and exactly resembles nothing in the whole range of Sienese art. Neroccio is represented by a Madonna and Child from the SS. Trinità,<sup>47</sup> again a difficult work, regarding which only the charlatan or the neophyte could be very dogmatic. Those certainly have some reason for their belief who hold that it is by Francesco di Giorgio. The attitude of the Madonna and the types of the saints vividly recall to us Francesco’s S. Domenico altar-piece. The beautifully designed tabernacle with the base adorned with dancing children also favours the attribution to Francesco. But regarding the work as a whole, and noting especially its general colour scheme, I am inclined to hold that this is a work by Neroccio, painted under Francesco’s influence, and but shortly before they dissolved their partnership.

• We do not hesitate to give also to Neroccio the two panels representing S. Bernardino preaching and a miracle of S. Bernardino.<sup>48</sup> They belong to an earlier date than the Madonna

<sup>42</sup> Sala, xxxiv. 13.

<sup>43</sup> *Idem.* No. 212.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* i. 41.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* xxxv. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Sala, xxxv. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Siena Gallery, No. 172.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* xxxv. 6.

of the SS. Trinità. Some of the types in these pictures are, as is natural, common to the works of both of the partners of this period; but other figures, such as the group of women, the left in the 'Saint Preaching,' the fourth figure from the right in the upper row of listeners in the same scene, and the man who is supporting the demoniac woman in the other picture, are peculiarly characteristic of Neroccio. The drawing of the architecture and the treatment of perspective make it impossible that Francesco should have executed these works. They belong to Neroccio's early period. He had already developed a partiality for blonde hair, for nearly every head in both paintings is crowned with masses of it. But charming as are several of his single figures, he had not yet learnt how to draw architecture, nor how to compose a picture.

By Neroccio too are the decorations of a tabernacle that frames a Madonna of Sano di Pietro,<sup>49</sup> and which was painted for some member of the Spannocchi family. On the base of this tabernacle, in five *tondi*, he has painted five figures representing an Annunciation and a 'Pietà.'

Francesco di Giorgio is also represented by two pupils' works. One of these panels, a much restored Madonna from Monastero,<sup>50</sup> is by the same hand as a Madonna, 'St. Jerome,' and 'St. Antony' in Mr. Butler's collection;<sup>51</sup> the other picture, a Madonna of Count Mignanelli, is much nearer to the master; but it has none of the quality of small panels by his own hand, like Sir Frederick Cook's 'Nativity.' Of the third of Vecchietta's followers, Benvenuto di Giovanni, there are two pictures, one an early panel, the other a late work. The early picture is the charming little Madonna from the church of S. Sebastiano.<sup>52</sup> The later panel represents the return of Gregory the Eleventh from Avignon.<sup>53</sup> Benvenuto's son, Girolamo, is best represented by his large 'Assumption' from Montalcino.<sup>54</sup>

Perhaps the greatest of the Siennese painters of the Quattrocento was Matteo di Giovanni. Every period of his artistic career is well represented here. His earliest works are the two side panels formerly attached to Sassetta's 'Annunciation,' but which now flank Pietro Lorenzetti's Madonna.<sup>55</sup> These panels manifest the influence of Vecchietta rather than of his master, Domenico di Bartolo. The 'S. Bernardino' and the 'Crucifixion' are both imitated from the doors of the press formerly at the Hospital and now at the Siena Gallery. It is not to be wondered at that the 'St. John Baptist'

<sup>49</sup> Sala, xxix. 35. This tabernacle belongs to the Barone Sergardi Biringucci.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* xxix. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena* (London, 1904), p. 73.

<sup>52</sup> Sala, xxxifi. 17.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiii. 12.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Dr. Ricci was, I think, the first to point out that these panels were formerly attached to the 'Annunciation.'

and the two side panels catalogued 'Maniera di Vecchietta' have been given by one critic, Dr. E. Jacobsen, to Vecchietta himself. They were probably painted in a rather obscure period of Matteo's career, when he resided in the parish of S. Pietro Ovale.<sup>56</sup> Of his middle period there are two large examples, the 'St. Jerome' of Signor Cassini, an imposing but somewhat laboured work, and the Madonnas of 'S. Eugenia' and of S. Sebastiano. His last period is well represented by the 'Massacre of the Innocents' from S. Agostino, a picture which has not received the attention it deserves. It reveals to us Matteo as a master of portraiture; and we can well understand how it came about that he was ordered to paint the portraits of Sienese ladies.<sup>57</sup> There are at least three portraits in this picture. The two men who are sitting to the right and left of Herod are taking no part in the action and are obviously representations of living people. Dr. Jacobsen has suggested that one of them, who wears a red berretta, is the artist himself. The other may well be the painter's patron who ordered the picture. These portraits are in harmony with the rest of the picture. Excited by reports of Turkish atrocities, and by blood-curdling dramatic representations of infidel cruelty, this painter of ethereal Madonnas and visionary saints in his 'Massacre of the Innocents' indulges in orgies of naturalism.

Guidoccio Cozzarelli, Matteo's pupil, is represented by a number of characteristic works. In the 'Madonna of Montefollonica,' as in Signor Placidi's 'Madonna' (catalogued 'Maniera di Matteo'), he appears as a close imitator of his master, as he does also in a charming predella from Buonconvento. The drooping eyelids in this picture, the weakness of some of the figures, and the general note of languid sentimentality reveal the pupil's hand, who notwithstanding was never stronger, never nearer to his great master than in these small miniature-like panels. The large 'Baptism,'<sup>58</sup> from Sinalunga exposes the failings of this charming miniaturist.

Pietro di Domenico and Andrea di Niccolò carried into the sixteenth century the aims of the early Sienese masters. In his best work in this collection,<sup>59</sup> an 'Adoration,' Pietro appears as an imitator of Benvenuto. At the same time he reveals his artistic kinship with Fungai and Pacchiarotto. Of Andrea there is nothing quite so archaic at Siena as the 'Madonna' of the Fitzwilliam Museum—a work inspired by Neroccio. But in his latest works, in pictures like the 'Shoemaker's Madonna,'<sup>60</sup> painted when the Cinquecento was already a decade old, the artist still reveals himself as incurably Sienese in his artistic aims, notwithstanding the manifestation of

<sup>56</sup> Arch. di Stato, Siena, 'Spedale, Conti Correnti,' H. 1, 375.

<sup>57</sup> In a MS. volume in the Chigi Library, a contemporary sonnet upon a portrait of a lady by Matteo. Codex, M.V., 102.

<sup>58</sup> Sala, xxiv. 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 6.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv. 13.

Umbrian influence in the landscape and in the face and form of the Madonna.

At last in the Cinquecento the old ideals of the Sienese were forsaken. Throughout the Quattrocento Siena had not indeed proved entirely impervious to foreign influences. In the works of Giovanni di Paolo are traces of the influence of Gentile da Fabriano and Fra Angelico. Vecchietta in one of his later works introduced two figures imitated from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. One at least of Francesco di Giorgio's pictures shows that his art was not unaffected by the presence in Siena of Girolamo da Cremona.<sup>61</sup> Matteo in his later period owed something to Botticelli.

But though Sienese artists were not uninfluenced by great masters of other schools they were loyal on the whole to the decorative ideals of Simone until the dawn of the Cinquecento. At that time Siena was visited by Sodoma and Pintoricchio, Signorelli and Perugino. Pintoricchio and Sodoma made the city their home. Thus was brought about an artistic revolution. Fungai—who in his youth had been influenced by Giovanni di Paolo, Vecchietta and Francesco di Giorgio—and Pacchiarotto—who in his early career had been an imitator of Matteo—deserted the old Sienese manner. They and their contemporaries and followers in Siena became eclectics, now following Sodoma and now Raphael and other Umbrians. Of Fungai we have here two characteristic examples of his later or Umbrian manner, Mr. Loeser's decorative 'Sibyl' <sup>62</sup> and the great 'Coronation' from the church of Fontegiusta.<sup>63</sup> Pacchiarotto may be seen at the Exhibition in all his chief artistic phases. In the Madonna with St. Sebastian and St. Margaret <sup>64</sup> he appears as a follower of Matteo. In the large altar-piece from Buonconvento,<sup>65</sup> although there are still strong traces of Matteo's influences, the picture has something of an Umbrian character. In the beautiful 'Holy Family and Angels' <sup>66</sup> of the Palmieri-Nuti collection Pacchiarotto comes before us as altogether a Sienese-Umbrian, and there is no more trace in his works of the influence of Matteo.

Of the two foreign artists who exercised so profound an influence on the Sienese school, Pintoricchio is only represented by two school pictures, and of Sodoma's achievement there is no really fine example in the galleries. But in the case of Sodoma the altar-piece of the chapel of the Palace and the frescoes of the Sala del Mappamondo and the Gabinetto del Sindaco make up the deficiencies in the temporary collection.

Sodoma's assistant Pacchia, that most consistently mobile of

<sup>61</sup> See Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena*, 1904, p. 56.

<sup>62</sup> Sala, xxxiv. 35.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiii. 18.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* xxiii. 4.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 15.

eclectics, is admirably represented in the Exhibition, although there is nothing here so fine as his Raphaelesque 'Madonna' in the church of S. Cristoforo, or his altar-piece at Sinalunga. In the 'Coronation of the Virgin' of S. Spirito<sup>67</sup> and the 'Ascension'<sup>68</sup> of the Carmine Raphael's influence predominates; in the 'Annunciation' from Sarteano that of Fra Bartolommeo.

Of Peruzzi it was not possible for the committee to acquire any fine or authentic example. Being first of all an architect and after that a great decorator of architecture, he is never seen at his best in a panel painting. Moreover, some of the pictures attributed to him are by his pupils and some have nothing to do with him. In this collection he is represented by a Madonna<sup>69</sup> from S. Ansano a Dofana, a work of some brilliant follower who had become imbued with Peruzzi's classical enthusiasm, and had some skill as a draughtsman, but who was a far weaker colourist than his master.

Beccafumi, the last of the great Sienese, is represented by the Michaelangesque 'St. Michael' of the Carmine, by several Holy Families of varying quality and interest, and by one or two smaller works. The 'St. Michael' is undoubtedly one of the masterpieces of its school. But none of the other works of the master exhibited here are very interesting or significant. We look in vain in the galleries for one of those works of his in which he rivals Fra Bartolommeo in his treatment of landscape.

It is natural that a people whose decorative ideal was a hieratic sumptuousness, a people who loved rich colours and splendid materials, and whose artists showed singular niceness and refinement in the perfection of detail, should have excelled in those minor arts which add so much to the beauty and comeliness of civilised life. Of the minor arts of the Sienese that which is most adequately represented in this exhibition is the art of the goldsmith.

In this art Siena in the later middle ages knew no rival. In the thirteenth century one of her artists helped to make beautiful Dante's *sagrestia dei begli arredi* at Pistoia, and in the following age Sienese goldsmiths were employed both by Pope and Emperor. Lando di Pietro made the crown of Henry the Seventh, and Magister Torus was the official goldsmith of the Papal Court. Of these artists the only work at the Mostra is the reliquary of Santuccio, which now helps to make more sumptuous the shadowy splendour of the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. This masterpiece is traditionally attributed to Lando di Pietro. By the great contemporary of Lando and Torus, Ugolino di Vieri, is the fine reliquary of S. Savino, which he made with the assistance of Vivo di Lando. Ugolino's masterpiece, the great reliquary of the Corporale, Orvieto

<sup>67</sup> Sala, xxv. 2.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 13.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* xxxvii. 14.

could not spare. A curious and interesting piece is the 'Tree of Jesse,' a signed work of Gabriele d' Antonio. But it is inferior in artistic quality to the great reliquaries of Lando and Ugolino, belonging as it does to a generation when the flood tide of Siena's art was already ebbing fast.

Of the great Sieneſe goldſmiths of the Quattrocento, Goro di Neroccio and Francesco d' Antonio, ſeveral beautiful works are to be ſeen at the Palazzo Pubblico. Amongſt a variety of authentic works by Goro is the curious *reliquario a braccio* from the Hoſpital of Santa Maria della Scala, and another reliquary from Maſſa Marittima. Francesco's two maſterpieces have both been ſecured for the Exhibition. The reliquary of St. John the Baptist (1466), from the Duomo, and the ſmaller, ſimpler reliquary from the Oſſervanza (1467) are amongſt the beautiful things in the Cappella del Conſiglio. Unfortunately the men of the later Renaiſſance could appreciate neither the refined ſimplicity of ſuch a work as the Oſſervanza caſket nor its abſolute rightneſs of proportion; conſequently it is now ſurmounted by a tabernacle and two ill-placed, brawny angels in diſhevelled robes. The Golden Roſes given to Siena by two of her ſons who climbed to St. Peter's chair, Æneas Sylviuſ Piccolomini and Fabio Chigi, ſerve to illuſtrate the patent truth that from the middle of the fourteenth century the art of the goldſmith in Siena had been travelling down an inclined plane, broken by a ſhort riſe in the middle of the fifteenth century, but of which, after that date, the gradient became ſteeper and ſteeper, until at laſt it reached the loweſt abyſſ of vulgarity in the productions of 'l'Art Nouveau.'

The exhibition of illuminated books and leaves of books is large and fairly repreſentative. The ſeries begins with a remarkable Bible of Montalcino, a work of the firſt half of the thirteenth century, by the ſame hand, I think, as an illuminated letter in the Beckerath collection.<sup>70</sup> One of the three great Sieneſe miniaturists of the Trecento, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, is repreſented by his wonderful frontiſpiece of the Caleffo dell' Assunta. But neither to Lippo Memmi nor to Lippo Vanni can any work in this ſection be aſſigned, unleſs it be an Antiphonary from the Public Library<sup>71</sup> which has ſome of Vanni's peculiarities.

The moſt diſappointing ſection of the Exhibition is that of majolica. But of this and of the fine collections of veſtments, lace, and embroideries which illuſtrate the Sieneſe love of beautiful pattern and ſplendour of ſervice I have not ſpace to write.<sup>72</sup> Nor can I give any account of the fine collections of armour, furniture, and hiſtorical and archæological illuſtrations. Of the book covers

<sup>70</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition and Works of Art of the School of Siena*, 1904. See p. 81 of the *Catalogue*.

<sup>71</sup> Sala, vii. 25.

<sup>72</sup> Although in Siena itſelf are ſeveral fine Sieneſe plates, not one of them was ſhown at the Moſtra.

I can only note in passing four from the Archivio di Stato. Of these covers three are decorated with much injured paintings by Vecchi-etta,<sup>73</sup> hitherto unidentified; and the fourth bears a painting by Giovanni di Paolo.<sup>74</sup>

To him to whom one of the chief uses of collections of works of art and archæological objects is that they help him to reconstruct the environment of the men of a past age, and to read their deepest emotions, Siena may seem to have less need of an exhibition of this kind than any other European town; for the city itself is a museum, and every street an abode of the Muses. No work of art that adorns Siena is more lovely, more eloquent of feeling than herself—fair, untamed queen, for ever young. No archæological illustrations are more interesting than the palaces which line her narrow ways.

To meet Gian Galeazzo Visconti, or even Leonardo da Vinci or Matteo Bandello, among the network of electric tram-lines in the Great Piazza of Milan, the Piazza del Duomo, would seem an incongruous encounter even to the most imaginative traveller; but if on some summer night we were to catch sight of Provenzano Salvani in the great Sienese piazza, the Piazza del Campo, or were to meet S. Bernardino in the frescoed hall of the Hospital, or to descry Cecco Angiolieri talking to Becchina down by Fontebranda, would his presence give us any feeling of incongruity? would any one of them seem to be entirely out of harmony with his surroundings?

Nevertheless, for the credit of Siena, and for the assistance of her own and other students, the Sienese ought to see to it that from this exhibition a permanent museum shall take its origin, a museum which shall illustrate, as far as is possible, the history of her sculpture and her splendid triumphs in the minor arts. With the generous help of the heads of her ancient families it is yet feasible for the Sienese to form such a collection; but every year it will become more difficult to do so. A serious and united effort is necessary, and it ought to be made at once.

LANGTON DOUGLAS.

<sup>73</sup> Sala, viii. 5, 6, 9.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* viii. No. 8.



## THE LITERATURE OF FINLAND

It is a common saying among Finlanders that their hope for the future lies in their language and their religion, because it is only by means of these that they can claim to possess a separate nationality. It was probably for this reason that in the spring of 1901 their literature suddenly assumed an aspect of political importance, when a professor from Helsingfors, who had signified his intention of giving a lecture on the subject at Christiania, was prohibited from doing so by the Russian Government. It is doubtful whether any action could have been better calculated to arouse public interest in Finland or to increase the demand for Finnish novels, and the following sketch is the outcome of a study which was primarily undertaken for the purpose of satisfying the writer's curiosity. More than a sketch it cannot claim to be, for even the most cursory study was sufficient to show that, as regards works of fiction, Finland is able to hold her own with Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, while as regards the traditional poetry of the *Kalevala* she occupies a position which is in all respects unique.

The *Kalevala*, as we have it in Crawford's excellent translation, is one of those rare productions of which it is impossible to speak too highly. The majority of books which boast of a similar history are of the kind to be read with effort and perseverance, content if here and there some striking sentence is discovered, but the reading of the *Kalevala* calls for no such strenuous effort; no one who has heard it can ever forget the story of the encounter between the rival poets of Finland and Lapland, and the wondrous glimpse it gave him into bygone days when sledges were made of gold and whips were enamelled with pearls. The gorgeous descriptions of Wainamoinen's magic vessel and the beauty of the Lapp maiden, Aino the Golden-haired, are so unlike anything that could have been expected from the land of ice and snow that it is not surprising if the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1833 should have attracted the attention of students in all parts of the world, and brought about a revival of Finnish, a language which had hitherto been regarded as that of the lower orders only, no books being published in it except such as were intended for religious or educational purposes. The formation of the Finnish Literary

Society was one of the first signs of change, and before long the language question began to give rise to serious dispute. A newspaper was started to uphold the interests of the Finnish-speaking population, and in its columns Swedish was alluded to as a foreign tongue and blamed for being the cause of the low educational standard which was at that time prevalent in Finland; but it was not until 1860 that the 'Young Fennomans,' as they were called, entered the field of practical politics with their watchword, 'One people, one language,' a saying which has recently been changed for another, now that the nation's misfortune has drawn the conflicting parties together: 'Of one mind, albeit of two languages.'

Meanwhile the opposite party, consisting of the 'Svecomans,' had started a rival association called 'the Swedish Literary Society in Finland,' which, besides numerous other publications, included the works of three of their own writers who had flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century, whose names were Franzén, Runeberg, and Topelius. The first-named was the author of the *Selma Songs*, inspired, like many other poems of that period, by Macpherson's *Ossian*; Runeberg was one of the most celebrated poets of his day, and his prelude to *Ensign Staal's Tales* has since become the Finnish national song, which is now forbidden to be sung, although it contains nothing more political than an expression of affection for the land of the thousand lakes, the 'Fosterland,' as the Swedish population are wont to call it, in contrast to the 'Fatherland' of their Finnish brethren. Runeberg's longer poems are mostly written in hexameters, *Hannah*, *The Elk Hunters*, and *The Grave in Perrho* being among his best. Topelius, the third writer belonging to this period, although possessed of less originality than the others, was famed for the beauty of his style, and his novels are said to bear traces of the influence of Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, and Alexandre Dumas.

The works of the above-mentioned writers may be said to represent the Finnish classics, and from them we shall pass on to six writers of contemporary fiction, divided into two groups, representative of the two races to which they belong, although as regards the literature of the present day there is scarcely any characteristic distinction to be observed between the two; a fact which is not surprising when we consider that difference of race cannot be very strongly defined after generations of intermarriage. Karl August Tavaststjerna, whose name occupies the foremost place among the Swedish writers, was a member of one of the few remaining families belonging to the old Finnish nobility, and a descendant of the famous Eric Tavast, who was raised to the peerage in the seventeenth century. The author was born in 1860, and died of consumption a few years ago, leaving a large and varied selection of literary works, consisting of poetry, plays, novels, short stories, and sketches. There was scarcely any

form of *belles-lettres* which he did not attempt, although it was with his novels that he attained the greatest success.

His early years were spent on his mother's property, and the misery which he witnessed at the time of the great famine left an indelible impression on his youthful mind, which was afterwards to bear fruit in a novel called *Hard Times*, where he describes his mother in the person of Fru von Blume, who dies of fever while nursing the poor on her estate.

Tavaststjerna was twenty-six when he published his first novel in two volumes, called *Friends from Childhood*, of which four thousand copies were sold within two years. It is a story of university life at Helsingfors, and the principal characters in the book are Benjamin Thomen and his self-righteous friend, Syberg. Benjamin is engaged to a girl named Sigrid, whom he eventually throws over, and goes to Paris to enjoy life in the *quartier latin*. Sigrid consoles herself by joining the great body of emancipated women whose ideal it is to become self-supporting whether their circumstances require it or not; she earns a good salary, and when after the lapse of many years Benjamin returns like the prodigal, having squandered his substance, there seems to be some likelihood of a reconciliation. Unfortunately Sigrid allows herself to be cajoled by Syberg into lending money to her former *fiancé*, with the promise that he shall never know it. Syberg, who is himself in love with her, betrays the secret, knowing that Benjamin will never wish to look her in the face again when he discovers that it is to her that he is indebted. Benjamin is furious, returns the money, and Sigrid dies of consumption, leaving him her savings.

Tavaststjerna delights in contrasts, and is never so happy as when he can find two opposite types of character and set them face to face to work out a problem. In this story the contrast is drawn between a man and woman of types which are neither exaggerated nor uncommon: the man sacrifices his career to the enjoyment of the moment, while the woman goes to the other extreme and sacrifices life itself for an idea, and dies because she has worked too hard and practised too great economy in food and necessary comforts. In his next book, *A Native*, he contrasts the man who has always lived at home, with the cosmopolitan. Vahlin is the name of the former; he is the editor of a liberal paper, an earnest democrat and idealist. His friend, Haard, is a man who spends a great part of his time in travelling, and prides himself upon being a man of the world; he despises Vahlin's simplicity, and judges life from an entirely different standpoint. As we read the story we are made to feel that the author's sympathies are struggling with his common sense: Vahlin is the type he loves, and to which he returns again and again; he is the man who allows himself to be guided by the instincts of his heart, believing that good is destined in the end to overcome evil; he is Tavaststjerna's better self, while Haard is what the world has tried to make of him.

The two men go together to a music-hall which bears the ominous name of 'Perdition,' and there they both fall in love with a girl named Hilma, who is one of the singers. Vahlin's intentions are strictly honourable, Haard's are not; but Hilma understands Haard because he is just the sort of man whom she has been accustomed to meet, whereas Vahlin differs so completely from any with whom she has come into contact that she is quite at a loss to understand him. His offer of respectable lodgings and a good education does not appeal to her, but she accepts because it appears to offer wider prospects than her other alternative, which is to marry the fat and somewhat elderly proprietor of the music-hall.

Vahlin pursues his course with enthusiasm: he gives her two hours' daily teaching, the subjects being the history of civilisation and the Swedish language, varied by readings from Thackeray. Hilma is grateful, but does not enjoy the lessons; she respects her teacher but does not love him, and is never at her ease in his presence. She finds Haard's society, on the other hand, extremely amusing, and they meet in secret. Haard, with his 'upper-class philosophy,' as Vahlin calls it, cannot grasp the fact that his friend can seriously contemplate marriage with a girl of Hilma's standing, and when he finally does marry her Haard will neither overlook her past himself, nor allow others to do so, in spite of the fact that it is he himself who is chiefly to blame in the matter. 'Of course,' he says, 'when Vahlin is married he cannot expect his friends to receive his wife.' And he was right, as their first dinner party only too plainly proved. The description is painfully realistic: the reader is made to feel the shame that Vahlin suffers during those hours of tension, when his wife shows herself utterly incapable of behaving with decorum and appearing at her ease at the same time, while the men—for the visitors are all men—are apt to overlook the respect that is due to their hostess.

It is an unhappy book, because the idealist is condemned to disillusionment, yet not to failure. Vahlin was not altogether mistaken when he recognised the existence of good qualities in Hilma: she has a warm heart, and soon learns to love him in spite of the lessons which he continues to inflict upon her; and as the book closes we are left to believe that, although she never acquires the ease of manner which belongs to the best society, there is hope for improvement and a better mutual understanding.

It has been said of Tavaststjerna that he is 'the most melancholy writer in the most melancholy country in the world,' but the saying is unfair: in the first place there is no evidence to show that Finland is a melancholy country; as regards literature it might almost be said to rise above the average in optimism, while as to the author in question, though melancholy, it cannot be said that he is ever morbid. His last novel, *A Regiment of Women*, deals with the language question and the conflict between the two races. In Doctor Udde we have

Vahlin, the idealist, over again; but fate deals more kindly in providing him with a *fiancée* after his own heart, an independent young woman who attends her 'office' with the regularity of a city man. Dr. Udde is an aspirant who has failed as a poet, but gained some success as a literary critic owing to the boldness with which he has criticised the ethics of Ibsen in a certain celebrated lecture. He is of Finnish descent, but through long habit has adopted the Swedish language, and knows no more of the Finnish peasantry than such ideas as can be gleaned from Runeberg's *Cottage Girl*—a romantic idealised description which bears no more resemblance to the reality than such descriptions generally do. The story is one of disillusionment. In order to enlarge his acquaintance with the habits and character of the Finnish peasant and to improve his knowledge of the language he goes as lodger for six months to Manola Farm, where he hopes to live with the family and to become one of them for the time being; but he finds that this is not to be, and is distressed at the lack of friendliness shown him, and disappointed because they insist on treating him as a grand gentleman from Helsingfors. The ugliness of the house and the sparse comforts of the overheated rooms, no less than the extreme shortness of his bed, are a continual source of trouble. The hostess, as the mistress of a house is always called in Finland, thinks that he must be mad for wishing to decorate the bare walls of his room with pieces of old harness; and the maid-servant, on entering suddenly one morning while he is practising gymnastics, believes him to be a member of the sect of Shakers engaged in devotional exercises!

Manola Farm is forty-two miles from the nearest railway station, and Dr. Udde finds the life very monotonous after Helsingfors. The stillness of the winter depresses him; not only is there no one to whom he can talk of his interests, but he does not feel in the least inclined to work. The fact is that the prosaic nature of his surroundings has raised the ghost of doubt; he has begun to wonder whether his work is as important as he had imagined, whether literary labour has any real value at all; while as for his doctor's degree—what was that worth? At last his despondency becomes so great that he even begins to doubt the importance of his celebrated lecture on the ethics of Ibsen. His discouragement leads him to form a very unfavourable opinion of the 'hostess' and her son; the latter is described as being

quite unable to see himself in the light of circumstances, in which respect, alas! he was not singular. He had no more self-consciousness than a child—severe critics and lovers of truth might say than an animal. But then the ninety-nine hundredth portion of mankind are like him, they live without self-consciousness, and we are not worse than others by being the same as they are. The lack of self-consciousness is held to be a sign of health, and Heaven knows if it be not really so.

Only one logical thought has taken root in the young man's mind, and that is 'that one must never place confidence in a woman.' With that he is perfectly satisfied.

The crass materialism of the peasants is a subject which is alluded to again and again, and the question arises, whether the difference is really one of class or whether it is to be sought for in a more far-reaching distinction, i.e. difference of race? The question is one which often occurs when reading books about Finland, where the sense of class distinction appears to be abnormally acute compared with other northern countries, with the exception, of course, of Russia.

Apart from its social problems *A Regiment of Women* is an exciting novel, and the adventures of Ida, the maid-servant, are most thrilling, especially when she consults the witch, visits the churchyard at the fatal hour of midnight, and almost makes her young master sick by administering magic love potions mixed with his morning coffee. Finally she succeeds in borrowing a little waif from a gipsy woman in order to keep her lover true, but fails in her intrigue because the paternity is foisted on Dr. Udde, the result being that his disappointment in the rural Venus is tenfold intensified.

The plays are the least successful of Tavaststjerna's literary works, and next in importance to the novels may be classed a small volume dedicated to his wife bearing the title of *A Wedding Journey* (1893), and consisting of letters from a young couple on their honeymoon. The bride is a character with whom we are already familiar, only that in this case her ambitions are literary, and she is busily engaged in writing a book on men, women, and marriage. At first the husband is inclined to raise objections to *his* name, as he expresses it, appearing on the title page; but his objections are soon overruled, and she is able to write confidently to her sister that 'our marriage promises to be an ideal relation between two modern individuals.'

The best letter in the book is the one which the husband writes to an old friend whom he congratulates upon his approaching marriage, and tries to encourage with an account of his own experience, telling him that marriage nowadays is a very different thing from what it used to be, judging from the old-fashioned novels. It no longer entails settling down, being buried alive, and all that sort of thing; but, on the contrary, it is the beginning of a new kind of life with fresh experiences, and full of what is called psychology. He warns his friend that the young lady whom he is about to marry takes a great interest in social questions, and is an admirer of Ibsen; that she idolises *Nora*, and is writing a treatise upon *Hedda Gabler*. He strongly advises him to read the last-named piece, and to bear in mind that he is about to play the part of Tesman in a new drama. 'This kind of literature,' he says, 'is of decided importance for us men, we can make use of it in conversation as a kind of lexicon,

and we ought to be grateful to the authors instead of abusing them, because they throw light upon the dark places of undeveloped brain cells.' He goes on to say that his own literary sympathies were not great in former times, but all that is changed since he made the discovery that his wife is a budding authoress. Of course it was a great blow at first, as it doubtless will be to his friend, but after all it isn't as bad as it seems. The principal thing is to try to understand these women; it doesn't in the least matter if you don't succeed so long as your wife is aware that the effort is being made. He understands his wife sufficiently to realise that a study of Ibsen is absolutely needful, and has sent for six volumes of his works in order that she shall find him intent on reading them; that will do for the present. But, of course, one must never allow oneself to be drawn into a literary discussion with a woman, for it would never do to betray ignorance.

It is a noticeable fact about Tavaststjerna that he wrote in a lighter and more cheerful vein as he neared his end, and he was not forty when he died.

Jacob Ahrenberg, born 1847, began his literary career by writing some short stories and character sketches descriptive of life in the east of Finland, where his business as an architect took him. His first novel, *The Heehoolites*, was published in 1889, having for subject a religious sect which derives its name from the groans that were supposed to accompany the prayers of its followers. The person of Adam Pihlhjerta, the lay preacher, affords an opportunity for one of those vivid character sketches in which Ahrenberg excels. Adam is a lodger in the house of an innkeeper, who for eighteen years has cherished a tame snake which makes its appearance regularly every evening at sunset, when the family feed it with milk; they call it 'household luck,' but to Adam it is nothing less than the personification of the Tempter in the garden of Eden, to feed whom is to offer sacrifice to the Evil One, while to believe in it as a luck-bringer is to worship the Devil and all his works. Adam takes the opportunity while the creature is sipping milk to stamp on its head with the heel of his hobnailed boot and fling it into the fire, where it writhes in agony on the glowing coals. The innkeeper is beside himself with indignation; but Adam silences him, exclaiming: 'Child of Belial! You have forsaken the Lord your God, and have sacrificed to the old Serpent.' With a torrent of impassioned words he calls down judgment upon the innkeeper and his family, creating a great sensation among his hearers, some of whom are heard to murmur, 'Adam is right.'

Hours pass, and still the little crowd that have gathered round him are intent on listening to his interpretation of the Scriptures, joining now and again in prayer and song. Even miracles are not wanting to prove the integrity of the new preacher: the lame walk

without crutches, the sick are healed, and the excitement caused by religious enthusiasm is intense. Enemies of long standing are seen to shake hands and exchange the kiss of peace, debtors pay back their old debts, drunkards resolve to lead a new life, and many are the sins confessed while Adam Pihlhjerta pronounces absolution.

Days pass, and then comes the dreadful scene when, by a pure accident, the shameful discovery is made that Adam is an escaped convict, and while insisting that others should make a public confession of their sins he has failed to confess his own. Years ago he had been sentenced to life-long imprisonment for a murder committed in a moment of passion; he escaped, and was converted by a Heehoolite preacher, and spent many weary years in repentance, yet never confessed his crime before the assembly of believers, fearing lest they should betray him, and now it was too late—he was to be handed back to the officers of the law. The powerful description of the anguish which ensues when he remembers his converts, who will evermore be hardened in their sin, shows that his remorse for the evil consequences of his crime is greater than his regrets for lost liberty.

It is a far cry from the scene of this story to that of Ahrenberg's most popular novel, *The Family at Haapakoski*, with its vivid description of the cosmopolitan society at a fashionable health resort in the Crimea, contrasted with the no less life-like picture of a melancholy little government town in Finland in mid-winter. There is no attempt to disguise the dull monotony of the latter, which, in addition to the almost hopeless task of learning two entirely different foreign languages at the same time, makes it practically impossible for the young Russian wife to feel anything but a stranger in her husband's country. Her difficulties with the Swedish and Finnish languages are well described, and here, as in the other society novel, *Our Countryman*, the story seems intended to convey a warning against a tendency which often results from military service in Russia, *i.e.* marriage with a Russian wife, together with its inevitable accompaniment—the gradual Russification of the Finnish nobility. Yet in none of his books does Ahrenberg ever give vent to a single expression of bitterness against Russia. On the contrary, he calls attention to much that is good in her. The appeal is made solely to his own countrymen that they should do their duty to the Fosterland and not forsake it.

It would be difficult to name any writer whose works present more variety than Ahrenberg's, he is equally at home no matter where the scene is laid; the character of the artist's model in *Youth* is no less convincing than that of Adam Pihlhjerta or Helena Nicholaievna. *Youth* is the story of an artist who falls in love and is bitterly disillusioned when he discovers the girl's true character. He had expected to find her natural, simple, *naïve*; he would not have minded a lack of education, but Alice is seldom natural and never original;



and the worst of it is that she can never converse on any subject without breaking forth into quotations from the minor poets of a past generation whose fame has not outlived them. Her pseudo-culture has rendered her impossible as wife to a man of common sense, and the end is tragic for no other reason than that the artist cannot bear to be reproached in iambs and dactyls.

Ahrenberg's style shows traces of Turguenieff's influence. He knows Russia well, but his descriptions are doubly interesting because they depict the life as it strikes a foreigner; for instance, in both his society novels he draws attention to a circumstance which we do not remember having read of elsewhere, although it doubtless exerts a great influence on social life in Russia, and that is the Asiatic element which the naturalisation of Eastern princes has been the means of introducing into society. The heroine in *The Family at Haapakoski* is a Tartar princess, and although charming in herself her father is described as little better than a barbarian, while Dodo in *Our Countryman* is a Caucasian prince. It is worth noting that Ahrenberg is the only writer of any importance in Finland whose novels bear traces of Russian influence; the majority appear to be better acquainted with the works of English, French, and Scandinavian authors.

Helena Westermarck (born 1857) is the sister of Professor Edward Westermarck, whose name figures among the honorary associates of the Rationalist Press Association; he is best known in England as the author of the *History of Human Marriage*. Helena Westermarck tried for many years to combine authorship with painting, but finding that it was, as she expressed it, impossible to serve two masters she gave up painting and devoted herself entirely to literature. She edited a woman's paper called *The Contemporary*, and wrote several novels and short stories; for one of the former, called *Life's Victory*, the Government awarded her a prize, and with the money thus obtained she was able to undertake a journey abroad. It was the old story of a fashionable lady who is expected to live in the country where she suffers terribly from *ennui* and lack of occupation, with the result that she consoles herself in her husband's absence by running away with a young lieutenant. Judged as a novel it has the great weakness of allowing the reader to guess what is going to happen long before the crisis takes place, but the fascinating portrait of old Miss Henrietta, who has the second sight, goes a long way towards atoning for the rather commonplace nature of the plot. But it is to be regretted that in her novels, as in Tavaststjerna's, one notices a want of sympathy with the poorer people which seems so strangely out of keeping among a northern race. Miss Henrietta's opinion that the labouring classes are, 'like the ugly black soil, necessary, but of an unpleasant smell,' is a saying worthy of D'Annunzio, and it goes a long way towards explaining a fact which is mentioned later on, *i.e.* that the peasants are wont to regard the gentlefolk with a suspicion which

they have inherited from their forefathers. The same sentiments are to be found in Helena Westermarck's first novel, *Onwards*, where Marta, the young and enthusiastic heroine, whose ambition it is to encourage the higher education of the people, complains that she has found a dark and impassable gulf between herself and them.

The title of the book is based on an argument which takes place between two of the characters, one of whom, a doctor, is made to speak for his native country :—

'Finland was Finland,' he said. 'It was true that it was a little country, but he had his own views with regard to the smaller nations. It was they who were to lead the world onwards. One had but to read the world's history with due care and attention in order to draw the obvious conclusions. Think of the Greeks and Hebrews, and the influence which they exerted on humanity at large! The people of Finland had a great civilising mission before them; it was they who were to lead the world.'

'No, come now! you cannot mean it seriously,' John exclaimed, as the doctor hesitated. 'Think of all that the great nations have done for the progress of the world, think how the English and Americans have spread civilisation far and wide. Yours are just the kind of ideas that do so much harm in our country; we live on fine poetic thoughts and dream dreams in which our own land is something apart, something wonderful, and each one believes himself to be a hero; the consequence of it all is that we waste our strength, while our country—our poor, remote, insignificant little country, is isolated more than need be by this accursed struggle between two languages. What does a language signify? Nothing at all. It is by far the best to speak one of the great languages that open the door to the culture and experience of great nations.'

These arguments represent in a most characteristic manner the two classes of opinion which prevail, not only in Finland, but throughout Scandinavia—a striving on the one hand to maintain a separate nationality, and on the other the consciousness that their own language cannot suffice as the medium of a widespread culture. But of these opinions the author favours the more idealistic of the two.

John dies of an accident in Paris, and Marta returns with his brother to Finland. As the ship approaches Helsingfors an English tourist, who is on his way to fish in northern waters, makes the remark that the times are bad for Finland, and Marta answers eagerly: 'If we each do our utmost there is still hope—we may still march onwards.' The tourist looks surprised, and with a doubtful shake of the head, he murmurs, 'Visionaries!'

This was written in 1894, and the Czar's rescript did not appear until five years later, but coming events had already cast their shadows before. The two passages quoted are intensely characteristic of the present attitude of the Finnish people: they give us their politics in a nutshell. There is no thought of revolution. The Czar is as safe in Finland to-day as any constitutional monarch could be, safer there than in any other portion of his vast dominion. Education, patience,

hope, these are the watchwords of the people, for not by the sword are the greatest victories won.

Thus far we have dealt only with authors who represent the Swedish-speaking population ; in order to find the real Finn we must look to Päivärinta and Minna Canth, with the aid of whose writings we are able to picture to ourselves the chief characteristics of the race. More melancholy than the Scandinavian, the Finns are perhaps more religious, certainly more poetic ; and if the world has not heard much of their poetry since the *Kalevala*, it is because they, like the Celts, have sung in a language which very few can understand.

Pietari Päivärinta was born in 1827, the eldest son of poor parents, so poor that on more than one occasion little Pietari was sent out to beg. His parents taught him to read, and somehow or other he picked up a knowledge of writing. From the age of ten onwards he was able to earn his own living, and at twenty-two he married the daughter of a poor farmer and borrowed a sufficient sum of money to purchase a piece of uncultivated land in the forest ; a few years later he received the appointment of parish clerk, and in 1882 he became a member of Parliament. From his earliest childhood he had always shown a great predilection for books, which he contrived to buy in spite of his scanty means. His reading was chiefly confined to newspapers and *belles-lettres* ; he read Dickens, and the book called *Myself and Others* is said to have been suggested by *David Copperfield*. His first attempt at writing took the form of newspaper correspondence, and it was not until he had reached the age of forty that one day, while ploughing, the idea suddenly occurred to him that he would like to write a book. His first works were, however, of no great importance ; he collected and edited the letters of certain Pietist leaders addressed to their followers, and he wrote a play which was never published. He had little time to devote to writing, until one day in 1876 he had a fall and broke his foot, and during the period of enforced idleness which ensued he began to write his autobiography, which was afterwards published by the Finnish Society for the Education of the People, and for it he received the sum of 24*l*. Encouraged by this success, he wrote a great many books and short stories, most of which have been translated into Swedish and some into German. His main object was to address himself to the class to which he belonged, and when he describes the everyday life of the working people he does it in order to interest them and without any thought of appealing to a different class of reader. In his short story called *A Frosty Morning* he gives an account of the same terrible August frost which Tavaststjerna described in *Hard Times*, and he tells us of a young man called Matti, a peasant's son, who is consumed with a thirst for reading, who quotes Runeberg, and treasures the poems that appear in the daily paper, preferring those which cast a halo of romance around a daily life of toil like his own. Matti is no

fancied character, he is one whom Päivärinta has met, and it was probably in some such way that the thought came to him to devote his pen to the description of the scenes with which he was most familiar. His writing is that of an old man with a large experience of life, and his stories are like the old-fashioned pencil drawings of two generations ago, careful in every detail and true to Nature in her everyday aspect, but entirely void of passion; they present no varying moods, and differ strangely from the modern style which is as impressionist in literature as it is in painting. The one is satisfied with the habitual, the grey day of human life, while the other goes out of its way to seek the fantastic, till often like a rainbow on the painter's canvas it produces the unreal effect of giving permanency to something that is by nature transient.

Päivärinta's books bear traces of a strong and healthy temperament combined with a capacity for clear, straightforward reasoning; his tendency is essentially democratic; in him there are no signs of that spirit of excessive humility, approximating to the Slav type which allows itself to be crushed and downtrodden, such as we find depicted in the characters of Minna Canth's dramas.

In Minna Canth's case a great deal of her despondency was due to the outward circumstances of her life. Weighed down by poverty, hard work, and the anxieties of a large family, she was never given the chance of developing her talent to the full extent of its possibilities, and unfortunately she allowed her art to become, what art should never be, subservient to a purpose. Drink, poverty, and laws unfavourable to women were the evils which she saw around her, and these she described with unflinching zeal, and in the face of opposition which amounted to something allied to persecution. Those who have had the advantage of seeing her plays acted maintain that she was the greatest woman dramatist who has ever lived, and if further testimony is wanting it may be had in the fact that people went to law with her because they recognised a likeness of themselves in what she had written.

Minna Johnson was born in 1844 in the town of Tammerfors, where her father was superintendent of a large cotton factory. At the age of five she was looked upon as an infant prodigy because she could not only read, but also sing hymns and play her own accompaniments. At nineteen she discovered that it was her mission in life 'to teach the people.' She accordingly entered a seminary for school teachers, but left it the following year in order to marry Johan Ferdinand Canth, a teacher of natural science, after which all her aspirations were laid aside for the duties of housekeeping which her soul hated. In later years, when she looked back upon this period of her life, she was forced to confess that her troubles had been greatly increased by the morbid sensitiveness of her conscience, which interpreted the duty of a wife's subjection in such a manner that she never

allowed herself to give vent to a single original thought, and denied herself all pleasure, even that of reading. It was not until eight years after her marriage that she was able to give her mind to literature without doing violence to her conscience. Her husband had been appointed editor of a newspaper, and in order to assist him in his work she wrote powerful articles against the sale of brandy, forgetful of the fact that the proprietor of the paper was also the owner of a large distillery, with the result that the editorship had to be given up, while she was forced to return to her sewing-machine. She would probably have ceased writing altogether if it had not been that a few years later the Finnish Theatrical Company gave several representations in the town, which suggested to her the idea of writing a play; and the result of this first attempt was *The Burglars*, in which a girl is unjustly accused of theft. The play proved an immense success, and the Finnish Literary Society awarded her a prize. In the meantime her husband died, and she was left with seven young children to provide for. In order to do this she set up a shop for cotton goods, which proved a complete financial success, and also wrote another play called *At Roinila Farm*, which was as successful as the first had been. At this period of her life she seems, strangely enough, to have had more leisure for reading, and the books which she quotes as having influenced her are Brandes's *Main Currents* and works by Taine, Herbert Spencer, Stuart Mill, and Buckle. She used to say that these had been the means of freeing her soul from bondage.

Her next work was a problem play called *The Workman's Wife*, which is probably the best thing she has written. A workman marries a woman for the sake of her savings, spends the money on drink, nearly starves the child, and ends by causing his wife's death. The characters are very life-like, and are not without a certain grim humour. The following is an excellent argument on political economy from a drunkard's point of view. Risto, the husband, has just made the remark that men such as he and his friend are not of much good in the world, to which the friend replies:—

*Toppo.* As drinkers, you mean? But that is just the point. Don't you see that here, in this country, things are so wisely arranged that we are by no means useless members of society? We may live as we like, in any case we are doing something towards the welfare of the country. If we work, well and good. If we drink it does no harm either. If there were no brandy drinkers there would be no brandy distilleries, and if there were no brandy distilleries there would be no brandy taxes, and then where would they get the money to build schools and railways?

*Risto.* Yes, upon my soul, that's true! I wonder that I never thought of it before. You are no fool, *Toppo*.

*Toppo.* Now, on the other hand, look at the gentry. They drink expensive foreign wines, they wear foreign clothes, and their food and household stuffs—everything, in fact, down to the most insignificant details has to be fetched from abroad. Do you suppose that *that* doesn't do harm to the country? How is it all to be paid for if not by the sweat and labour of the people?

This play was acted at Helsingfors, and also, in a Swedish translation, at Stockholm. By some it was praised to the skies, by others violently abused, and even by the writer herself it has been severely criticised. It contained much bitter satire, she said, but nothing of any psychological depth, nor could it be called matured art. She was never satisfied with any of her writings, but always hoped to do better in the future; she died leaving that hope unfulfilled. She wrote three or four plays later on, besides two novels and several short stories and articles, but it is doubtful if any of them were equal to *The Workman's Wife*. The amount of literary work which she achieved is astonishing when one considers how much she did besides; she translated all the six volumes of Brandes's *Main Currents* into Finnish, but owing to the representations made by the clergy, to her publishers the publication was stopped after the issue of the first volume. People began to hold her up as an atheist and accused her of leading the young astray, they pitied her children for having such a mother, and so exaggerated were their accusations that it required no little moral courage to be a friend of hers. It was only to be expected that this want of sympathy should have a corresponding effect upon her character, and it is not surprising if she never attained to all that she might have been amid more favourable surroundings.

The writings of Päivrinta and Minna Canth present a wide contrast to those of Juhani Aho, whose style bears so much resemblance to that of modern Swedish writers that it is often difficult to realise that he is not a Scandinavian. Juhani Aho (J. Brofeldt, born 1861) is the son of a clergyman of Savolaks. His first book was a collection of short stories descriptive of the lives of the country people, and one of these, called *When Father Bought the Lamp*, is reckoned a little masterpiece. A later work has been translated into English under the title of *Squire Hellman*<sup>1</sup> and *other Stories*, but his best book is a novel in two parts called *The Clergyman's Daughter* and *The Clergyman's Wife*. Like Björnson, he introduces his characters as children, describing early influences which explain the gradual development of his heroine from a lonely little girl, who delights to climb high trees where she can sit unseen and indulge in daydreams, to the grown woman in whom daydreams have absorbed the best part of life.

The account of Elli's childhood and schooldays is very vividly given, and so, too, is the description of her first ball, where she finds herself the only girl in a grey homespun dress, without gloves, and with her hair done in a pigtail. Then follows the account of her return home, and the reading of forbidden books, *The Talisman* and Runeberg's *Hannah*—forbidden because they treat of love, for although Elli has been taught that marriage is to be the chief object

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Nisbet Bain, and published by Fisher Unwin in the Pseudonym Library, 1893.

of her life all thought of romance is excluded. Elli's mother is a woman with strict religious views who has accustomed herself to accept all things in life with the same unquestioning faith as the dogmas of her religion. She never loved her husband, yet she got on well enough, and she cannot see why her daughter should not do the same; so when a fat elderly clergyman with a pronounced squint comes to stay some weeks in their house, accompanied by a young student called Olof Kalm, and when he, the clergyman, ends by proposing to Elli, the mother is ready with the same old argument which her own mother had used to induce her to marry: 'You do not love him now,' she says, 'but with time you will learn to do so. He is a good and honest man. Besides, what else can you do? Some day you must marry.' No one alludes to the subject again, and as Elli has not the courage to start it, the others appear to take her tacit consent for granted. Time passes, and the situation becomes more and more difficult, the unwelcome suitor shows no signs of leaving, and at last it seems to Elli that she has forfeited her right to a choice in the matter. She becomes engaged to him, and there the first part of the story ends.

In the second volume Elli has become *The Clergyman's Wife*. She lives in a picturesque, old-fashioned red house amid scenery which is not unlike that which surrounded her old home, except that the fjord is a highway for the tourist traffic during the summer season, and the large passenger steamers pass within view of the windows. It is the kind of place at which the world-weary stranger throws a longing glance. 'What a peaceful spot!' he exclaims, 'how delightful it would be to live there.' Elli, who has lived there during the five years of her married life, does not find it so pleasant. There is a feeling of melancholy that pervades the atmosphere, induced partly by the sound of waves splashing against the shore, partly by the quivering leaves of the aspens, and maybe by the glare of the sun against the window panes, displaying the utter absence of life within. There is no sound of children's voices, no lowing cattle, and not even the sound of oars upon the water.

Elli is sitting close to the fjord under a birch tree, in a place which she has dedicated to her daydreams, where both her happiest and unhappiest hours are spent—happy because here at least there is no one to disturb her, unhappy because here she realises the full burden of her solitude. As she sits watching the ships sail by, 'looking out into the world,' as she calls it, she develops a superstitious belief that her life will not always go on as it has done, but that some day something will happen which will change the whole course of her existence. Perhaps someone will come in a boat and fetch her away. Elli has met only three men in her life: the first was scarcely to be called a man, he was little more than an overgrown schoolboy; the others were Olof Kalm and her husband. She had not realised

that she loved Olof when she first met him, but since those days he has somehow become idealised in her fancy as the embodiment of *what might have been*. Sometimes he takes the guise of a deliverer, and then she allows herself to think—for there can be no harm in thinking—how it would be if he were to come over the fjord and fetch her away.

‘Come as you are,’ he says, and gives her a kiss on the forehead.

‘How did you know that I loved you?’ she asks.

‘I saw it in your eyes.’

‘And you have come to fetch me?’

‘Yes, for I have thought of you by day and dreamed of you by night.’

‘Where shall we go?’

‘Away from here. The wind is with us; let us sail over the waters of the fjord.’

‘Then it is true that you love me?’

‘It is true.’

‘And you will always love me?’

‘Always! Come with me. No one will look for you; they will think that you have gone for a swim and are drowned. Hold up your shawl, it will make a sail.’

Away they go over the waves, away, away! The red house disappears in the distance, and she is on her way to a far country, where Olof lives in a little house on the edge of a steep hill.

Such dreams as these are supposed to belong only to girlhood; but Elli indulges in them still, and when at last she hears that her husband’s former travelling companion is actually coming to spend the summer with them as a paying guest she believes that he has come only for her sake, and that her secret wishes have had some strange, inexplicable power of drawing him towards her.

Olof comes, and the former acquaintance ripens. He finds Elli charming now that she is another man’s wife, and wonders why he had not thought so before. He is busily engaged in writing a book on ‘Woman in the Realistic Literature of France,’ woman being, as he says, a very popular subject at that time. He discusses all manner of social questions with Elli, unhappy marriages being one of them, and gives it as his opinion that all ill-assorted couples should separate. He knows that she is unhappy by a kind of instinct when on first entering the house the appearance of the dining-room oppresses him. The colourless walls and worn-out furniture bear the stamp of uniformity and boredom; he *knows* that they sit, year in, year out, each in his and her own place, gazing at their plates with nothing to say, while from time to time the silence is broken by a request to pass the bread or the remark that there is no more butter.

Olof’s artistic temperament enables him to see and to feel this as though he had been actually present, and he encourages Elli to tell him how she has spent her time, while he in turn confesses to her many things which cause her to admire him for his honesty, little



realising how easy a matter it is for a man to confess faults of which he is not in the very least ashamed. She tells him how she used to go out alone on ski after everyone else had gone to bed, how she wandered through the pine forests by moonlight and returned so tired that she was cured for the time being—cured of the terrible feeling of loneliness that haunted her.

To all that she tells him he listens with a sympathetic interest, and gradually he teaches her to share his interests—a thing which her husband had never attempted to do—and they read together Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Ibsen's *Doll's House*, and some of Runeberg's poems, lingering over his lines on friendship in *The Swan*.

'Do you believe in a friendship such as that?' Elli asked; and he replied:

'I believe that it is the only thing of any value, the only thing that remains when all else is lost and done for. It is the beginning of love, and it is love's heir. When love dies friendship remains.'

This was exactly what Elli thought too; she believed in it as the realisation of the life which she had sought after, *and she believed that Olof really meant what he had said.*

The italics are ours; they emphasise the knowledge of human nature contained in those words. If Juhani Aho describes the woman's inner life with unflinching realism, neither does he spare his own sex, and Olof's colossal selfishness looms large in all its cold-blooded deformity. He realises that she must have loved him long ago in the days before her marriage, and the thought flatters him: 'How grandly tragic! How she must have suffered!' The pity which he might have felt for her is swallowed up in an æsthetic sense of the fitness of things. He had read many French novels, and had felt attracted by the passionate manner in which women of the South expressed their feelings; even the most ordinary revolver tragedy delighted him; but here was something grander still—a silent suffering which knows nothing of the relief to be obtained by a passionate outburst, a soul weighted by a sense of duty, a life spent in suppressing itself. It gave him an artistic satisfaction to compare the women of the South with the women of the North, and now for the first time he did so to the advantage of the latter. Sometimes he, too, would let his imagination wander, thinking how pleasant it would be to have a secret love affair in a beautiful spot like this. What a delightful relaxation during the intervals of work and study! He was fully convinced that she loved him so much that she was practically his; he had but to stretch out his arms and she would come; but when he asked himself, 'Do I love her?' he decided that he did not do so sufficiently to devote himself entirely to her, while on the other hand he loved her too much to disturb her outward peace. He thinks that he understands her, but in reality he understands her only up to a certain point, while she, for her part, entirely fails to understand

him. She is a far simpler character than the women writers of 'human documents,' and it is a terrible shock when she discovers that although he is not satisfied with the friendship which they have so often discussed together he does not care for her sufficiently to be burdened for life; and when at last the awakening comes, and Olof sails away in a ship without her, she is left in the old place by the fjord, lonely as ever and more unhappy than before, because now even her daydreams have been taken from her.

There is something restful about Juhani Aho's style; his characters are made to stand out against a beautiful background of never-ending lakes and distant low-lying hills overgrown with dark pine forests. In his next book, *Panu* (1898), he gives the story of the last struggle between Christianity and heathendom. Panu, the Seer of Korpivaara, is a picturesque figure with his long, thin, straggling black hair, and a worthy descendant of the old magicians. His followers are large-limbed, bearded men, clothed in furs and armed with bows and arrows, their names having a strange sound, uncouth as themselves—Ilpo, Kuisma, Jouko, and others. They are camping out in the snow on their way to a fair with skins of animals for sale, their snow-shoes (ski) are standing upright in the snow round the camp fire, and before starting on their day's journey the men gather in a half-circle round their leader, who half sings, half chants, a prayer to the forest god.

The book is a beautiful panorama from beginning to end, with this peculiarity, that the scene is always laid out of doors and it is always winter. Aho is one of the few writers who know how to describe a northern winter without making their readers long for the fireside, and is able instead to make them conscious of the beauty and stillness of a great pine forest carpeted with snow where men on ski glide noiselessly in and out among the trees, bearing torches on a dark night.

Here ends a sketch of six authors whose works may be allowed to speak for them. They seldom dwell on politics, have never exhibited a revolutionary tendency, and it is extremely doubtful whether any nation in Europe can produce six representative writers who show less inclination to overthrow the foundations of Church and State; their ideals, both social and political, are based on all that is best in Western Europe; for 'the Finlanders have,' as a French writer puts it, 'idealised us, and in so doing they have striven hard to live up to their ideal.'

HERMIONE RAMSDEN.

## TABLE-TALK

It was a dinner where there could not be two conversations going on, and where even the silent take their share in the talk by their sympathy.—*Lothair*.

It was rather solemn, the Victorian dinner, and the diners felt that they were discharging a serious function. Solemn was the old butler with his stiff white cravat, magnificent the air with which he announced the feast or asked you to take wine. The dinner was somewhat over-substantial, but it was good; and like all artistic things, it grew and culminated when the white cloth was removed, and the feasters were left round the mahogany to their dessert, their gentle reminiscences, their wine, and their conversation.

Where is the solid old dining-room furniture? Gone to make ancient marquetry? or is the wily collector at work quietly preparing a boom in Early Victorian pieces?

The dinner-table of mahogany, fine in grain, beautiful in colour, and lustrous with much elbow grease, was a thing to see and to remember, decked with an array of dishes and wine-glasses of cut glass which sparkled bravely, and were reflected in the board; the decanters, stately in their silver stalls, the collars of their respective orders reposing on their ample breasts. Those were the days of Madeira, not to be drunk until it had made its sea voyage; but every wine had its history, and the host would personally superintend the taking down of some crusted bottle to celebrate the advent of an old friend.

The table recalls an old-fashioned hospitality, hard to beat at its best, and much good talk. Do people talk now? Is conversation going out of fashion? There is plenty of chatter, plenty of rattle, plenty of one man's or one woman's insistence on some instrument of two sous, with abundance of tags and rags and little baby talk. But do people talk in the sense in which they talked at the poet Rogers's breakfast parties, or at the late Lord Houghton's table, or round George Eliot's simple board? We very much doubt if they do. Good conversation implies the ability to listen, the desire to understand, the desire to strike sparks out of good metal; it demands a lively interest, a real sympathy, and at its highest is surely the most delightful of intellectual stimulants. Like all good things, restraint is of its

essence, and all participants should be alert, sympathetic, and modest.

Those who are actively engaged in the fray can hardly judge of the consummate art with which the skilful host or hostess throws the shuttle from one to another, checks the refractory man, and changes the venue if the subject grows stale or the discussion overheated, leading the eager coursers, without perceptible break, down a fresh alley after new game. It is a pretty sport in which women far excel men: they have a tact, a nimbleness of wit, a spontaneity, as cooling and refreshing to table-talk as the dew after a burning day, and they are helped to this by a sense of irresponsibility. Not that all women are equally gifted in this matter. All women have not sympathy, nor have all women understanding, and the hostess who leads the conversation round her table must be a woman of parts. But there are other types. There is the hostess, 'the most delightful woman in London to talk across.' That is the type receptive; it demands an 'air,' and is perhaps somewhat languorous and over-appreciative, but it is sympathetic and the conversation flourishes. The hostess who cavils at everything that is said cuts off the timid little shoots of speech made by her guests, and effectively prevents them from being merry, entertaining, or interesting.

But why is it that conversation has gone out of fashion? The first thing that must occur to everyone is that no one can possibly talk in a restaurant, and as the fashion now is to dine in restaurants, with the clatter of other tables about you, and the clash of music to boot, no one desires to talk himself, or, indeed, can hear if anyone else talks.

There are two things which should be intimate and secluded—a garden and a dinner-table. There cannot be a garden—a true garden—without trees to act as shelter and a screen. The more completely the garden is enclosed and sheltered from outside observation the more perfect a garden will it be, and so with a dinner-table. It should be private, as secluded as possible; set in surroundings as individual as possible. The hangings and pictures on the walls, the colour of the curtains, the ware on the table, the very chairs, all enter into the flavour of the dishes, and assist or injure the conversation. That the table should be on a luxurious scale is not at all necessary. Simplicity and luxury are both good in their places and on occasion, but the values must be kept right, or the sense of harmony will be destroyed. A *soupe maigre* and a dish of turtle have almost equal merits, but each of them strikes a definite note which must be considered throughout the repast. Doubtless the experienced diner-out will have his anecdotes attuned to the one or the other. It is quite certain that *potage bonne femme* suggests a different type of conversation from clear turtle, while canvas-backed duck requires something exuberant and exotic. Here one may be permitted to say that whatever the scale of the dinner, whether

simple or elaborate, anecdotes need to be kept in strictest restraint, like the airs in a modern opera. Anecdotes are the bane of conversation, which requires two, three, four, or even more performers, and is more like a fugue in four or in eight parts than a solo. This, however, is a counsel of perfection.

Every dinner-table then should have a personal note, ranging it may be from the bit of curly mutton and the custard apple to the feasts on an elaborate scale. But if restaurant dinners have dealt a serious blow to conversation, there are other causes of decay. 'Shop' has always been the greatest foe to good talk—shop of any kind, legal, parliamentary, or artistic. But a new kind of shop has arisen more engrossing and crushing than any yet known. I mean the 'shop' of sport. How many families there are in England in which nothing is heard round the dinner-table but chatter of cricket and football averages or the 'kill' with rod or gun. The mother is often to be seen painfully acquiring these wearisome statistics, which she does to please the young people. But she makes a great mistake, for leaving out of consideration the stranger within her gates, to whom all this can afford but poor entertainment, the mother should be hostess at her own table, and can make the talk gay and interesting if she will take the trouble and keep the schoolboy shop within reasonable limits. Boys and girls, brought up never to hear anything else, cease to be able to talk rationally on any subject, and the disability continues into mature life. The writer once heard a tradesman say to his wife *à propos* of some entertainment to which both were invited: 'What's the good of your going; you can't sustain a conversation, you know you can't.' 'That's true,' answered the wife with a sweet smile. 'I know I can't, but I like to listen to those as can.' A pretty reply on the part of the wife; but since that episode it is impossible not to divide the world into those 'as can' sustain a conversation and those 'as can't.'

The French have some dinner-table conventions which to us would seem strange. At any small gathering of eight or ten persons the talk is always supposed to be general, the individual who should try to begin a *tête-à-tête* conversation with the person sitting next at table would soon find out his mistake. Conversation, general conversation, is part of the repast, like the bread, the salt, or the wine, and is common to all. What admirable talk you will hear at the table of the smallest bourgeoisie, bright, sparkling, full of mother wit and good sense; and the delight in a happy saying runs round the table and stimulates afresh. This in spite of the presence of the children, who are not always well behaved, and the evident cares of bread which possess the hostess. The French love to speak well, and rightly consider their language to be a most beautiful and flexible instrument for social purposes. 'They take pains therefore to pronounce the words well, and to play on them with grace and dexterity. You may often hear

after such an entertainment as I have described, *Ce n'est pas bien parler*, in criticism of an awkward, ugly phrase.

But how can good conversation be defined? Like many other good things, it is easier to say what it is not than what it is. It might seem that the man with a subject must certainly talk well and be interesting. Alas! he is often inarticulate, and, if he can talk, talks only too well. A solo on the trombone is not conversation, though it may be used as a *leitmotif* in skilful hands. But besides the interesting topic and the wise saying, there is the shrewd hit, the happy rejoinder, and on all sides lie the graceful, the unexpected; the fantastic. Conversation has its *allegro*, as well as its *penseroso*, its *andante* and its *scherzo*. Perhaps the essential elements of good table-talk are these:

That the talkers should themselves feel an interest in what they say.

That they should be able to talk, *i.e.* to make expression clear, brilliant, and effective.

Here, perhaps, lies the difficulty with the English people. The mangling of our poor mother tongue has reached great lengths; not only in pronunciation, by the clipping of words in the upper classes, and by the loss of the *th* and the *r* in the uneducated, but by sheer impoverishment of speech. In the streets of our great towns there is but one adjective to express all shades of feeling; there are not very many to be heard in gilded circles. Lord Beaconsfield, we know, limited the English language to four words, 'to which some grammarians add *fond*.' That, to-day, would be a large vocabulary.

What a pleasant shock it gives one to come to the country and hear some real old English spoken with individuality and conviction. What a rich spice and flavour it gives to speech, and of what importance it must be to the mental processes. Mr. Wells warns us 'That a gap in a man's vocabulary is a hole and tatter in his mind; . . . words he has not signify ideas that he has no means of clearly apprehending; they are patches of imperfect existence, factors in the total amount of his personal failure to live.' And again, 'In England, at any rate, if one talks beyond the range of white-nigger English one commits a social breach.' It would certainly seem that at the time of England's greatest vitality her superabundance of life found expression in the greatest of her poets with his amazing wealth of words. But is not life tingling to-day with emotion, with the strange sense of impending events and unexpected discoveries? Why have we lost the gift of verbal expression?

• Travellers must have noticed that Americans, men and women, always arrest attention when they speak. They pitch the note of speech in high tones commonly, and speak with deliberation: but in what they say there is simplicity, freshness, conviction; there is no pattern of stale slang words to be copied, but every individual

chooses his expressions to suit his mood and the occasion. They manage to put simple things freshly; as when the American lady said that 'though she had crossed the Atlantic nine times she had never called for a storm pan once.' Our indolence in speech is the reason why so many good old words which we could ill spare have gone to America and are lost to us. Who knows to-day what are the *clevels* of an orange or the *strigs* of a bunch of grapes?

But we must go to the French if we want sage advice about the art of table-talk. *Ne pas pontifier : ne pas trop appuyer* : are counsels which lead up to the famous aphorism *L'art d'ennuyer c'est de tout dire*. *Ne pas souligner* is advice to actors, but may very well be applied to private life. But, on the other hand, lest the courtesies and graces of life should be curtailed by these stringent criticisms, we have *Tout ce qui va sans dire, va encore mieux en le disant*. *Il s'écoute trop* is a delicate warning to the sententious; as also *Il chante quand il parle*. These are admirable antidotes to the over-emphatic, the insistent, or the dominating. There is a still more suggestive phrase which we quote in English. 'That the man who never says a foolish thing in conversation will never say a wise one.' To be simple, natural, easy, gay, might be a shorter catechism for beginners until they reach those higher planes for which age and experience alone qualify. They would be spared such a rebuff as the following:

A young Parisian at lunch had been holding forth for the good half of an hour on a play he had seen, the story, the socialist tendencies of the piece, the acting. Everyone round the table had seen the play, which failed to interest them. They were naturally bored.

'*Mais, mon cher monsieur,*' said the pretty young hostess, '*c'est donc une conférence votre pièce.*'

A neatly turned 'mot' which extinguished the orator.

After all, we need good table-talk from a literary point of view. The spoken word and the written word are two distinct influences; in the spoken word we have that which can hardly bear the formality of pen and paper. Judgment of men and things, delicacies of feeling and criticism, most precious in themselves, will easily evaporate in a paragraph. Writers who have tried to give to the general public some idea of the charm of the conversation of the late Lord Bowen must have felt how all that was graceful and fantastic in it eluded them, how despairing a task it was to set it down in black and white. Why is it that to-day, when there is so much skill in the written word, the spoken word is neglected—that we make articulate noises, but have given up talking?

A great French critic, in making the *éloge* of La Fontaine, said of him, quoting the poet's own words:

Sa muse aimable et nonchalante  
Laisse tomber les fleurs et ne les répand pas.

That surely is the right note for conversation. If men talked in paragraphs, with commas, colons, and semicolons, in set pieces of pyrotechnic brilliancy, conversation would become a bore and the dinner-hour a nightmare. But that men and women should give us of their best, their charm, their gaiety, their humour, and their wisdom, that is the ideal of table-talk ; and as the English are apt to be somewhat heavy-handed, we would add that the petals from the flowers of speech should fall lightly, naturally, not be scattered broadcast or hurled at our heads. We want no battle even of flowers. . . .

ETHEL B. HARRISON.



## SIR ROBERT WILSON

## A FORGOTTEN ADVENTURER

AMONG the minor characters crowded upon the stage for the performance of the Napoleonic drama few are to be seen so incessantly in action as Sir Robert Thomas Wilson ; none seems to be so perpetually on the brink of violent death by land or sea in the service of his country. Was there a risky reconnaissance to be made upon the line of the enemy's advance ? Wilson was the officer appointed to the task. Did a minister stand in need of a secret emissary to a foreign court, who so ready as Wilson to run the hazard of being captured and shot as a spy ? It is tantalising to think what romance Alexandre Dumas might have woven out of the bare narrative of his adventures. The mine has never been rightly worked ; for, although Wilson's nephew, the Rev. Herbert Randolph, compiled from his uncle's voluminous journals and correspondence what was intended to be his full biography,<sup>1</sup> he only carried the narrative down to the year 1807 ; whereas Wilson lived till 1849, and some of the most exciting episodes of his career must be searched out of a variety of scattered records. The third volume, which Randolph promised should 'fitly commence the history of ministerial wrong in the distribution of the rewards of service,' never was published. Better so, perhaps, seeing that no subject affords less attractive reading than exhumed grievances.

The name standing at the head of this paper revives, in the minds of most Englishmen, no distinct personality. The present generation may almost claim to feel personal acquaintance with many of Wilson's contemporaries and employers—Canning, of flashing wit and uncertain temper ; Sir John Moore, that fascinating blend of gentleness and fiery impatience ; Wellington, with his curt, cold interrogatives ; Picton, with his quaint expletives and uncouth headgear ; kindly, homely, 'Daddy' Hill ; icy, inflexible Craufurd ; so clearly have these and other individualities been brought out in history and memoir. But Wilson they have dismissed from remembrance ; or, at least, they forget how various and how valuable were his services, recollecting little more than the disfavour and professional disgrace which he incurred by indiscreet zeal in the cause of Queen Caroline.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of General Sir Robert Wilson* (Murray, 1862).

Yet nobody can have stirred the records of the first quarter of the nineteenth century without constantly coming across Wilson's name and work, nor have failed to speculate in passing why Wilson, although loaded with titles and decorations by foreign sovereigns (in days when these honours were far more charingly bestowed than they are now), never received the slightest recognition of that kind from his own king. Even the knightly prefix 'Sir' before Robert Wilson's name was of exotic origin, indicating the knighthood conveyed with the cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, bestowed upon him, at the age of twenty-one, by the Emperor Francis the Second for gallant conduct in the field. This distinction also carried with it the hereditary rank of Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and subsequent promotion in the Order raised Wilson to the degree of Count, had he cared to claim it.

Other foreign orders followed thick and fast, bringing into striking relief the omission of Wilson's name from the honours list of his own sovereign.

1801. Knight of the Turkish Order of the Crescent, for the Egyptian Campaign under Abercromby.

1806. Cross of the Russian Order of St. George, for services at the battle of Eylau.

1811. Knight Commander of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword, with war medal, for services in command of the Lusitanian Legion.

1813. Knight Commander of the Russian Order of St. George; Grand Cross of the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle; and promotion to Knight Commander of the Austrian Order of Maria Theresa; all for services at the battles of Lützen and Bautzen.

Grand Cross of the Russian Order of St. Anne and the Moscow Medal (which no other British officer was ever entitled to wear). for services as British Commissioner with the Russian Army during Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

Mr. Randolph, in the introduction to his uncle's Life, attributes Wilson's 'exclusion from the customary rewards of conspicuous merit' to the 'determined and systematic injury of successive Governments on party grounds;' but this can scarcely be reconciled with Wilson's frequent employment by Canning on confidential missions, and by Castlereagh after Canning's resignation in 1809. Wilson continued a keen Canningite in politics till 1827, when he was busily employed in helping Canning to form an administration. Canning, therefore, had every reason to befriend his follower; yet Randolph can mean no other than Canning in his allusion to 'the man who resented it [party spite] with vehement indignation, and denounced it with impassioned eloquence when it was the act of political adversaries against a political and personal friend, inflicted the same injury when those relations were altered in after years, and when he had himself succeeded to ministerial power.' But by that time Canning, however anxious to befriend his follower, had to reckon with George

the Fourth, whom Wilson had irremediably offended by his championship of Queen Caroline. Canning's own part in connection with that deplorable affair was too recent, and too little to his sovereign's liking, to make it prudent for the Minister to refresh his master's memory on the subject.

A review of Sir Robert Wilson's career, one of the most adventurous in the history of any nation, does not help much to an explanation of the mixture of confidence and distrust shown to him by his employers. Born in Bloomsbury in 1777, he was the son of Benjamin Wilson, a man of many attainments. Benjamin was simultaneously portrait painter, sculptor, electrician, and theatrical manager, while his proficiency in chemistry, and especially in electrical research, won for him in 1760 the gold medal of the Royal Society, whereof he had been elected a Fellow. Robert Wilson was educated at the public schools both of Westminster and Winchester. At the age of seventeen he presented in person to George the Third a memorial recalling the favour shown to his father by his Majesty, and praying for a commission in the Guards. The King took the memorial as he was going into chapel at Windsor, and sent reply by an equerry : ' Tell him Frederick will provide for him.'

Now Frederick was the Duke of York, at that time (1794) conducting one of his inglorious campaigns in Flanders ; and to Flanders the lad betook himself, despite the remonstrance of his guardian and friends. The British Army at that time had become sorely discredited as an opening for steady young men. The Duke gave him a cornetcy in the 15th Light Dragoons ; and, before Wilson had time to get his uniform fitted or learn his drill, he was engaged at the storm and sack of Prémont on the 17th of April, which opened his eyes to the nature of real work, as it was then understood and practised.

Prémont having been carried by assault, I was told that the lives of the survivors, the persons of the women, and the property of everyone, became the lawful spoil of the conqueror. . . . The distress of the poor children, amidst the tears of their parents and their burning homes, the carnage, roar of cannon, confusion and violence, particularly moved my pity.

For twenty years to come Wilson was to pass his life among such scenes, and worse ; yet his heart never hardened against the victims of war.

He had not been a month in the King's service before he earned his first distinction in a gallant affair. On the 24th of April two squadrons of the 15th and two squadrons of the Leopold Hussars were sent forward under the Hungarian General Otto to reconnoitre the enemy near Cambray. They found him in unexpected force of all three arms at Villiers-en-Couché ; and it was clear that the Emperor of Austria, then on his way to Catillon, must be taken unless the French left could be forced back. Not a moment was to be lost ;

Otto had demanded reinforcements, but they had not come up. He ordered an immediate charge. The four squadrons dashed upon the French infantry and artillery with such suddenness and momentum as to shatter the line; passed through it, routed a column of cavalry in rear, and drove the fugitives four miles, till Bouchain's guns arrested the pursuit. Otto's 300 sabres accounted for 1,200 killed and wounded of the enemy; three guns were taken; the French posts were withdrawn, and Francis the Second passed on his journey in safety. In recognition of this brilliant exploit, the Emperor caused nine gold medals to be struck: one was consigned to the Imperial Cabinet, the others were bestowed upon the eight British officers of the 15th (Wilson being one of them); a decoration which George the Third granted them permission to wear 'as an honorary badge of their bravery in the field.'<sup>2</sup> In addition to this, as mentioned above, these lucky officers received from the grateful Emperor crosses of the Order of Maria Theresa. It would be difficult to find another instance of the fortune of war being so free of her favours towards the 'boots' of a regiment.

This was one of the few bright lights upon a very gloomy canvas. In truth the British Army, during this dismal campaign, was at the lowest ebb of efficiency and prestige. The men were of sterling stuff; but the officers, taken as a whole, were a scandal to any service. Wilson frequently expresses disgust at their almost universal drunkenness.

At that time it was the fashion to drink as drunkards daily, and the drink was strong port wine instead of the pure vintage of France. . . . What shocked me most was to see courts-martial adjudging men to be punished for an offence of which the members themselves had often been guilty at the same time, and from which they had frequently not recovered when passing sentence. I hope the day will come<sup>3</sup>—and it seems to be advancing—when such a statement will be deemed the assertion of an impossibility, or, in plain English, an outrage against truth and the honour of the army.

This may seem an exaggerated impression upon the sensibilities of a lad fresh from home; but there was another young soldier with the army, who has never been accused of yielding to emotion, yet who tells much the same story. Arthur Wesley, to be better known as Wellesley and Wellington, was in command of the 33rd Regiment, being of the fine age of five-and-twenty. He has testified that, during this campaign, he often saw despatches, brought in to officers at table, flung aside till the drink was finished, when they received such attention as their recipients might be in a condition to give.

Like Charles Napier, and probably many other humane and cultivated British officers, Wilson never overcame the horror he

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, June 9, 1798.

<sup>3</sup> To this passage in his fragmentary narrative Wilson appends the following note: 'It has almost come. October 14, 1824.—R. W.'

experienced on becoming acquainted with the sickening methods which were then thought essential to discipline.

At the same time that the British soldiers were maintaining with such devoted fortitude the glory of England, their camps daily presented the most disgusting and painful scenes of punishment. The halberds were regularly erected along the lines every morning, and the shrieks of the sufferers made a pandemonium, from which the foreigner fled with terror and astonishment at the severity of our military code.

Wilson returned to the subject in his *Inquiry into the State of the British Army with a view to its Reorganisation*, published in 1804.

Educated in the 15th Light Dragoons, I was early instructed to respect the soldier. That was a corps before which the triangles were never planted; where each man felt an individual spirit of independence, and walked erect as if conscious of his dignity as a man and a soldier. . . . Corporal punishments never yet reformed a corps, but they have totally ruined many a man who would have proved under milder treatment a meritorious soldier. They break the spirit without amending the disposition.

It may easily be imagined that a young officer, bold enough to proclaim in print such revolutionary views, earned disapproval and distrust at the Horse Guards, which may account for the military authorities having withheld from him all honorary distinction; but the cause of his cold treatment by ministers, who constantly made use of his zeal and intrepidity in later years, must be sought elsewhere.

After the affair of Villiers-en-Couché, Wilson's regiment was engaged in all the numerous actions which took place until the disastrous retreat of the Allies upon Templeuve on the 18th of May, during which Wilson commanded the rearguard. It was a terrible affair; the Duke of York was within an ace of being captured; and so dire was the extremity of the Allies that, as Wilson records with horror, they slaughtered all their prisoners. The victory at Pont-à-Chin on the 22nd of May, where the French had about one hundred thousand, the Allies eighty thousand engaged, turned the tide of the campaign for a while.

On the 22nd of July Captain Calcraft and Lieutenant Wilson, having been directed to patrol with a squadron of the 15th in the direction of Bortel, rode right into that town, where Pichegru had his headquarters. Pichegru himself was absent, but the little *peloton* scattered his staff, captured an aide-de-camp and two gendarmes, mounted them on the general's horses, and brought them safely to the British camp, hotly pursued by two French cavalry regiments. Exploits like this, though they contributed little to the fortunes of the Allies, kept up their spirits and brought Wilson into notice as a most daring, cool-headed officer.

The Duke of York having been recalled from the command in the field of which he had proved so woefully unfit,<sup>4</sup> and the British Army

<sup>4</sup> This was the campaign in which the Duke of Wellington told Lord Mahon he

having been driven out of Holland, the 15th remained in Germany till the spring of 1796, when they embarked for England. Wilson purchased his troop, and became engaged to the beautiful Miss Jemima Belford. She was a ward in Chancery and under age; Wilson, also, was only twenty; wherefore, with full consent of their guardians and friends, the young couple made formal elopement to Gretna Green, where they went through a provisional marriage ceremony, to be ratified the following year by the rites of the Church of England in St. George's, Hanover Square.

Wilson, although devoted to his wife, remained faithful to his first love—his profession. Scarcely was the second marriage ceremony over, than he went off on General St. John's staff to Ireland, and acted as brigade-major and aide-de-camp during the suppression of the rebellion. No sooner was that grim service discharged, than he rejoined the 15th, then under orders for service at the Helder, and shared the laurels won by that fine corps at Egmont-op-Zee. Wilson was back in England in November, but, hearing that Sir Ralph Abercromby was about to lead an expedition against the French in Italy, he purchased the majority of Hompesch's Hussars.

Abercromby's destination having been altered to Egypt, Wilson, with all the ardour of two-and-twenty, pressed on at speed to overtake him. Travelling through Italy was no child's play. Twice he was all but lost at sea—once, when his impetuosity and guineas persuaded some fishermen to put out in a gale, and the boat was cast ashore at Messina—again when, having taken passage in a brig, she was saved by a sudden change of wind from imminent shipwreck. He landed at last in Aboukir Bay in time to take command of his hussars, and lead them at the battle of Alexandria (on the 21st of March 1801), where Abercromby received his death wound. He was present at the siege and capitulation of Alexandria in August, and returned to England after the French evacuation of Egypt. He published a history of the campaign, which ran through several editions, attracting much attention by reason of the charges of cruelty which it contained against Bonaparte, accusing him of having poisoned his prisoners at Jaffa wholesale, and of maltreating his own soldiers. These statements have been vehemently repudiated; but it is not likely that Wilson would have made them unless he had been satisfied of their truth, seeing that he ever had a sympathetic leaning towards revolutionary and imperial France. Indeed, he sometimes expressed compunction about fighting for the restoration of the Bourbons, whom he heartily detested. 'Perhaps,' he wrote in his account of the Netherlands campaign, 'I am framing a charge against myself for engaging in a service which aimed at the re-establishment of an unlimited monarchy . . . but my sense of the injustice of reimposing such a had learnt 'what one ought *not* to do; and that is always something.'—Stanhope's *Conversations*, p. 182.

government on France was not so strong as to control my martial inclinations.' In writing to Wilson acknowledging the gift of his book, Nelson passed a characteristic encomium upon Abercromby.

Your gallant and ever to be lamented chief proved, by the manner in which he fell, what an old French general said when asked what made a good or bad general. He replied: 'Two words—*allons—allez !*' Your chief and myself have taken the first, and victory followed; and the medal [for the affair at Villiers-en-Couché] which you so deservedly wear proves that you have imbibed the same sentiments.

Returning to England after the Egyptian campaign, Wilson spent two years as inspecting officer in the south-western district. Having purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 20th Light Dragoons, he sailed in March 1805 for the Cape of Good Hope to reinforce Sir David Baird. The fleet, under command of Sir Home Popham, steered for Brazil. A furious gale drove three of the ships upon the Pimental reef, two of them becoming total wrecks. General Yorke was drowned, and the frigate in which Wilson sailed made marvellous escape from shipwreck. Wilson landed with his regiment in Table Bay, too late for the decisive action of Blaauwberg, but in time to enter Cape Town when it was taken by Sir David Baird. This brought about the capitulation of the Dutch General Janssen and the end of the war. The heat was very trying to the troops; for it had not yet occurred to the Horse Guards to attempt any adaptation of the soldier's dress to extremes of climate, and the garb in which men and officers marched and fought under a tropical sun was after the traditional pattern invented by Frederick the Great for temperate regions. However, there had been a gleam of considerate sense in a recent order by George the Third, exempting soldiers on active service from obligation to wear the black leather stock. When Wilson asked Sir David Baird whether his men might discontinue this instrument of anguish, leave was peremptorily refused. Upon Wilson referring to the King's order, Sir David replied: 'I am his Majesty here, sir!' 'Very well, King David!' answered Wilson, bowing low, 'your Majesty's commands shall be obeyed.'

By this time Wilson had run such narrow escapes by sea that he prayed that it might be his fortune in future to serve his country on land; but his maritime mishaps were far from an end. In returning from the Cape to England, he attempted to pass at nightfall when in mid-Atlantic from one ship to another, which was not hove to as he thought she was. Darkness came on with a rising wind; the men fired their last musket shot without gaining attention; without food or water, their situation seemed desperate; when, by a lucky chance, one of the convoy which had got out of her course passed near, heard the hail, and picked up the party.

Historically, the most interesting part of Wilson's service begins at this point in his career. He had been in England only three months

when he was appointed, in November 1806, on Lord Hutchinson's staff, to proceed on a special mission to the King of Prussia. 'Surely,' he remarks in his journal, 'there is a peculiar ill fortune that persecutes me in navigation.' The *Astræa* frigate, in which he embarked with his chief on the 4th of November, battled with continuous adverse gales till the 30th; when she was driven ashore on the island of Anhalt, and was only got afloat again, after twenty-four hours with heavy seas breaking over her, by the sacrifice of her masts, guns, and stores.

Thereafter Wilson's journal abounds in vivid sketches of the various personalities with whom his duty brought him in contact. Thus at Königsberg:

'As Hutchinson and I were talking, a tall lean man with his hands in his pockets rushed bolt up to us and began to speak before we discovered that he was the King [of Prussia]. He was very civil, but awkward in address and general manners; and I observed a wildness of look that I could have imagined denoted an insane state of mind.' But Wilson adds the tantalising words: 'I shall reserve a memorandum of characters for a separate and very private manuscript.' Unhappily, this document, if it has been preserved, has never been published.

Sir Robert was sent as British Commissioner to the Russian headquarters at Jarnova, where the commander-in-chief, Kamenskoi, had gone mad in command of 140,000 troops, and had been replaced by Bennigsen. He was present at the battle of Eylau on the 7th and 8th of February, taking an exceedingly active part in the operations, and claiming the result of that most sanguinary conflict as a Russian victory. The first note of coming trouble sounds in his journal on the 30th of March.

I cannot express the anxiety felt by the Russians for some active co-operation on the side of England. If we do not assist her with troops, in the case of continuing the war, we shall become in her eyes a despicable ally and a mercenary people, seeking colonies for private advantage, instead of assisting the common cause of Europe. I really am often exposed to much mortification by their reflections on our supineness.

Both the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, oppressed with a sense of hopelessness in their struggle with the tremendous power of France, had begun to entertain a deep resentment against Great Britain, on account of her inactivity by land. Forgetting the supreme value of England's mastery of the sea, the cost at which she had won and was maintaining it, not to mention the copious subsidies by which King George's Ministers had enabled them to keep the field, these crowned heads were preparing to betray the alliance and make their own terms with Napoleon. This feeling grew ever more bitter, until Bennigsen was outgeneralled and his army destroyed at Friedland on the 14th of June; when negotiations were opened, leading to



the famous treaty of Tilsit, when England was thrown over and her Ministers rigorously excluded from all knowledge of its secret clauses.

The means by which Canning obtained information of the tenour of this agreement has ever remained an attractive mystery, whereof many explanations, more or less fanciful, have been offered. He had been but three months at the Foreign Office when he received warning that the secret clauses bound the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of the French in hostile alliance against England; and that Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal were to close their ports and declare war against her also. Canning took action upon this information with a lightning vigour that has contributed more to his renown than all his wit and eloquence, or his later influence upon European politics. The evidence was not complete; nothing could be laid before Parliament to justify his action; but by the 5th of September Copenhagen was in the hands of Lord Cathcart, and the British ensign was flying at the peak of every Danish man-of-war. Had he hesitated Great Britain was lost; for the old Northern confederacy was on the point of revival, without a ray of hope from the action of Austria.

Canning's promptness implies perfect confidence in his informants. Who were they? Not Lord G. Leveson-Gower nor Lord Hutchinson. Their despatches may be searched in vain for any light upon the source of Canning's knowledge of the purport of the secret clauses. He was made aware of the conference having taken place by Lord G. Leveson-Gower's despatch from Memel dated the 26th of June, which reached the Foreign Office on the 16th of July. On the same day Canning received a letter dated Memel, the 26th of June, written by one *who had been present at the Battle of Friedland on the 14th*, and concluding in these words:

After the army had crossed the Memel, General Bennigsen sent Prince Lobanoff to Bonaparte to propose an armistice, which has been agreed to; and yesterday an interview took place at Tilsit on a *pont volant* in the middle of the river between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia. They separated on the most amicable terms. As soon as the negotiation began, Lord Hutchinson left the army.

The writer of this letter could hardly be another than Sir Robert Wilson, who took a very active part in the Battle of Friedland.<sup>5</sup>

On the 21st of July Canning received more detailed information.

Intelligence reached me yesterday direct from Tilsit that, at an interview which took place between the Emperor of Russia and Bonaparte on the 25th of last month, the latter brought forward a proposal for a maritime league against Great Britain, to which the accession of Denmark was represented by Bonaparte to be as certain as it was essential.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Holland Rose argues that it must have been a Russian officer, because the writer, in describing the battle, speaks of 'we' [*English Historical Review*, October 1901], but all the evidence points to Wilson.

<sup>6</sup> Canning to Brook Taylor, Ambassador at Copenhagen.—*Foreign Office Records*.

Later, on the 5th of August, he mentions to Leveson-Gower that he has received 'multiplied and concurrent intelligence' which would have 'left the British Government without excuse had they delayed to take action.'<sup>7</sup> It is certain that the Court of Portugal was one source of this intelligence; Talleyrand, who signed the treaty, was quite capable of being another; but who was the *first* to put Canning on his guard? Wilson left Tilsit for Memel on the 19th of June; on the 28th he mentions that a British agent named Mackenzie had just 'brought accurate reports of the proceedings of the dishonoured Emperor of Russia and Buonaparte;' and on the 1st of July Lord G. Leveson-Gower directed Mackenzie to be ready to carry despatches to England. On the 8th Wilson, no longer able to restrain his impatience, disguised himself, first as a foreign private gentleman, then as a Cossack, and entered Tilsit. Every Englishman had received notice to quit that place; had Wilson been discovered his shrift must have been a short one. He would have suffered as a spy. Nevertheless, he swaggered about for a whole day among the French and Russian officers who were fraternising there during the armistice. His eager eyes were here, there, and everywhere.

About half-past seven, after a very long conference, the sovereigns appeared on horseback. Buonaparte was in the middle, the Emperor of Russia on his left, the Russian, French and Prussian guards intermingled in the same order. Behind Buonaparte also rode many officers—marshals of France—but disguised by their gingerbread clothes, and failing of the least resemblance to warriors. Buonaparte was grossly corpulent. . . . his face was very pale and unhealthily full. He was plainly dressed, with a cocked hat worn as the old Frederick wore it; and he had only a star to distinguish him. He was mounted on a little black Arab horse. The Emperor of Russia was majesty itself. He presented a nobility of air and mien which astonished me, and I heard all the French express their admiration.

Murat 'was dressed exactly like our May-day chimney-sweepers, except that the cloth of his coat was blue. . . . So thorough a coxcomb I never beheld.'

Wilson wrote a description of what he had seen to Count Woronsow, in London, who, replying on the 4th of August, reproached him earnestly for his rashness. 'J'ai montré votre lettre à Mr. Canning, qui en a été très content. Je puis vous assurer qu'il a beaucoup d'estime pour vous.'

The conference of crowned heads being at an end, Wilson went to St. Petersburg, and was employed throughout the winter of 1807-8 in carrying confidential despatches between Gower and Castlereagh. One of his journeys was momentous in its consequences. Despite the treaty and its secret clauses, so hostile to England, negotiations had been maintained between the British and Russian Governments, Wilson himself being received to several interviews with the Emperor

<sup>7</sup> Canning to Brooke Taylor, Ambassador at Copenhagen. — *Foreign Office Records.*

Alexander, whom he regarded as a mere tool in Napoleon's hand. On the 7th of November he received secret intelligence that Alexander was about to invade Swedish Finland, and to fulfil his compact with Napoleon by declaring war against Great Britain. Wilson at once informed Leveson-Gower, who charged him with despatches to the King of Sweden and to Canning. A Russian courier had got six-and-thirty hours' start of him. It was important that Wilson should reach Stockholm first, which he did by crossing the Gulf of Bothnia in a small boat, under extreme stress of weather, as usual. He won the race; sent warning to the King, sailed in the *Snipe* gun-brig for England, landed at Darlington on the 30th of November, posted 250 miles to London, and roused Canning from bed at four in the morning of the 2nd of December. Next day he went to breakfast with Canning, who warmly thanked him for his alacrity, which had enabled the admiral at Portsmouth to seize a Russian frigate carrying specie, and to send by a fast sailing frigate instructions to Sir Sidney Smith to intercept the Russian fleet.

In the following year, 1808, the Lusitanian Legion was put under command of Sir Robert Wilson. This was a corps formed in England of 3,000 Portuguese refugees, under British officers, for service in the Peninsula. Landing in Portugal in August, Wilson received the Portuguese rank of Brigadier-General, and was constantly employed with this force, which he brought to a high degree of efficiency, until it was absorbed in the reorganised Portuguese army in 1810. The services of the Legion are fully described in Napier's History. Wellington warmly acknowledges Wilson as very 'active, intelligent, and useful. Before the battle of the 28th [Talavera] he had pushed his parties almost to the gates of Madrid, with which city he was in communication, and he would have been in Madrid, if I had not thought it proper to call him in, in expectation of that general action which took place on the 28th of July. . . . Throughout the service he has shown himself to be an active and intelligent partisan, well acquainted with the country in which he was acting, and possessing the confidence of the troops which he commanded.'<sup>8</sup> High praise, this, from a general who was ever sparing in encomium. It obtained for Wilson his promotion to the rank of colonel, and the only complimentary distinction he ever received from his own Government, namely, the appointment of aide-de-camp to the King.

Limitations of space compel me to pass very briefly over Wilson's adventures during the two years following upon the absorption of the Lusitanian Legion; although during that time he took part in the most appalling episode in the history of modern Europe. In March 1812 he was attached, with the local rank of brigadier-general, to the embassy of Sir Robert Liston at Constantinople, and was charged with successive missions to the Grand Vizier at Schumla, to

<sup>8</sup> *Wellington's Despatches*, v. 67.

Tchichagoff commanding the Russian army of the Danube, and to the Emperor Alexander at St. Petersburg. In passing to the capital he indulged his insatiable military ardour by taking an active part in the Battle of Smolensk on the 16th of August. Having been received by the Tzar on the 4th of September and executed his mission, Wilson joined the Russian army near Moscow as British commissioner, having Baron Brinken and Lord Tyrconnel as aides-de-camp. Kutusow, the Russian commander-in-chief, soon forfeited the confidence of the army, who suspected him of being in league with, or at least tenderly disposed to, the French invaders. Bennigsen, therefore, 'with a dozen generals,' sought an interview with Wilson, and charged him to convey to Kutusow their determination not to permit the secret interview which had been arranged between Kutusow and the French general, Lauriston—an interview at which it was suspected Napoleon himself was to be present. Wilson did not flinch from this delicate mission. Kutusow, not unnaturally, received his communication with 'some asperity,' but finally yielded; and, instead of going at midnight to meet Lauriston beyond the lines, directed him to be blindfolded and brought to his quarters. There the Frenchman delivered a proposal for an armistice; which would have been all in favour of the invaders, and which, Wilson was convinced, would have been agreed to, but for his representation on behalf of the Russian generals.

It is difficult to refrain from quoting from Wilson's narrative of the events of that awful winter, so vivid is his version of the oft-told tale. The following passage from his journal written at Wilna on the 17th of December illustrates in a curious way how reluctant is human society to abandon, even in the presence of direst disaster, those ceremonial obligations to rank which many persons find intolerably irksome at the best of times.

This morning I came into Wilna along a road covered with human carcases, frozen in the contortions of expiring agonies. The entrance of the town was literally choked with dead bodies of men and horses, tumbrils, guns, carts, &c., and the streets were filled with traineaux carrying off the dead that still crowded the way. . . . Yesterday I saw four men grouped together, hands and legs frozen, minds yet vigorous, and two dogs tearing their feet. . . . This evening I went to the play, and was almost frozen. As it was a state occasion, I was obliged to remain till the conclusion; but my teeth chattered again, and when I rose to go I could scarcely use my limbs. There was not a lady in the house, which added to the wretchedness.<sup>9</sup>

As when the Russian army was falling back before the French advance upon Moscow, so now, when it was hovering on the flanks of the broken and starving host, Kutusow's generals were indignant with their chief's half-hearted strategy. Wilson was commissioned to convey to him a strong expression of their feelings, and to point out that greater vigour in attack must bring about the utter

<sup>9</sup> *Narrative of Events during the Invasion of Russia* (Murray, 1860).

destruction of the enemy. Kutusow's answer, if Wilson is to be credited, was as frank as it was startling to the British commissioner. He agreed that the French army was at his mercy, 'but,' he said in effect, 'who will benefit if I destroy the military power of France? Will it not be England, already mistress of the seas? If France is destroyed, England will be mistress of the land also.'

Not till after the campaign of 1813 do we get a hint that Wilson does not stand so well with his own government as he does with foreign rulers. Commissioner with the Russian army till the end of August, when he was shifted to the Austrian headquarters in Bohemia, our war eagle has shaken his plumes over all the great battlefields of that most thunderous year—Lützen, Bautzen, Dresden, Kulm, Kraupen, and Leipzig. The Tzar had called him in front of his Imperial Guard and with his own hands decorated him with a knight commander's Cross of St. George. Suddenly comes an order from London, directing Wilson to go as commissioner to the Austrian army in Italy, making way for Lord Burghersh, who has been appointed to Bohemia. Thereupon, mighty stir among the crowned heads assembled for the final crushing of France. What! remove our Wilson, without whom we should have been vanquished at Leipzig (so Schwartzemberg declared to Aberdeen)? Wilson, whose craft and tact in council have prevented us falling out among ourselves? Wilson, who, as Aberdeen wrote to Castlereagh, 'is able to do a thousand things which no one else could do?' Surely you will not take away from us our only man of brains and wit! If Wilson, replied Castlereagh coldly, has the confidence of all other governments, he wants that of his own. Moreover, he must begone before Burghersh arrives, else will there be sparks flying. So at least seems imminent from the terms of a private note from Castlereagh to Aberdeen, the 10th of December 1813.

I forward by this messenger the official order to Sir Rt. Wilson to proceed to the Army of Italy. If he is already gone, the letter will authorise what has been done. If not, it will put an end to a state of things which I consider to be as awkward by all the individuals as it is injurious to the authority of Government.<sup>10</sup>

Reason in all this, it might seem, for clean recalling Wilson to England; but not for sending a man who lacked the confidence of his own government, with increased emoluments, to the Austrian army in Italy, where affairs were at a peculiarly delicate crisis—Murat coquetting with the Powers, feigning sickness, to avoid signing away his allegiance to Napoleon. Wilson suspected his immediate chief, Lord Cathcart, of poisoning Castlereagh's mind against him; but Cathcart had written to Castlereagh warm eulogy of his fiery commissioner no longer ago than the 10th of November. Enclosing Wilson's report of 'a gallant affair' at Cassel, he says:

<sup>10</sup> *Foreign Office Records.*

It has been the constant practice of the Major-General [Wilson] throughout this and the last campaign to accompany every attack of consequence that has taken place within his reach, and on this occasion he was with one of the storming parties. In adverting to this circumstance it is but justice to state that the zeal, activity and intrepidity which he has displayed on every occasion have conciliated for him the esteem of officers of every rank and nation, and have certainly done great credit to his Majesty's service.<sup>11</sup>

Alison's reading of the riddle is probably correct. Castlereagh was an excellent judge of the men he employed. Except his cardinal blunder in sending Chatham to Walcheren Island, he never made a bad appointment. He knew and valued Wilson's brilliant qualities and extraordinary powers of observation; but Wilson was strongly opposed to the invasion of France. So was Lord Aberdeen, and so were certain members of the British Cabinet. Castlereagh, on the other hand, was resolute in his purpose of ending the Napoleonic terror by the occupation of Paris—purpose in which he had a strong supporter in Lord Cathcart, British plenipotentiary with the Russian army. To Castlereagh, at all events, it appeared that Wilson, holding views opposed to his policy, had obtained a dangerous ascendancy over the Emperors Francis and Alexander. Dazzled by his courage and skill in the field, charmed by his wit and agreeable conversation, they listened too readily to him when he dwelt on the marvellous recuperative power of military France, on the terrible war which the attempt to dethrone Napoleon must involve, and on the advantage of securing durable peace upon the only terms to which Napoleon would listen—namely, the integrity of France within the frontiers of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. In short, Austria and Russia were on the point of declaring their agreement upon this basis. Wilson must be removed with all speed.

'I had promised Cathcart,' wrote Wilson, 'to come direct to Basle without visiting Schwarzenberg, whose headquarters were on the left of the road at Löerach. Burghersh's unhandsome remonstrances against even my appearance in Schwarzenberg's presence induced my commander, for the sake of keeping peace, to urge this request. On coming near Basle I was told I must pass through Löerach, as the guns of Hüningen played, at half-grape distance, on the regular chaussée; but I preferred keeping my word. I confess that the passage was nervous—more so than when running the Glogau gauntlet, as the distance was less and our horses were knocked up. I calculated on leaving my carriage, at least, as a target; but, fortunately, the enemy neither fired musketry nor cannon against us, although they had before swept everything in motion from the road, and although they had a good quarter of an hour's command of our track. The people here would scarcely believe that we had passed as we pretended.'

There was plenty of hot work for Wilson when he got to Italy. He had to cut his way to his post, and rendered yeoman's service to the Austrians at the Battle of Valeggio.

<sup>11</sup> *Foreign Office Records.*

'In the absence of Lord William Bentinck,' wrote Sir James Graham to Wilson, 'I cannot hesitate to declare that I know his impression to have been that, on that trying occasion at Valeggio, by your signal personal courage you saved the Austrian army. The post to be defended was the key of the position—the greater part of the Austrian army having crossed the Mincio. The Hungarian guards were wavering: the French advancing with the utmost energy. You walked backwards and forwards, I understood, between the Austrian ranks; and by your encouragement, and still more by your example, you prevented them from giving way. . . . As previously at Dresden and at Leipzig, so on the Mincio with Marshal Bellegarde, in the face of contending armies, your personal daring and cool courage were conspicuous, and greatly contributed to turn the fortune of the day. I can say no more than repeat the opinion entertained by Lord William Bentinck, that never was the honour of the British army and character more signally upheld than by you at the battle of Valeggio.'

Passing note may be made of evidence that Wilson was more than merely *beau sabreur*. He possessed keen political insight. Fifty years were to run before the idea of Italian unity should be realised; but here is what Wilson wrote in his journal six weeks after he crossed the frontier.

I did not at first think the Italians concerned themselves much about their political existence. I was wrong. They *did* feel the value of nationalisation. Fifteen years' connection under a good government would have formed Italy again into an independent and powerful State. The edict for its dissolution has at length been issued. I lament the *flat*, although I cannot wish its failure at this time.

With the abdication of Napoleon, Wilson's active service came to an end, and he was placed on half-pay; but there was plenty of adventure in store for this restless spirit. Henceforth he was a man with a grievance. Whereas foreign Governments had made much of him, and perhaps spoiled him, his own chiefs, civil and military, seemed to ignore his services. In default of regular employment he got into serious mischief. Being in Paris in 1816, he was deeply moved by sympathy, first for Marshal Ney, on whose behalf he published a passionate appeal to the British public, and next for General Lavalette, who lay under sentence of death for an offence similar to Ney's. Lavalette managed to escape from prison, like Lord Nithsdale, by the time-honoured, always romantic, device of exchanging clothes with his wife; but out of Paris he could not get, for a minute description of his striking personality had been posted up at every gate and circulated in the provinces. Wilson gave him asylum in his own house; and planned the fugitive's escape in concert with a civilian named Michael Bruce and Captain Hely Hutchinson (afterwards third Earl of Donoughmore), an officer on full pay in the Army of Occupation. Wilson obtained a passport for Lavalette under a fictitious name, lying often and boldly in the process, fitted him out with new clothes and carried him safely to the frontier in his own cabriolet. The offence was a very serious one; for the plot must

have been detected had not Wilson availed himself of his rank and influence as a British general. Nevertheless, popular sympathy was all on the side of the offender. Wilson was tried before a French tribunal; the whole case against him was given away in a letter which he wrote to Lord Grey,<sup>12</sup> and which was intercepted; he was sentenced to and underwent three months' imprisonment.

Wilson's next scrape was a more serious one. Always a reckless champion of the oppressed, he ardently espoused the cause of Queen Caroline, and made himself conspicuous in the scenes caused by her return to London in 1820.

The Queen died in 1821, but the unhappy ferment she had caused during her troubled life was not allayed immediately. Her remains were conveyed to Brunswick for burial, and their passage through London was the occasion for dangerous rioting. At Cumberland Gate, where the Marble Arch now stands, a barricade was thrown up, and the escort was pelted with stones. The troops prepared to fire, and did so, killing two men; but not before Sir Robert Wilson had passionately called upon the soldiers to disobey their officers. For this offence he was dismissed from the army without trial. A Liberal historian has denounced 'the folly of the Ministry in assenting to his dismissal';<sup>13</sup> their reasons for doing so are fully set forth in a letter from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Liverpool.<sup>14</sup> An officer of the army cannot claim the right of trial by court-martial, and recent instances abound of the services of officers being dispensed with by the Sovereign. But Wilson was not inclined to take his punishment 'lying down.' A bold and fluent speaker, he had been member for Southwark since 1818. From his place in the House of Commons he challenged the prerogative of the Crown to dismiss officers without trial. Failing of redress, he sought relief for his injured feelings in those scenes in which he knew so well how to find it—he took service as a volunteer in the war in Spain of 1823.

When the Whigs at length came into power in 1830 Wilson's case had long been a party question, and he was restored to the army with the rank of lieutenant-general, antedated to 1825. But the same clearness of conviction—the same scrupulous sense of obligation to proclaim it—which had perhaps been the chief hindrances to his earlier career, brought Sir Robert once more into misfortune. He denounced the Reform Bill of 1831 as 'the initiatory measure of a republican form of government,' and resigned his seat in Parliament. He found his new patrons every whit as relentless in enforcing party discipline as his old ones had been in military matters; they deprived him of the colonelcy of his regiment, worth 1,200*l.* a year. However, this was restored to him four years later by Lord Melbourne's Government; and in 1842 he received his last appointment as Governor and

<sup>12</sup> See *Annual Register*, 1816.

<sup>13</sup> Walpole's *England*, i. 623.

<sup>14</sup> *Wellington's Despatches*, 3rd series, i. 180.



Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar, whence he returned to die at a ripe age in 1849.

He was buried beside his wife in Westminster Abbey—a place of sepulture now reserved by the nation as the supreme honour for those who have served her with most distinction. It had no special significance in regard to Wilson, who, though he had never spared himself and had done much splendid work, probably found a resting-place among heroes only in virtue of his title as an old Westminster boy.

If I cannot claim to have succeeded in the purpose with which I set out—namely, to trace to its source the secret of Wilson's disfavour with his chiefs, military and political—I think cause has been shown why the memory of this dauntless soldier should not be clean blown away. ‘

HERBERT MAXWELL.

## *JAPANESE EMIGRANTS*

COMMERCIAL success has generally been the dominating factor in securing a nation's greatness. Its progress has been constantly westward, first from Asia to Italy, then from Italy to Spain, France, and England. Two hundred years after the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England their descendants had crossed the American continent, and President Polk, having obtained Oregon from England and California from Mexico, began to think about trade between the United States and China. In furtherance of this, and in order to obtain a coaling-station and protection for the crews of shipwrecked whaling ships, Commodore Perry was ultimately sent to Japan, with the results that are so well known, though it was not then by any means understood what a great opportunity for commercial enterprise was offered by the countries bordering on the Pacific, where about two-thirds of the human race reside.

During the last generation the development of these countries has been unexampled in history. Japan has become a world power, whilst her imports from the United States alone have increased six-fold during the last ten years. The trade of Shanghai has risen from seventy-eight million to five hundred million taels annually, whilst such towns as Seattle have grown from little more than a sawmill to a flourishing city of over 100,000 inhabitants. Of late there has been an added impulse given to this movement. The United States, in accordance with their manifest destiny, have departed from their traditional policy and annexed Hawaii, followed by the Philippine Islands. This has caused a marked rise in land values. The value of land in San Francisco, after remaining for some time stationary, has during the last year or two trebled in value, and the population of this town alone increased in 1903 by 60,000 inhabitants. In fact, everything now goes to show that the greatest commercial activity during the next fifty years will be in the Pacific trade, instead of on the Atlantic seaboard or on the shores of the Mediterranean.

In this development of trade the Japanese must inevitably play a leading part, whether from their commercial foresight or forced by the necessity of existence, for in Japan the increase of the means of subsistence has by no means kept pace with the increase of the

population. It will be a surprise to most people that the calculations of the Bureau of Agriculture of the United States show that the area of Japan suitable for cultivation is about one-third of the size of the State of Illinois, and yet so industrious and skilful are the Japanese agriculturists that this limited area suffices for the support of nearly forty-five millions of people, increasing at the rate of nearly five hundred thousand per annum. Consequently, of all the civilised nations of the world Japan most needs colonies. Formosa she has already obtained, but she requires and is entitled to a more extended sphere.

At the present time, when the valour of the Japanese soldiers and the foresight of their generals is engrossing so much attention, it may not be out of place to consider what the Japanese emigrant is like and what he is doing. In the first place it is necessary to clear our minds of a very widespread misconception. The Japanese are not Chinese. As a nation they have derived much of their arts and literature from China, mostly by way of Korea, but they are only very distantly related to the Chinese, from whom they are physically and linguistically distinct. The Magyar and the Finn are their nearest relatives in the great family of nations, and, like the Japanese, are sprung from that great Samoyede race which still wander on the shores of the Arctic Sea.

We have all of us heard of the opposition to foreign labour there is in some of the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean. Parts of Queensland have suffered severely from the restrictions enforced on Kanaka labour, whilst many of us can remember the so-called 'Sand Lot' agitation against the Chinese in San Francisco, which was probably as unfair an agitation as modern history records. The Chinaman had been accustomed to seek a livelihood on the Pacific Slope, at any rate from the time following the conquests of Cortes, when the Spaniard began to settle in the city of Mexico, and it was the plodding industry of the Chinaman which resulted in the construction of the railway which brought the Anglo-American. The objection urged against the Chinaman is that he does not come to settle, and, in addition, it must be confessed that whilst employers of Chinese labourers admire their docility and profit by their unfailing industry, the Chinaman does not appeal to those with whom he is brought into the relationship which exists between Capital and Labour. He continues to wear Asiatic dress and to regard his employer and fellow-workers with that calm and irritating superiority that is often shown by the man who is conscious of his ancient lineage to the *nouveau riche*. This exclusiveness renders it impossible to get on friendly terms with a Chinaman, who always remains the same incomprehensible Asiatic he was when he first landed in America. Chinese labour is, in fact, a good bridge that most desire to forget as soon as it has ceased to be useful. At the present time the Chinese in California number about seventy thousand, of whom about thirty thousand are in San Francisco; from small beginnings many of them have gradually

risen until they have become large employers of labour ; but one and all are only admitted into America under restrictive laws which are stringently enforced.

In discussing the question of Japanese labour we are, however, dealing with quite a new factor in the world's history. From the time when the great Shogun Iyeyasu withdrew Japan from all foreign intercourse till within recent years the Japanese labourer was being trained. Everything that surrounded him was regulated by a prescribed ceremonial. In religion he was taught to be so tolerant that at least once a year, in order to show his respect and sympathy with others, he worshipped in the temples consecrated to a form of belief that differed from his own. His natural love and veneration for his country and its Sovereign were accompanied by gentle and respectful treatment on the part of the rulers towards those whom they governed, whilst the stern school of necessity made the labourer accustomed to a life of exertion and hardship that was more severe than in most other countries. After the time of Iyeyasu till the expedition of Commodore Perry none but those Japanese who owing to shipwreck or other mischance had ceased to live in Japan were to be met with. Catharine the Second of Russia appointed one of these shipwrecked mariners Professor of Japanese at the University of Irkutsk in 1792, and three Japanese who had drifted in a disabled ship to the shores of Canada were brought to England in 1831. These were probably the first Japanese in Europe since the gorgeous embassy from certain Japanese feudal lords to the Pope in 1582.

After Commodore Perry's expedition it was some time before the Japanese of the lower classes commenced to go abroad. In fact, during the first twenty-two years after the signing of the treaty with America not more than a hundred Japanese were to be found in California. Since then they have come to America in ever-increasing numbers, till there are at the present time, according to the Rev. M. C. Harris, some 40,000 in California and some 80,000 in the Sandwich Islands. The report, however, of Mr. Bellows, the United States Consul-General at Yokohama, of those Japanese resident abroad, taken from a return for the years 1889-1900 inclusive by Mr. Yamawaki, of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, is as follows :

JAPANESE SUBJECTS RESIDENT ABROAD.<sup>1</sup>

Year	Males	Females	Total
1889	13,815	4,873	18,688
1890	17,919	6,031	23,950
1895	34,332	11,945	46,277
1896	40,348	13,994	54,342
1897	43,707	15,078	58,785
1898	53,114	17,687	70,801
1899	76,633	22,406	99,039
1900	98,985	24,986	123,971

This and the following table are from *The Anglo-Japanese Gazette*<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the destination and classification of the Japanese emigrants in 1900 were :

Destination	On Official Duty	Students	Merchants	Labourers and others
United States and Colonies .	46	554	3,361	86,689
Great Britain and Colonies .	133	40	512	7,530
Russia and Colonies .	15	65	286	3,587
Holland .	4	2	—	—
France and Colonies .	44	36	18	799
Portugal and Colonies .	—	1	—	9
Germany . . . . .	33	162	5	14
Belgium . . . . .	10	5	5	1
Italy . . . . .	7	—	—	6
Spain . . . . .	2	—	—	—
Austria . . . . .	8	13	10	5
Peru . . . . .	1	—	—	638
Brazil . . . . .	7	—	—	2
Mexico . . . . .	6	3	4	32
Siam . . . . .	7	3	29	39
Korea . . . . .	538	16	9,699	5,606
China . . . . .	202	40	1,391	1,630
Total . . . . .	1,063	940	15,320	106,642

From the first table it will be seen that in 1897 there were 58,785 Japanese, of whom 15,078 were females, residing abroad; but three years afterwards, in 1900, the last year for which returns are available, the total had increased to 123,971. It will also be seen from the second table that the great majority of these Japanese had taken up their residence in Hawaii and California, Great Britain and her colonies coming next with less than one-twelfth as many, followed by the Japanese residents in Korea, Russia, and China, who are not nearly so numerous as we should expect to find them.

As to the character of these Japanese emigrants, the Rev. M. C. Harris, formerly of the 12th Ohio Cavalry, and now Superintendent of the invaluable Pacific Japanese Mission, says: 'The outlook is very hopeful. The Japanese emigrants are picked men, young and ambitious. They are men who bring things to pass; not a tramp amongst them. They readily adapt themselves to local conditions, and are all occupied and prosperous.' Mr. Bellows, the United States Consul-General at Yokohama, confirms this, and says that the Japanese farm labourers are able-bodied men, accustomed to a life of economy, frugality, industry, and sobriety; and he adds that from a Japanese standpoint these labourers are strong, well developed, of good physique, and healthful in appearance. Many of these men, as was to be expected, have served as soldiers; but in spite of their possible usefulness to the State in this particular the Government of Japan is disposed to encourage emigration, and there is seldom any difficulty in obtaining passports. Emigration companies examine the intending emigrants to see that they can pass the requirements of the laws of the United

States, but no pecuniary help is given. Mutual assistance is common amongst family and village communities. All the emigrants wear the clothing of an ordinary American labourer.

The testimony of the actual employers of Japanese labourers is also greatly in their favour, though the farm labourers from the Southern Provinces of Japan, who form four-fifths of the Japanese emigrants, do not present that marked intelligence which we are accustomed to regard as the birthright of all Japanese. They are, however, anxious to do their best, scrupulously clean in their persons and in their dwellings, and good reasonable fellows that the American foreman understands and sympathises with in a way that he never could with the Chinese.

The remaining one-fifth of the Japanese emigrants belong probably to the old Samurai class, the blood and brains of old Japan; and whilst they have all the qualifications of good labourers, their greater intelligence soon causes them to rise, and they quickly become prosperous and respected.

On arrival, to whatever class they belong, one of their first objects is to learn English, and for this purpose they attend some of the self-supporting schools of the Pacific Japanese Mission, which have an annual attendance of about three hundred students, amongst whom Japanese young women are by no means rare. Anyone acquainted with the merest rudiments of the Japanese language will know of the great difficulty which it presents to foreigners owing to the total dissimilarity in the expression of ideas. Consequently it is not to be wondered at that the Japanese of the farmer class do not as a rule get much grip of Anglo-American. The American foreman is confronted by the difficulty that nearly every Japanese labourer knows the word 'yes,' and is prepared to use it in reply to every question that he is asked. The foreman's first object is consequently to find out in each gang the Japanese whose knowledge of Anglo-American is the most extensive, and then to explain what is required, leaving it to him to interpret. Not infrequently after a somewhat lengthy explanation the Japanese gang, through their interpreter, will answer, 'We understand now what you require, and will try to do better.' And the best is that they obviously do try—and succeed.

As for those labourers who come of the old Samurai race, they as a rule come over in order to pay their expenses for that college education which has been so graphically described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn in his *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. It takes them two or three years to save out of their earnings the 200*l.* which they require; and generally, after this is accomplished, the American foreman, to his regret, sees these gentlemen of Japan no more. A certain proportion of them, however, find good and distinctly remunerative employment in California. These become overseers of from 200 to 300 of their countrymen, and enter into a bond with the American foreman for the supply of

Japanese labour. Every Japanese for whom they find employment pays them 10 cents per day, which amounts to an income by no means to be despised. The writer was present when one of the Japanese overseers was introduced by an American foreman to a director who had been specially sent out from England. 'Tabe,' said the American, 'this is a big boss sent out from England to see what we are doing.' 'Glad to see you, but excuse me,' said Tabe, 'I am very busy.' The way Tabe hurried off to superintend his countrymen in loading up fruit-cars was a sight that was good to see, and which all who saw it will long remember. His heart was in his work. Whilst the men are employed in picking, hauling, and doing the heavier sort of work, the Japanese women are sometimes employed in wrapping fruit and deftly packing it in boxes. This is labour by which considerable money can be earned, and seems to be coming into favour amongst them.

A visit on a Sunday afternoon to one of the so-called bunk-houses where the Japanese reside is a pleasant experience. The small self-governing colony is provided with its own kitchen and bath-house, and everything is as clean and wholesome as fresh air and scrubbing can make it. The bunks are all scrupulously clean, and not a few are ornamented in the way to be expected from such an artistic and loyal nation, in some cases a special place, or *Tokonoma*, having been constructed, in the limited space available, for portraits of the Mikado and Empress of Japan, in front of which fresh flowers are placed daily. Their loyalty, in fact, is a pleasure for the patriotic Anglo-American to witness. They celebrate the Mikado's birthday with a gathering in some public hall, to which they invite their American friends, concluding with loyal speeches, and have contributed generously to the funds for the war in Manchuria.

Outside the bunk-house on a Sunday afternoon the Japanese will be, for the mere fun of the thing, practising feats on their bicycles; in fact, all of them are apparently regarding life as 'a joke that's just begun.' But on the morrow all this will end, and no one can be more staid than the Japanese when at work, and striving to do their best to earn their 1.60 dollar to 1.75 dollar per day of ten hours, during which time they accomplish as much as labourers belonging to any other nation. Perhaps one of the most extraordinary things is the organisation of the labourers. Almost before the American foreman realises that he is in want of extra labour a gang of neatly dressed Japanese arrives, each with his bicycle, their advance agents having sent for them on the chance of their obtaining employment, and their arrival in the district being as unexpected as a flight of birds. But in spite of their migrations they are companionable and fraternise with Americans, and the result, as stated by the Rev. M. C. Harris (and no one can know better), is that there is now a tendency towards permanent residence in America on the part of the Japanese.

From letters now before me written by Americans who are some of them paying as much as 16,000*l.* annually in wages to Japanese labourers engaged in various occupations, I can gather nothing but unstinted praise for their many good qualities.

We are growing accustomed to reading newspaper accounts of Japanese foresight and bravery; but these qualities have too often existed amongst nations with military instincts, who, when the need for active exertion was over, were incapable of turning their attention towards that organised and plodding industry which should secure them the fruits of that peace their powers in the field had won. What the Japanese can do in this way has been shown by the progress they have made in comparatively a very short time towards establishing a wise and firm government amongst the lawless tribes in the island of Formosa. A better example could perhaps not be found than in the Report of Mr. Consul Playfair on the trade of North Formosa, in which he states that the methods pursued by the Japanese in regulating the smoking of opium have resulted, it is reckoned, in a decrease of about 1,000 opium-smokers each month since 1900, the year when the register of opium-smokers is believed to have been for the first time complete. It is, however, not the excellence of the administrative power alone which can ensure permanent success of this sort, but the qualities possessed by those who, compelled for the most part by economic necessity, take advantage of the opportunity offered of a fresh start in a new country.

I believe that in the character of the Japanese labourer there exists a force that will not only add materially to the inevitable prosperity of the countries bordering on the Pacific, but will also be for the good of the whole civilised world as soon as it is properly appreciated.

W. CREWDSON.



*WOMAN IN CHINESE LITERATURE*

THE Chinese symbol for man is a picture of a human biped, and this symbol includes woman. A Chinese female says, equally with a Chinese male, 'I am a man.' If it is necessary to emphasise sex, another word is added to 'man,' for men as well as for women, in order that the gender may be clear.

One of the oldest allusions in Chinese literature to women is the much-exploited verse of the *Odes* which tells us that when a girl is born she should be couched upon the ground in token of humility, have a tile to play with in token of the weight which will some day hold the distaff, and indulge in no thoughts beyond her cookery and a constant desire to spare her parents pain. Such was the simple view of woman's sphere which appealed to the ballad-writer of China nearly three thousand years ago.

In the *Book of Rites*, a comparatively modern compilation, dating only from the century before the Christian era, but embodying the precepts and practices of earlier centuries, we find explicit regulations as to the daily life of women, many of which are in full force at the present day. Therein we are told that men and women should not sit together, nor use the same clothes-horse, towel, or comb, nor pass things to one another, lest their hands should touch. Even at sacrifices and funerals a basket should be used by the woman as a receptacle for things handed by and to her. Brothers- and sisters-in-law must not ask one another questions, not even, so says one commentator, as to the state of each other's health; the brothers of a girl who is betrothed may not sit on the same mat with her, nor eat out of the same dish.

In ancient times it was not etiquette for a woman to stand in a chariot; this, says one commentator, was in order to make a distinction between men and women. But another commentator, a descendant of Confucius, gives a more kindly reason: 'Woman has a delicate frame; she cannot stand in a chariot. Men stand, but women sit.' They sat on the left hand of the driver, next to the hand which was occupied with the reins. This, we are told, was a measure of precaution, lest the driver should put his arm around the lady's waist!

The life of a woman was divided under three phases, known as

the 'Three Obediences'; while young she was to obey her father and elder brother, after marriage she was to obey her husband, and after her husband's death she was to obey her son. She was to put up her hair at fifteen and to be married at twenty—the age has been lowered in modern times—choice of a husband resting entirely in the hands of her parents, aided always by a third person to carry communications between the two contracting families. So say the *Odes* :

How do we proceed in splitting firewood ?

Without an axe it cannot be done.

How do we proceed in taking a wife ?

Without a go-between it cannot be done.

Passing into her husband's family and taking his name at marriage, the wife is henceforth to wait upon his parents with the same devotion that she has shown towards her own. At cockcrow she must be up and ready with warm water and towels beside her father- and mother-in-law's bed; together with many other similar observances which still exist on paper, but have long since fallen into desuetude.

There are five classes of men to whom a Chinese girl will not be given in marriage; viz., to the son of a rebellious family, to the son of an immoral family, to a man who has been convicted of a criminal offence, to a man with a loathsome disease, and to an eldest son who has buried his father, *i.e.* the son being of an age at which he could have already contracted a marriage before his father's death.

There are seven reasons which justify divorce; viz., bad behaviour towards father- and mother-in-law, no children, adultery, jealousy, loathsome disease, garrulousness, and stealing. But there are three conditions under which the above seven reasons fail to justify divorce; viz., if the wife has no home to go to, if she has twice shared the period of three years' mourning for a parent-in-law, and if she has risen with her husband from poverty to affluence.

We read in the *Rites* that a married woman is called *fu*, to denote her submission (*fu* 'to submit') to her husband; but the *Po Hu T'ung*, a work of the first century A.D., tells us that the wife is called *ch'i*, to denote that she is the equal (*ch'i*, 'level') of her husband. The latter book also says that a woman cannot hold independent rank of her own, but that, in the quaint Chinese idiom, 'she sits according to her husband's teeth' (seniority).

In Chinese numeration the odd numbers are regarded as female, and the even male; not because they are so absolutely, but because the female and male principles predominate, with varying percentages, in the odds and evens, respectively. Seven is the female number *par excellence*, containing, as is supposed, a larger percentage of the female principle and a smaller percentage of the male principle than any other unit. At seven months, according to the *Su Wên*, an ancient medical work, a girl begins to teethe; at seven years her

milk teeth fall out ; at fourteen she reaches puberty ; at twenty-one she cuts her wisdom teeth ; at twenty-eight her bones are hard, her hair is at its longest, and her body is in full vigour ; at thirty-five her face begins to tan and her hair to fall out ; at forty-two her face is withered, her complexion has gone, and her hair is grey ; at forty-nine comes the change of life and the first years of old age.

The earliest Chinese work devoted to women's affairs, entitled *Advice to Women*, is by the distinguished lady who flourished in the first century A.D., and carried to its conclusion her father and brother's history of the first Han dynasty when death had removed the latter in A.D. 92. In her preface the authoress, Lady Ts'ao (*née* Pan Chao), modestly asserts that she was 'born without intelligence, but enjoyed the favour of her father and the teachings of her mother until she was fourteen years old, now forty years ago, when she took up the dust-pan and broom in the family of the Ts'aos.' 'Boys,' she adds, 'can shift for themselves, and I do not trouble my head about them ; but I am grieved to think how many girls enter into marriage without any preparation whatever, and entirely ignorant of what is becoming to a wife.'

The Lady Ts'ao arranges her advice to girls under appropriate headings, such as humility, husband and wife, general deportment, etc.

Be humble and respectful ; put others in front and yourself behind ; do not boast of your successes, nor excuse your failures ; bear contumely and swallow insult ; be always as though in fear and trembling.

A wife should be as the shadow and echo of her husband.

Woman's energies have a fourfold scope : behaviour, speech, appearance, and duties. For right behaviour, no great mental talents are needed ; for right speech, no clever tongue nor smart repartee ; for right appearance, no great beauty ; and for right duties, no special cunning of hand. In simplicity, in purity, in a sense of shame and of propriety, will right behaviour be found. In choice of language, in avoidance of bad words, in seasonable and not too prolonged talk, will right speech be found. In thorough cleanliness of apparel, and in regular use of the bath, will right beauty be found. In undivided attention to spinning and weaving, without laughing and playing, and in seeing that food and wine are properly served, will right duties be found. These four offer scope to the energies of woman ; they must not be neglected. There need be no difficulty, if only there is determination. A philosopher of old said, 'Is goodness really so far off ? I wish for goodness, and lo ! here it is.'

A highly educated woman herself, the Lady Ts'ao pleaded for education for her sex, and a return to the practice of ancient days when girls between the ages of eight and fifteen were taught the same subjects that were taught to boys.

Yen Chih-t'ui, a famous scholar and statesman who flourished A.D. 535-595, left behind him a work entitled *Family Instructions*, which has come down to us intact.

Let the wife (he says) look after the cooking and attend to the ceremonial connected with wine and food and clothing. She should not interfere in the government of the State, nor meddle with the family affairs. If she is clever

and talented, acquainted with the conditions of ancient and modern times, then she should be employed as an aid to her husband, supplying that in which he may be deficient; but there must be no crowing at dawn in the place of the cock, with all the sorrow that this entails.

Yen complains that in certain parts of the Empire 'women's equipages block the streets, silks and satins throng the public offices and temples, while mothers and wives beg posts for their sons and promotion for their husbands.'

In another place he points out that the varied products of the loom have proved a curse to the female sex, and he quotes the old saying: 'There is no thief like a family of five daughters.' On the other hand, he strongly denounces infanticide, cases of which he quotes as occurring in the family of a distant relative of his. 'There,' he says, 'if a girl is born, she is immediately carried away, the mother following with tears and cries, but all of no avail; truly shocking!'

This is perhaps the earliest recorded protest against a crime which seems to have been always practised more or less in all countries, but not more in China than elsewhere, as the following argument will show.

Every Chinaman has a wife; high officials and rich merchants often have two or three concubines; the Emperor is allowed seventy-two. If, then, female children are destroyed in such numbers as to constitute a national crime, it must follow that girls are born in an overwhelmingly large proportion to boys, utterly unheard of in any other part of the world.

Between A.D. 785 and 830 lived five remarkable sisters named Sung, all of whom possessed considerable literary talent, and especially the two elder ones. They refused to marry, and devoted themselves to literature, being finally received into the Palace, where in due course they all died natural deaths, with the exception of the fourth Miss Sung, against whom charges of accepting bribes were trumped up, the result being that she was forced to 'take silk'—in other words, to strangle herself. The eldest sister wrote a book called *Discourses for Girls*, based upon the famous *Discourses* of Confucius. It is in an easy style of versification, and is generally suited to the comprehension of the young.

When walking, do not look back;  
When talking, do not open wide your lips;  
When sitting, do not rock your knees;  
When standing, do not shake your skirt;  
When pleased, do not laugh aloud;  
When angry, do not shout;  
Do not peep over the outside wall;  
Do not slip into the outer court;  
When you go out, veil your face;  
When you peep, conceal your body;  
With a man not of the family  
Hold no conversation whatever.

The authoress then proceeds to inculcate submission and obedience, filial piety, diligent performance of household duties, etc., etc., coupled always with a certain amount of book-learning, not so much as might perhaps have been expected from such a literary lady.

Miss Sung was at no great interval followed by one Madam Chêng, who produced a *Filial Piety Classic for Girls*, in imitation of the semi-canonical work which has come down to us from about the first century B.C. This lady boldly embraces in her injunctions all classes, from the Empress and Imperial concubines down to the peasant woman of the village. 'Strike a bell in the palace,' she says in warning, 'and the sound will be heard outside.' Virtue, she points out, is a question of environment :

If a child is surrounded by good influences, he will be good ; if by evil influences, he will be evil. Even before birth his education may begin ; and, therefore, the prospective mother of old, when lying down lay straight, when sitting down sat upright, and when standing stood erect. She would not taste strange flavours, nor have anything to do with spiritualism ; if her food were not cut straight she would not eat it, and if her mat were not set straight she would not sit upon it. She would not look at any objectionable sight, nor listen to any objectionable sound, nor utter any rude word, nor handle any impure thing. At night she studied some canonical work, by day she occupied herself with ceremonies and music. Therefore her sons were upright, and eminent for their talents and virtues ; such was the result of ante-natal training.

In China too, as in the West, prospective mothers are warned not to eat hare's flesh, nor even to see a hare, lest she, as in the striking lines by Mr. Yeats,

. . . looking on the cloven lips of a hare  
Bring forth a hare-lipped child.

From what has been already said, it might be supposed that the ordinary Chinese wife would hardly be able to call her soul her own—a condition of affairs altogether at variance with the real position of women as seen in China at the present day. The following extract, however, from an article by a writer of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), named Yü I-fang, and entitled 'A Charm against the Black-Hearted,' would seem to suggest that Chinese women more than a thousand years ago knew very well how to take care of themselves, and successfully held their own, as they still continue to do, against the brutality of men.

If the wife does not rule, the family can be properly governed, just as a State can be properly governed if the Minister does not rule the Prince, and the Empire can be properly governed if the Prime Minister does not rule the Emperor. For if husband and wife occupy their proper places, the Empire will be correctly organised ; and if families are correctly organised, the Empire will be at peace.

The *Lun Yü* teaches us that women and servants are difficult to deal with ; if you are familiar with them, they lose their respect for you ; if you are distant to them, they lose their tempers.

The *Book of History* tells us that for the hen to do the crowing at dawn brings ruin upon the family. The *Book of Changes* warns us that the wife's

chief business should be to look after the cooking. And in the *Odes* wives are exhorted to observe regulations, so that the spirits of ancestors may be duly honoured and they themselves be admitted to the sacrificial banquet.

Duke Wei allowed his wife Wên-ch'iang to have her own way, the result being that he lost his life and jeopardised the State of Lu. The Emperor Kao Tsu was afraid of his consort Lü, the result being disturbances which nearly brought the Han dynasty to an end. The Emperor Wên Ti fell under the influence of his Empress, and by changing the succession caused the downfall of his line. The Emperor Kao Tsung became enslaved by the beauty of Wu Chao, and so lost all power. And if rulers of 10,000-charioted States will do these things, what will not one of the cotton-clothed masses do?

Then, again, there is the remarriage of widowers and widows. In the latter case the absence of all sentiment, such as is evoked when the hair is put up for the first time, often means that the marriage is a mere question of personal convenience. How can such auspices prove favourable? In the former case we know how Madam Min clothed her step-son in rushes only, and how Madam Hsi beat hers with an iron pestle; and such instances are common enough.

As to the ordinary husband, enslaved by his wife's good looks or cajoled by her cunning talk, he degenerates beyond all hope into mere uxoriousness. The wife gradually gains ground, while his power is gradually whittled away, until at length he is as though pincers closed his mouth, not allowing him to utter a sound; as though a halter were around his neck, not allowing him to turn his head; as though fetters were upon his body, not allowing him to have the slightest freedom of action. Even personal questions of heat and cold, hunger and satiety, incoming and outgoing, uprising and downsitting, are no longer matters for him, but for her, to decide. If she says he is to be untruthful, wanting in duty, disloyal, or unkind, it only remains for him to obey. Even if she bids him do things which the lowest barbarians and even dogs and pigs would not do, he must do them. If she orders him to slay anyone, he must be annoyed only that the head is slow in falling; if she tells him to kill himself, he must fear only lest there be slowness in fetching the knife. When she curses and abuses him, he must receive her with a smile; when she beats him with all her might, he must repeatedly admit his fault. Whenever he offends her, he must fall down on his knees and beg pardon; whatever service he performs for her must be done unflinchingly. He may not recognise the authority of elder relatives; no, only the authority of his wife. He may not recognise the claims of younger relatives; no, only the claims of his wife. His friends and neighbours may say that such behaviour has never been heard of since the world began, yet all the time there he stands, with the sweat trickling down to his heels, with blood running over his chest, in fear, in abject terror, quivering and quaking at every harsh word and severe look from his wife. What help is there for him? Having a home, he lets his wife be the head of it; if he had a State, he would let his wife rule it; if he had the Empire, he would let his wife be the Son of Heaven! As Magistrate or Prefect, he allows her to appear in public and sit with him on the bench, discuss cases, vigorously assert herself, and flit about from hall to hall—powder and paint deciding rewards and punishments, petticoats and bodices holding in their folds the issues of life and death.

Now, although the world is getting old, we still recognise some distinction between right and wrong; and although our morals are decaying, we are still able to distinguish the wicked from the good. And if a Minister were to behave as these women do, his sovereign would slay him; if a friend behaved thus, his friend would discard him; if a neighbour behaved thus, his neighbours would get rid of him; if an ordinary citizen behaved thus, the authorities would punish him; if a son behaved thus, his weeping parents would turn him adrift; if a brother behaved thus, his brothers would unite against him; if a father, grand-

father, or uncle behaved thus, sons, grandsons, and nephews would change their manner and flee north, south, east, and west in order to avoid them.

But now, when the wife says 'tis misty, there is a fog; when she says there is thunder, it peals; if she stretches herself, it lightens; if she turns around, it blows. At her whim spring becomes autumn, black is white, here is there, and a woman is a man. She is never happier than when setting everybody at cross-purposes, and this sort of thing goes on for years, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, until teeth and hair are gone, and the span of life is exhausted. All the time she is laying hands on whatever property and valuables she can secure, and at length it becomes self-evident that such a matrimonial alliance is nothing better than a dismal failure.

Meanwhile the besotted husband ceases to be employed by his sovereign, to be received by his friends, or to be recognised in his parish. His brothers are cool to him, and his children and grandchildren no longer flock around him; so true is the saying that if a man is not more lofty than a mountain, the devils will sink him lower than the abyss. And now, when too late, he mourns over the desolation of his home. His very grave stinks; but there is still more dishonour to come. His widow marries again.

The famous historian Ssü-ma Kuang, A.D. 1019-1086, published a short work on *Family Decorum*, in which he enlarges upon the behaviour of a daughter-in-law. In addition to constant attendances upon her husband's parents, waiting upon them at meals and in the bedroom, she is bidden to show them the greatest respect, to answer their questions in lowered tones, and reverently to support or aid them when walking about. She may not spit nor shout in their presence, nor sit, nor leave the room, unless permitted to do so by them. When they are sick, she must not leave them except for some urgent reason, and all their medicines must be prepared and administered by her. If she has to leave the women's apartments, she must veil her face, as also in any case when men approach.

Chu Hsi, the great statesman, commentator, and historian, A.D. 1110-1200, also had his say:

According to Ssü-ma Kuang, a woman either makes or mars the family into which she goes. If a man marries for money and position he will get the money and position, but his wife will hold him cheap and be rude to his parents. She will develop a proud and jealous disposition, than which there can be no greater curse. How can any self-respecting man bear to become rich with his wife's money, or rise to high positions through his wife's influence?

According to Ting Hu, a man should marry his daughter into a family somewhat above his own, for then she will perform her duties respectfully and with care. On the other hand, he should get his daughter-in-law from a family somewhat below his own, for then she will serve her husband's parents as befits a wife.

Asked if a man should marry a widow, Chu Hsi replied: 'The object of marriage is to get a helpmeet; if a man marries for that purpose one who sacrifices her reputation, it simply means that he sacrifices his own.' Further asked, if a poor lone widow without means of subsistence might marry again, he replied: 'What you are afraid of for her is cold and starvation; but starvation is a comparatively small matter, and loss of reputation is a great one.'

Yüan Ts'ai, of the twelfth century, wrote a treatise on social life in which he has a good many remarks about women, who, he says, are the causes of all bickerings, 'and whose views are neither broad, nor far-reaching, nor catholic, nor just.'

In dress (he says) women should aim at cleanliness, and not try to be different from others. All such persons as Buddhist and Taoist nuns, professional go-betweens, female brokers, and women who pretend to peddle needles, embroideries, &c., should be rigidly excluded from the house; for to their presence may be traced the disappearance of clothing and other articles, not to mention that they often lead young girls astray.

The Empress Consort of the Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty in A.D. 1405 committed to paper her thoughts on the behaviour of women, under the title of *Instructions for the Inner Apartments*, i.e. for Women. These are arranged under twenty headings, with an additional chapter on the education of girls. The Empress lays much stress on gentleness, good temper, economy, kind treatment of the young and of relatives, but thinks that speech unrestrained is the real rock upon which most women split.

If your mouth is like a closed door, your words will become proverbial; but if it is like a running tap, no heed will be paid to what you say.

In her additional chapter on education, which is really a more or less doggerel poem of about 350 lines, our authoress will be considered very disappointing by some. So far from pleading for higher education for Chinese women, she urges only that a girl's governess should teach her pupil to practise filial piety, virtue, propriety, deportment, good manners, and domestic duties, as a preparation for her entry into married life. Then, if she has no children to continue the ancestral line, she is not to show jealousy, but rather satisfaction, if her husband takes a subordinate wife. Supposing that he dies before her, she will be left like Earth without its Heaven, and must transfer her dependence to her son, and summon up her resolution to face widowhood until death. Mount T'ai may crumble away, or she may have to walk over sharp-edged swords, but this resolve must not pass from her. Examples are given of heroines of all ages who have died by hanging or drowning themselves rather than violate their marriage vow:

Their bodies indeed suffered injury in life, but their names will be fragrant for ten thousand generations.

*Before Marriage and After* is the title of an anonymous work which brings us down to the close of the Ming dynasty in the middle of the seventeenth century. Besides repetition of the usual injunctions, we find here that girls are specially warned not to be greedy, and on no account to drink wine, 'which destroys all reverence and caution, and encourages unseemly behaviour.'



A girl (we are told) need not necessarily be a scholar. The girls of ancient times, however, invariably familiarised themselves with such works as *The Classic of Filial Piety*, *The Discourses of Confucius*, *Advice to Women*, and *Instructions for Women*, and there is every reason why these should be studied ; but book-learning is not meant to be women's speciality, and as for poetry and songs, these are altogether out of the question.

A volume might easily be compiled from Chinese literature of uncomplimentary references to women and indignities which have been heaped upon them.

Nine women out of ten are jealous.

When a woman is young she is a goddess, when old a monkey.

Three-tenths of beauty is beauty, seven-tenths is dress.

The tooth of the bamboo-snake and the sting of the hornet cannot be compared for poison with a woman's heart.

The goodness of a woman is like the bravery of a coward.

A woman may attain to high rank, but she will still be a woman.

Women should have nothing to do with government.

During the winter months Yang Kuo-chung (a dissipated ruffian who was massacred A.D. 756) would often cause a selection of the fattest ladies from his seraglio to stand about him, in order to keep off the draught. This was called his 'flesh screen.'

It has often been pointed out that most of the characters in the Chinese language which have a bad meaning contain the symbol for 'woman.' There is, at any rate, one striking exception, and that is the common character for 'good,' which is composed of 'woman' and 'child.'

Of course there are some points to be quoted on the other side, such as the fact that in ancient days women were not made to kneel, even in the ancestral temple ; that at the present day they are spared the indignity of the bamboo, etc., etc. Tso-ch'iu Ming, the annalist of the fourth or fifth century B.C., was not quite sure that women were wholly bad, as witness his saying,

The goodness of women is inexhaustible ; their resentment is everlasting.

Then, again, the hundreds, nay thousands, of beautiful poems, funeral orations, panegyrics, and mortuary inscriptions which have been written by bereaved sons and husbands in various ages, and which may still be read, place it beyond doubt that the position of women in China, notwithstanding cookery and domestic subordination, has always been a very high one. But the sum total would still leave a heavy balance against the women were it not for certain considerations which will perhaps enable us to leave off with a slightly better taste in the mouth.

Apart from the fact that the mother in China plays a part equal in importance to that of the father, sharing his honours and the deference and obedience of their children, and enjoying in the same degree the consolations of worship and sacrifice after death, not to

mention three years' mourning, it remains to be stated that the Chinese people have carefully embalmed in their extensive literature the names and lives of distinguished women for many centuries past. A rough survey of a single collection of women's biographies has yielded the following results, the paragraphs within quotation marks being short translated extracts which caught the eye.

Of the fourteen headings under which women have been classified, the first is *Shu*, a term which includes high-principled, good women, especially wives and mothers. Over 400 examples are recorded.

A certain scholar being asked 'why he composed a funeral oration' [these are burnt at the grave] 'on his mother and not on his father, replied that a man can make his virtues known by his actions, whereas but for a funeral oration a wife's virtues would remain concealed.'

A mother who was 'one day inspecting the treasury of her son (a high official) noticed that it was well filled with money. Then, turning to her son, she said, "Your father held high posts for many years in the capital and in the provinces, yet he never collected such a sum as this; from which you can see how immeasurably inferior you are to him."'

The second heading is *Hsiao*, which is restricted to filial piety. About 775 examples are given.

The third heading is *I*, which includes self-sacrificing, chivalrous women, with whom duty is a first consideration. About 475 examples are given.

A certain man being killed in battle the general sent an officer to condole with his mother. 'Our family,' said the latter, 'consisting of 300 souls, have long battered on the Imperial bounty. Complete extermination would scarcely repay the favours we have received; shall we then grudge a single son? Pray think no more about it.'

The fourth heading is *Lieh*, which includes all women who heroically prefer death to dishonour, and even suicides who prefer death to outliving their husbands. Of these, about 6,000 biographies are recorded.

The fifth heading is *Chieh*, which includes women who have refused to enter into second nuptials, sometimes acting in strenuous opposition to the wishes and even orders of parents. Many of the ornamental gateways scattered over China have been erected to the chaste widow, who, as popular opinion goes, should have been under thirty at the death of her husband, and have maintained her widowhood for thirty years.

The sixth heading is *Shih*, which includes wise and capable women, examples of whom number over 300.

One of these ladies would not allow the women of her household to dress in the prevailing fashion. Another bade her daughter on the latter's wedding day 'not to be a good girl.' 'Am I then to be a bad girl?' asked the daughter, who mistook the sense of the Chinese

word 'to be,' which also signifies 'to do,' 'to play the part of.' 'If you are not to be a good girl,' replied the mother, 'it follows naturally that you are not to be a bad one.'

The seventh heading is *Tsao*, and includes women who have made themselves eminent in any department of literature. About 510 examples are given, mostly poetesses. One of these, a deserted wife, whose husband had gone off to his post with a favourite concubine, leaving her to herself, achieved a feat which certainly has not been surpassed even in monastic annals. She wove a handkerchief, about a foot square, containing 841 Chinese characters ( $29 \times 29$ ) arranged in a symmetrical design of five colours, red, blue, yellow, green, and purple. These 841 words formed a kind of palindrome, which could be read in so many different ways as to form more than 200 quatrains of Chinese poetry, bearing on the injustice of her position, and correct in all the intricate details which belong to the art. This she forwarded to her husband, with the result that the concubine was dismissed and she herself restored to her proper position. This happened in the fourth century A.D. It was first published by Imperial order in A.D. 692 and has come down to the present day.

The eighth heading is *Hui*, which includes witty and clever women. Only seven examples are recorded.

The ninth heading is *Ch'i*, which includes all remarkable women, such as those who have put on man's dress and have gone to the wars, great huntresses, and even one who was distinguished at football, also women who have risen from the dead, who have been taken up to heaven, who have been buried alive, who have had large families (in one case twenty-one children, including seven sets of twins), women with no arms or with a short allowance of fingers, hairy women, bearded women, hermaphrodites, etc., etc. About 250 examples are given.

The tenth heading is *Ch'iao*, which includes artistic women, distinguished for music, painting, etc. Of these only twenty-six examples are given, a number which is far below the mark in any one branch of the arts.

The eleventh heading is *Fu*, which includes women who have been exceptionally blessed in this world. Of these twenty examples are given. The first was wife of a descendant of Confucius; she flourished at the beginning of the Christian era, and had eight sons. The second had nine distinguished sons, known as the Nine Dragons. The third was the mother of two sons, one of whom (Li Kuang-pi) was a famous general, d. A.D. 763, and the other also rose to eminence. As an additional but to Western eyes a more doubtful blessing, this lady 'had a beard of several tens of hairs over five inches in length.' Other examples are those of women who lived long and useful lives, in one case reaching an age of 120 years.

The twelfth heading is *Yen*, which includes women of great beauty.

Of these only forty-five examples are given; to make up for which there is quite an extensive literature on beauty in the abstract, essays, panegyrics, and ballads, useful and otherwise, made to the (moth) eyebrows of mistresses.

Some idea of the standard of beauty in ancient China may be gathered from an account which has come down to us of the young lady who was married in A.D. 148 to the young Emperor, then sixteen years of age.

Her face (we are told) was a mixture of glowing sunrise clouds and snow, and of such surpassing loveliness that it was impossible to look straight at her. Her eyes were like sparkling waves; she had a rosy mouth, gleaming teeth, long ears, and a tip-tilted nose; her jet-black hair shone like a mirror, and her skin was glossy and smooth. She had blood enough to colour her fat, fat enough to ornament her flesh, and flesh enough to cover her bones. From top to toe she measured 5 feet 4 inches; her shoulders were 1 foot 2½ inches, and her hips 11½ inches, in breadth; from shoulder to fingers she measured 2 feet 0½ inches; her fingers, exclusive of the palm, were 3½ inches in length, and like ten tapering bamboo shoots; from the hips to the feet she measured 2 feet 4½ inches; and her feet were 7½ inches in length.

These measurements are English equivalents of Chinese measurements.

Add to the above 'eyes like split almonds, teeth like shells,' 'teeth like the seeds in a water melon,' 'eyebrows like those of the silkworm moth,' 'waists like willow wands' but no stays, 'lips like cherries,' and you have a fair picture of what the Chinese admire in a woman.

A writer of the twelfth century (already quoted) recalls his lady-love in ten quatrains, as he has seen her under ten conditions, viz., walking, sitting, drinking, singing, writing, gambling, weeping, laughing, sleeping, and dressing. She walks—it is the poetry of motion; she sits—it is the harmony of repose; she drinks—and the wine adds a lustre to her eyes; she sings—and black clouds turn to white; she writes—about turtle-doves; she gambles—and smiles when she loses; she weeps—at parting; she laughs—in golden tones; she sleeps—like a fragrant lily; she dresses—limning her eyebrows like those of the silkworm moth.

The Chinese themselves are not agreed as to the origin or reason of foot-binding. Authorities vary between the second century A.D., the fifth century A.D., and about A.D. 970, the last-mentioned being in all probability correct. It was well pointed out so early as the twelfth century that none of the great poets of the T'ang dynasty (606-918) make any allusion to the custom. Only in one instance is there a reference to a lady's foot of six inches in length; and although that may be reckoned small, the T'ang foot measure being shorter than that of the present day, still, the writer adds, there is absolutely no mention of the employment of artificial means. In the *Lang Huan Chi* we read of a little girl who asked her mother why women's feet were bound. 'Because,' replied her mother, 'the sages of old

valued women highly, and would not have them gadding idly about. So they bound their feet to keep them at home.' This is the reason for the practice of foot-binding which is most generally accepted among Chinese and foreigners, coupled of course with the fact that the men admire bound feet; but there is also a possible physiological reason which can hardly be discussed here.

The thirteenth heading is *Hên*, which includes women who have been the victims of great misfortune or injustice. Of these over 200 examples are recorded.

The fourteenth and last heading is *Wu*, which includes women who have 'awakened' to a sense of religious inspiration, and those who have come in any way under religious influences. For instance, the daughter of one of China's great poets, Liu Tsung-yüan, A.D. 773-819, was attacked with a serious malady. As she did not get better, her name was changed from 'Harmony' to 'Handmaid of Buddha;' and on her recovery, attributed of course to the change of name, she shaved her head and became a Buddhist nun. Another lady is immortalised because, when her husband was contemplating an essay entitled 'There is no God,' she stopped him by aptly observing, 'If there is no God, why write an essay about him?'

The number of separate biographical notices under the above fourteen headings reach a total of over 24,000, *i.e.* nearly as many as all the lives, mostly of men, included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Like those, they range in length from a few lines to several pages; in any case, these lives form a monumental record, built up chiefly in honour of women, such as no other nation in the world can pretend to rival.

HERBERT A. GILES.

## THE CHECK TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES .

WOMAN suffrage, as exercised in the United States, is, broadly speaking, in four forms :

(1) *Tax-paying Suffrage*.—This privilege has been granted in four States, Montana, Iowa, Louisiana, and New York. It does not carry with it the choice of officers. Neither does it involve a share in the control of ordinary expenditures, which are regulated by town or city authorities. It becomes operative only when some special question of an appropriation for a given purpose, or the borrowing of money for some public improvement, is submitted to the vote of tax-payers.<sup>1</sup> An effort has been made of late years so to extend this privilege that women who pay taxes shall have the same right to vote for the election of city and town officers that men have, but in no State has this effort been successful.

(2) *School Suffrage*.—Seventeen States which do not give women any other form of suffrage permit them to vote at elections for school officers. In Kentucky the right is restricted to widows, and in Delaware to taxpaying women, but usually women vote on equal terms with men for these particular officers. One State, Montana, gives to women both school and taxpaying suffrage. The grant of the school ballot is nowhere strenuously opposed ; and there is no good reason why it might not be extended to other States if women really cared for it. But the number of women who avail themselves of this privilege in States where it has been granted them is so small that no

<sup>1</sup> The Louisiana law provides for submitting propositions to incur debt and issue negotiable bonds to the vote of property taxpayers, and that 'resident women taxpayers shall have the right to vote at all such elections without registration, in person or by their agents authorised in writing.' In Iowa the statute reads : 'The right of any citizen to vote at any city, town or school election, on the question of issuing any bonds for municipal or school purposes, and for the purpose of borrowing money, or on the question of increasing the tax levy, shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.' The Montana law declares that upon all questions submitted to the vote of the tax-payers of the State, or any political division thereof, 'women who are taxpayers and possessed of the qualifications for the right of suffrage required of men by the State Constitution, equally with men, have the right to vote.' In New York the law provides that 'a woman who possesses the qualifications to vote for town officers, except the qualification of sex, and who is the owner of property in the town assessed upon the last preceding assessment-roll thereof, is entitled to vote upon a proposition to raise money by tax or assessment.'

ground seems to exist for asking its extension. In Connecticut the proportion of women voting at school elections is about 1 per cent. In Massachusetts, under ordinary conditions, it is not more than 3 or 4 per cent. I say under ordinary conditions, because occasionally, when questions arise which appeal to the emotions, and those especially in which religious antipathies are involved, the women's vote attains large proportions. In Boston, for example, at the election in 1882, only 498 women voted. Six years later, when questions were at issue between Catholics and Protestants, the vote of the women rose to 19,490, a level which never has been reached since, because there has been no other year in which sectarian passions were so aroused as in 1888. But, in general, the fluctuations of the women's vote in Boston might almost serve as a barometer of sectarian or personal controversies. Conservative Americans regard with apprehension a vote which fluctuates between such extremes, and which comes out in force only when mischievous issues are raised.

(3) *Municipal Suffrage*.—This is found in Kansas only. That State, in 1887, gave to women the right to vote for all city and town officers on equal terms with men, and to be elected to such offices. The woman-suffragists claim that the experiment has worked satisfactorily. But none of them are at any pains to explain the fact that Kansas, since the grant of the municipal ballot, has steadily refused to enlarge the rights of women at the polls. In 1891, four years after municipal suffrage was given to women, the Kansas Legislature rejected a Bill to confer general suffrage upon them and also a proposition to give the right to them by constitutional amendment. Three years later a constitutional amendment conferring full suffrage upon women was submitted to the people and was defeated by a majority of 34,827. In nearly every legislature since some proposition for a fuller franchise for women has been defeated. This obduracy of public sentiment in Kansas is a phenomenon which deserves more attention than the advocates of woman suffrage have given it. A State which had become accustomed to the spectacle of women contending on equal terms with men at city elections might naturally be expected to be favourably inclined towards an extension of their privileges, all the more so because the political power acquired by them in municipal affairs should make them a body whose desire for a larger franchise could not be treated as a negligible quantity. To find some explanation for the contrary state of sentiment which is consistent with the declaration that municipal suffrage by women in Kansas has worked well and has the approval of the public, should be the first duty of those who wish other States to follow the example of Kansas in giving to women the municipal ballot.

(4) *Full Suffrage*.—This privilege has been given to women in four States—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah. In those States

women vote for all officers and at all elections on equal terms with men. These States are all in the West. They are of large area and sparsely settled. In all of them, with the exception of the Mormon State of Utah, the male population largely predominates. In Utah, for obvious reasons, the difference between the male and female population is less marked, but it is still considerable. In none of them, with the exception, in some particulars, of Colorado, are the conditions at all such as obtain in the longer-settled States. Wyoming is a State of vast cattle ranges. Idaho is a State of mining camps. In Colorado also mining is the chief industry. In Utah the Mormon Church dominates everything, and it is a powerful political force in Idaho. When Utah was admitted into the Union, as a State, in 1896, it was on the condition that the practice of polygamy should be for ever prohibited. The Mormon Church issued a decree in compliance with this requirement, but it has been only imperfectly observed. Naturally the Mormon Church was not indifferent to the strength it might derive from the vote of its women, and when the State came into the Union full woman suffrage was embedded in its constitution. In 1898, with the aid of the women's vote, a leading Mormon, Mr. Brigham Henry Roberts, who was possessed of three wives, was elected a member of the national House of Representatives. Under the pressure of strong popular resentment and indignation, which found expression all over the country, the House excluded him from its membership by a vote of 268 to 50. The last Utah Legislature, elected in part by women's votes, chose as United States Senator Mr. Reed Smoot, an apostle of the Mormon Church and a member of its Presidency. The Senate has been flooded with petitions for his unseating, which are now under consideration.

A few comparisons of areas and populations will serve to show how far these four States are from being representative of the United States as a whole. Wyoming is nearly eight times as large as Holland, but it has less than one-fiftieth of the population of that country. It has less than one inhabitant to the square mile, and of all the States it has the largest ratio of male population. Idaho is about two-fifths as large as the whole German Empire in Europe, but its population is only about one-twelfth that of the city of Berlin. The following figures, relating to these States, from the United States Census of 1900 are suggestive :

	Population —Male	Population —Female	Area— square miles	Density— Inhabitants to the square mile	Males of Voting Age	Females of Voting Age (estimated on same ratio as Males)
Colorado . . .	295,882	244,868	108,925	5.2	185,708	158,861
Idaho . . .	98,867	68,405	84,800	1.9	58,982	38,462
Utah . . .	141,687	185,082	84,970	8.4	67,172	64,081
Wyoming . . .	58,184	84,847	97,890	0.9	37,898	22,201



As to the practical results of woman suffrage in these States reports differ. Even if the reports were wholly favourable it would be hasty to conclude that what was wise and practicable in four States which, all together, have less than one-third of the population of the city of New York, would be adapted to the large cities and populous rural districts of the longer-settled States. But there is no accord of favourable testimony. The witnesses cited by the suffragists to attest the beneficent results of the ballot in the hands of women in these States are most of them public men who either are now in office or who hope to be, and who could not be expected, in either case, to speak ill of a large body of their constituents. On the other hand, there is disinterested testimony to the effect that the experiment has worked ill, and that it has been especially disastrous to women themselves in blunting their finer sensibilities, and in bringing to the front a political type of woman, whose conduct and characteristics are repellent to those who cherish conservative and reverent ideals of womanhood.

More interest attaches to the reports from Colorado than to those from the other suffrage States, because there, in some sections at least, the conditions and the character of the population more closely resemble those of the longer-settled States. To quote one impartial witness, Judge Moses Hallett, who has been United States district judge for the district of Colorado for the last twenty-seven years, and who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Colorado when the State was a Territory, said in an interview, as reported in the *Denver Republican* of the 6th of April 1902 :

Our State has tried the female-suffrage plan a sufficiently long time to form a fair idea of its workings. I am not prejudiced in any way, but honestly do not see where the experiment has proved of benefit. The presence of women at the polls has only augmented the total votes ; it has worked no radical changes. It has produced no special reforms, and it has had no particular purifying effect upon politics. There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent of the female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. They still go to the polls, but need to be urged by some of their male relatives. I do not believe that there will be any abrogation of the suffrage-right of the women of our State, for the reason that no man who aspires to office would risk their displeasure by advocating the repeal of the law. At the same time, if it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority.

As to legislation, no one pretends that the statutes of these States are up to the level of those of the longer-settled States ; and it is not even clear that in any important particular they are in advance of those of neighbouring States, of similar population, where women do not vote. Wyoming, for example, after thirty years of woman suffrage, kept on its statute-books until recently a law licensing gambling-houses and collecting a revenue from them for the public treasury.

These, then, are the fruits of more than half a century of persistent

agitation for woman suffrage in the United States—a country hospitable toward all experiments, peculiarly susceptible to appeals in the name of liberty, and so free in its bestowal of the ballot that in some of the States it gives it to aliens who have been in the country only six months and have merely declared their intention of becoming citizens. Of the forty-five States in the Union, twenty do not give women any form of ballot; twenty give them the lightly-regarded school ballot or the still less important and infrequently-exercised ballot, on questions submitted to taxpayers; one admits them to municipal suffrage, but refuses them anything more; and four give them the full ballot.

This is a meagre showing. Still more significant is the fact that the suffrage movement seems to have come to a standstill. The agitation, indeed, has not ceased nor even perceptibly diminished. There are local and State organisations and a national federation which lay annual siege to the Legislatures, and to constitutional conventions, when they assemble. But so far as practical results go these organisations are accomplishing nothing. No gains are being made, and none for some years have been made in legislation favourable to woman suffrage. Utah came in as a suffrage State in 1896, under conditions which have been described. In the same year Idaho adopted a suffrage constitutional amendment by a narrow margin which, though it represented a majority of the votes cast on the proposition, was less than half the total vote at the election at which the amendment was submitted. Since that year not one important gain has been made for the cause. In 1898 Delaware gave the school ballot to taxpaying women, and in two States a minor form of suffrage on taxpaying propositions has been conceded, but that is all. In five States suffrage constitutional amendments have been defeated at the polls: in California in 1896, in South Dakota and Washington in 1898, in Oregon in 1900, and in New Hampshire in 1903. In 1903 the Legislatures of thirteen States rejected woman suffrage Bills of one type or another.

The explanation of this check to the woman-suffrage movement in the United States is not far to seek. The movement has been brought to a halt by the discovery that the American women who ask for the ballot constitute only a small minority of their sex. Americans have a certain chivalry which prompts them to go to the very verge of peril, or beyond it, in giving to women, politically, what they think that women want. Until a comparatively recent date the advocates of woman suffrage professed to speak for the sex, and legislators have assumed that they did so. But it is no longer possible to make that claim unchallenged. Coincident with the decline in the suffrage movement, as measured by legislation, and undoubtedly largely the cause of it, is the development and formal organisation among women themselves of a sentiment actively opposed to the grant of the ballot

to their sex. The increasing hostility of women to the suffrage has been manifested mainly in two ways :

(1) By the organisation of associations of women for the purpose of directly antagonising suffrage measures in the legislatures of their own and other States. The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, which now, according to the statement of its president, Mrs. C. E. Guild, at a legislative hearing in Boston, the 27th of January, 1904, numbers 10,691 women, and has branches in 222 cities, towns, and villages in the State, was fully organised in 1895. In New York an association of similar name and purpose was organised in the same year. The Illinois Association was formed in 1897. In each of these States volunteer committees had been at work for some years in opposition to suffrage measures, but the first formal organisation was in 1895. Similar associations or committees exist, or have been called into activity as emergencies arose, in Maine, Rhode Island, Iowa, Oregon, Washington, and other States. They print and distribute appeals, arguments, and remonstrances against suffrage measures, and through their officers, or otherwise, appear personally before legislative committees to urge adverse action on suffrage Bills. The report of the Massachusetts Association for 1903 shows an expenditure of nearly 3,000 dollars and a distribution of 32,000 leaflets and pamphlets.

The literature published by these associations would make an interesting collection if it were brought together. The arguments of these remonstrating women are numerous but consistent. They urge that, while merely to deposit a single vote is a momentary act,

the consequences of thousands and millions of votes so deposited 'by women will be to weaken the force of family life, to bring Church matters into politics, to lessen chivalry and tenderness between men and women, and to bring politics into each question of philanthropic, social, or educational organisation which should be decided solely on its own merits and not for any effect it may have on party zeal.<sup>2</sup>

They point to many laws improving the status of women,<sup>3</sup> and show that these substantial gains have been accomplished without aid from the suffragists and in States in which women do not vote.<sup>4</sup> They urge that the functions and duties of the two sexes are well and clearly defined—to the strong physique of man, the labours and

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, in a letter read before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee on Election Laws, February 1, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Rights and Exemptions which by Law are given to Women and not to Men.* Published by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

<sup>4</sup> *Woman's Progress versus Woman Suffrage.* By Mrs. Helen Kendrick Johnson. Published by the New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women.

duties of the outside world ; to the finer and more spiritual nature of woman, the labours and duties of the home and society ; and that

if ever the day arrives when women cannot in the long run depend upon men, to be the support and protection of their weaker physical nature, and when men cannot depend upon women for the tender offices and ministrations which belong sacredly and indefeasibly to the home, it will be high time for the race to take account of itself and square its course anew.<sup>5</sup>

They insist that

it is not the tyranny but the chivalry of men that we American women have to fear. The men of America want to give us everything we really need,<sup>6</sup> and the danger is that they will mistake a minority for a majority.<sup>6</sup>

They argue that women are already bearing their full share of the burdens of society, and that it is unjust to impose upon them duties for which they are not fitted by experience or training :

It is hard for experienced men to follow intelligently the conduct of a great municipality, to understand the departments of official work, the subdivisions of labour, the financial problems, and then to decide who has honestly performed these great duties. It is a poor argument to say that women would do as well as many men : they must do better to have their votes of any advantage to the city ; for addition to the number of voters is no gain, but, on the contrary, an added trouble and expense. It is surely a better quality of voters rather than an increased number of them that our country needs.<sup>7</sup>

(2) The other manifestation of the indifference or active hostility of the great majority of American women to the imposition of the ballot was made in connection with the so-called 'Referendum' in Massachusetts in 1895. This expression has been so influential not only in that State, but in others, where it has been rightly interpreted as representative of the attitude of women in general, that it cannot be overlooked in any consideration of the present status of the suffrage movement in the United States. A municipal suffrage Bill narrowly missed passing in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1894. It was acted on favourably by the House and defeated in the Senate. The effort to secure its passage was renewed the next year ; and the Legislature, after first rejecting the Bill, conceived the idea of getting a mandate from the people, or at least some light as to public sentiment. It therefore passed a Bill providing for the submission to the men voters of the State at the election in November, and also to women possessed of the qualifications necessary to entitle them to

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin, of Chicago, to the Hon. Oliver W. Stewart, Member of the Illinois House of Representatives, February 12, 1903. Published by the Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women.

<sup>6</sup> Miss Emily S. Bissell, of Delaware, in an address before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, February 13, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> *The Present Status of Woman Suffrage in the United States.* By Mrs. Charles E. Guild, President of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. Published by the Association.

vote for school committees, the question—‘Is it expedient that municipal suffrage be granted to women?’ It was further provided that the vote of the sexes should be recorded separately. The Bill was opposed by leading suffragists, who seemed to shrink from such a test of public sentiment, and even after it had been passed several of them waited upon the Governor and asked him to veto it. The suffragists, however, made an energetic campaign. They formed local organisations and made a thorough canvass; and several weeks before the election their spirits were so far revived that the *Woman’s Journal of Boston*, the suffrage organ, declared hopefully: ‘After next November suffragists will probably have a right to claim that they speak for a majority of the women.’ On the other hand, the women represented by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women did not recommend women holding their views to go to the polls, but urged them to use their influence to increase the vote of men against the proposition.

The result of the vote was startling to the suffragists. Of the men who voted, 86,970 expressed themselves in favour of giving the municipal ballot to women, and 186,976 against it—an adverse majority of 100,006. But the vote of the women was more surprising. There were, in round numbers, perhaps 575,000 women of voting age who might have registered and voted if the question had appealed to them; but of these only 22,204 went to the polls and recorded themselves in favour of municipal suffrage, and 864 women voted against the proposition. The total women’s vote cast in favour of the proposal was actually smaller than has sometimes been polled at school elections. There were forty-seven towns in which no woman voted ‘Yes,’ and in 138 other towns the women who voted ‘Yes’ numbered fifteen or less.

It will be perceived that the situation presented to the American legislator to-day, when he is asked to extend the suffrage to women, is very different from what it was a decade ago. Then the claim for suffrage was put forward in a general way for ‘the women,’ and legislators who did not give it respectful consideration were charged with lack of chivalry and generosity. When hearings were given upon proposed suffrage measures, ordinarily only the petitioners appeared, and legislative committees were justified in concluding that they expressed the desire of practically all women. But now legislative hearings upon this question resolve themselves into a kind of joint debate between women who want the ballot and women who do not want it; and the women who appear to remonstrate against the extension of suffrage to their sex are not only as intelligent, as sincere, and as earnest as those who seek the ballot, but they are able to point to evidence, the nature of which has been already indicated, to justify their claim to speak for an overwhelming, though hitherto silent, majority of their sex.

To comply good-humouredly with what was supposed to be the desire of all or nearly all women was one thing ; to vote to force the ballot upon 96 per cent. of women who are either indifferent or earnestly opposed to the proposal at the clamour of 4 per cent. who want it is quite another matter. Americans have great respect for majorities, and majorities count in this matter as in others. There are two considerations, either or both of which might warrant the extension of suffrage to women. One is the conviction that the condition of women would be thereby improved ; the other is the belief that the State would be benefited by woman's exercise of the suffrage. But these demonstrations of woman's hostility to the ballot strike at both these considerations. It is hard for legislators to believe that, if the ballot were likely to be a benefit to women, less than 4 per cent. of them would ask for it. It is equally hard for them to believe that the ballot, imposed upon a body of voters so reluctant to accept or use it, could be an instrument for the improvement of politics or the regeneration of society. It seems, therefore, not rash to conclude that the check to the woman-suffrage movement in the United States, following closely, as it has, upon the organised opposition of women to it, represents not a coincidence merely, but cause and effect. In this case *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

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## THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER

ONE of the most pathetic figures of modern times is the Russian soldier. Before he was ordered to present himself at the *voinskaja pavinost* (the conscription tribunal), whilst he was yet a civilian, he laboured under disabilities which are well-nigh incredible to the dwellers in lands where liberty is the right of all men. But when on the Pelion of civil bondage is piled the Ossa of enforced service under a revoltingly barbarous military system the acme of human misery would seem to be attained. The fireside philanthropist exclaims: 'Hush! Do not tell him that he is wretched and he will not realise it. It is a mistake to suppose that a man who is the heir to centuries of oppression feels the degradation of his position; and, therefore, it is only necessary to keep him in ignorance and bondage and he will be quite contented.' I have seen this argument solemnly advanced within the last few weeks in the columns of a respectable British journal in defence of the Tsar of Russia keeping the vast majority of his subjects in a state of illiteracy and ignorance. But, unfortunately, the Russian soldier and his family, ignorant as they are, lie under no misapprehension as to the miseries which await a man during the term of his service in the army. The *voinskaja pavinost* is a terror which overshadows the youth for years before he arrives at man's estate. It is not dispelled by the reports which he hears from reservists who have come back to their homes from the active army, nor by the treatment which the old soldiers receive at the hands of the community. It does not fire his breast with martial ardour to see them shunned and despised, or to hear from their lips the simple story of their treatment whilst they were in the ranks. It is not wonderful that he seeks to evade the ordeal through which they have passed by quitting his country for ever, or by maiming himself for life. I have already referred briefly to this subject in 'Russia as It Really Is.' I shall now give some further particulars.

In Smolensk I was slightly acquainted with a young fellow who was the son of a leather and iron merchant in the town. He was just over twenty years of age when he called to see me one day in April, and began to ask me questions about his health. Could I tell

him what he could do to reduce his chest measurement, he asked at length. I was surprised at the question, and replied light-heartedly : 'Dissipation and starvation, riotous nights and hungry days.'

My answer did not seem to satisfy him.

'Is there no drug I could take to disable me for a few years, so that I should be rejected as medically unfit at the *voinskaja pavinost* ?'

I became serious in a moment when I understood the drift of his questioning, and cautioned him severely to dismiss all such notions from his mind. I knew that there were doctors in Smolensk who could give him what he wanted, and who would do so if he went to them for advice ; and in telling him this I warned him that he would almost certainly ruin his constitution for life.

The poor lad looked the picture of misery. If I could not help him in the way he suggested there was another way out of the difficulty, which I had no hesitation in recommending to his notice.

'Why employ such dangerous means to avoid service ?' I asked. 'Why not leave Russia altogether and be a healthy man in some other country ? You have a good physique and bodily strength. You would have no difficulty in earning a living.'

'I know that well enough,' he answered, with tears in his eyes ; 'but my home is here, and my father, and mother, and friends. If I went to another country I should never see them again. I cannot do it !'

He rose to go, with an expression of utter dejection on his face. As he was passing the window he paused and looked out at the green fields.

'I would rather live on black bread and water, and sleep out there,' he said, pointing to the fields, 'than be a rich man in a country which is not my home.'

At the *voinskaja pavinost* in the following autumn he was rejected by the doctor as medically unfit, and told that he need not report himself again, as he was in the second stage of consumption.

Another instance of the same kind I came across in Orel about four years ago. Two weeks before the *voinskaja pavinost* a young man had his right eye removed. Another, in the same government, chopped the toes off his right foot, performing the operation himself on a butcher's block. When the military authorities found out what he had done he was arrested and packed off to Siberia. On an occasion when I was invited by the medical officer to accompany him to the *voinskaja pavinost* in Simbersk a young man who was being examined suddenly fell to the ground and died within a quarter of an hour. On examination it was found that he had taken poison. The most usual form of mutilation is the amputation of three fingers of the right hand, which effectually prevents the man from using a rifle.



I think I have given enough examples to convince the impartial reader that mutilation and kindred acts are frequently resorted to by young men in Russia to enable them to escape the ordeal of military service. Horrors of such a kind clearly indicate the dread which exists throughout Russia of the service of the Tsar. Unless this terror of the *voinskaja pavinnost* were founded on the most convincing evidence is it likely that young men would resort to such horrible extremes to avoid their obligations? The fact is that the official brutality which exists in all departments of the Government service culminates in an orgie of wanton cruelty in the army. The official attitude is one of uncompromising severity: it recognises no reason; it is relentless in operation; it is bound down with the most imbecile restrictions; but it is always amenable to corruption. In civil life this state of things is bad enough, but in the army, where the unfortunate private soldier is the slave of many masters, from the colonel to the corporal, it is positively unendurable to any man with a spark of real manhood in him. I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I am well aware that strict discipline is an absolute necessity in every army worthy of the name. I recognise the fact that injustices are inevitable under any system of military administration, where the welfare of the whole body must be placed before the interest of the individual; but I maintain that the treatment meted out to the Russian conscript is a scandal and disgrace to humanity, and has no parallel in the annals of civilisation.

Denunciation unsupported carries no weight; but if we follow the Russian conscript through his career in the army we shall get a clearer view on the subject of his treatment than is to be obtained by generalisations. He has presented himself at the *voinskaja pavinnost*, drawn from the ballot box a fatal number, and the doctor has pronounced him *godin* (fit). He is then taken into a room where the *tcheroolnik* (hair-cutter) awaits him, scissors in hand, and his matted hair is shorn off close to the scalp, at the Tsar's expense. Thereafter he is sworn in and becomes the property of the Tsar and his officers.

The recruit has no say in which branch of the service he is to serve, neither has he any choice of locality. It is rarely that he serves in his own government; as a rule he is transferred to a distant part of the Empire. The recruit from Courland may be sent to Poltava, or from Saratov to Esthonia, or from Bessarabia to Kovno. If he has a trade he is regarded as a prize, and his talents are turned to account in the regimental workshops. If he has none he is quickly converted into a machine to do the bidding of his officers. He must have no individuality, and no ideas of his own, but he is allowed to retain his name to distinguish him from his comrades.

As to the educational *status* of the Russian soldier, various figures have been advanced lately as to the percentage of illiterates in the army. From my own observations I maintain that not 10 per cent.

can read and write. The standard of education varies enormously in different parts of the Empire. In European Russia—in Archangel, Astrachan, and Bessarabia—not 2 per cent. can read and write. Against that in Courland nearly all can read and write; and the same holds good in Esthonia. In the Don Cossacks region about 10 per cent. are literate. In Ekaterinoslav, Kaluga, Kostroma, Penza, Perm, Padolia, and Ryazan 90 per cent. are illiterate. In Ufa, Tver, Tula, and Tambov the percentage is about the same. In Vitebsk and Yaroslav there are some 8 per cent. who can read and write. In Poland and Finland the educational standard is far higher, the illiterates not amounting to 20 per cent. Against this in Northern Caucasia, omitting Baku and the Black Sea littoral, not 1 per cent. are educated. In Asiatic Russia the percentage of literates is very small, perhaps 2 per cent.

The Russian recruit is as stupid as he is illiterate; but he is taught his first lesson when he joins the army. He learns it like a parrot, repeating the words after his instructor laboriously.

‘Whom do you serve?’ he is asked.

‘The Little Father.’

‘Correct. But how is he called?’

The recruit does not know, and he is made to repeat the titles of the Tsar until he has them by heart—

‘Evo Imperatorskoe Velitchestvo Gosudar Imperator Nikolai Alexandrovitch, Samoderjets Vserossieskie.’

The words convey about as much to him as they do to the British reader who has not studied Russian. But that is only the first part of his lesson. There are the name and titles of the Tsaritsa to follow, and of various other members of the Imperial Family. It is quite possible that, in the intervals of his ‘retirements’ before the Japanese armies in Manchuria, he is being taught by what names and titles he is to speak of the infant Tsarevitch. But his education is not completed when he has made himself familiar with the members of the House of Romanov; there are the generals and officers under whom he serves, who also have names and titles, and he must learn them all down to the sergeant of his section. The time spent in teaching him these purely ceremonial details might with more advantage be applied to instructing him in the elements of tactics; but since he is never allowed to think for himself, or to know the reason of the various manœuvres which he is ordered to carry out, it would be useless waste of time to explain such things to him. But he has long hours of drill in the barrack square under instructors who maltreat him if he is more than usually stupid, and often when he is not. He is also taught the care of arms and musketry practice. The sighting of his rifle is a great stumbling-block to him, for the little figures on the back sight convey nothing to his mind, and the trajectory of the bullet is quite beyond his comprehension.

The barracks in which he is housed may be superior in capacity and ventilation to the hovel which he once called his home, but his life in them is made unbearable by the non-commissioned officers, who are imbued with a full measure of Russian officialism, and who, therefore, think it necessary to make the lot of their subordinates as unpleasant as possible.

It has been pointed out to me by an enlightened critic that I must be mistaken in describing the lot of the Russian soldier as an unhappy one. 'Russian regiments always sing on the march,' he explains, and therefore, of course, the men must be happy. He is perfectly right about the singing. Russian soldiers are always singing; they sing on the march, they sing in the train, they sing whilst they are eating their black bread and *kapusta* (sour cabbage), they sing in the *kharchevna* (public-house). I have also seen a gang of over four hundred prisoners in chains on their way to Siberia, and they too sang as they marched to the station, and afterwards in the train. I suppose, therefore, that they must have been quite happy and contented!

An American humourist has told us that a certain amount of fleas is good for a dog; he passes the day in scratching himself, and so forgets to brood over the misery of being a dog. Ask the Russian soldier why he is always singing, and he will give you much the same reason. He passes the day in singing, and so forgets to brood over the misery of being a soldier.

The songs which the soldiers sing are remarkable compositions, and the origin of them is worth recording. Every company in a regiment has a clown. He is selected by the captain of the company on account of his accomplishments. Before he became a soldier he probably lived by his wits in a city, and possessing a humour of his own and a ready tongue he soon makes for himself the reputation of a wag in the regiment. He is, therefore, appointed clown to his company, and in that capacity he marches in front singing and dancing for the entertainment of his comrades. He is exempted from carrying arms, so that he may be able to perform the uncouth Russian dances which have become familiar to the British public on the music-hall stage. Then he will strike up a verse of a song, and the whole company will join in the refrain, and for the time they forget their swollen feet and the weight of the knapsack which galls their shoulders. If he is a clown of genius he composes songs for his company when he is in barracks, and sings them on the march. Sometimes he will make a great 'hit' with one of his compositions. It spreads from company to company, and from regiment to regiment, until it becomes a national song.

When the slopes of Plevna were thickly strewn with fallen Russians a mere handful of men, the remnant of a regiment, swept back from the assault, staggered out of action with the clown

at their head. Back to Skobeleff he led them, shouting the refrain :

Hai, Turkie duraki,  
Krasnoi shapki kak burakee,  
Krasnoi shapki kak burakee,  
Nasha Russki mallatchi !

Eh, foolish Turks,  
With your red caps like beets,  
With your red caps like beets,  
Our Russian bravery !

That was a song inspired by the reek of battle on a stricken field. I have given the Russian words (Anglicised), because both the metre and the alliterative guttural are suggestive. Here is another which I lately heard sung in Russia by troops on the march. It was evidently inspired by the piping times of peace, and I give only the translation :

A rooster sat on a steeple  
For over twenty years ;  
But a holy saint blessed the lofty rooster,  
And he laid an egg, did that blessed rooster,  
Which fell to the churchyard below,  
And killed the devil—dead.

*Chorus.*

O holy, holy rooster, ha ! ha ! ha !  
For the saint who blessed thee, he ! he ! he !  
Mayst thou ever lay thy eggs, ha ! ha ! ha !  
O holy, holy rooster.

Once a year the soldier gets a holiday and quits the barracks for a few days. The occasion is the week before Easter, and the purpose of the holiday is to collect eggs for the Easter festival. Every man who is sent out carries two empty baskets on his arm, and he is told to go into the country and beg eggs from the farmers. Needless to say the soldier is delighted to escape from the iron discipline of barrack life and be, for a few days, a free man. As usual he sings on the road as he tramps with a few comrades round the district, taking toll of the farmers' eggs and begging a meal or shelter for the night in their barns. He ingratiates himself with his host and makes love to his daughter ; and in return for their hospitality he will do all kinds of odd jobs about the farm. Finally he takes his departure, with his baskets full of eggs, and tramps back to barracks.

I once met a party of soldiers, with empty baskets, making for a farmhouse where I had been staying for some time. Now the soldier has not an open field for his egg-collecting at Easter, for that is also the season when the travelling popes are going their rounds of the country, with the ostensible purpose of begging for the poor. I happened to know that there were several popes at the farm to which

the soldiers were going, and I stopped and told them so. Their faces fell immediately. They knew that when it came to begging they were no match for the priests, and they turned back reluctantly.

'The devil take the cursed popes!' one of them muttered; and as I too had been driven out of the house by their arrival, to seek a breath of pure air, I was in thorough sympathy with his sentiments.

The spring of the year brings another form of employment for the soldier in Russia, which enables him to earn a small wage. As soon as the ice has broken up in the rivers the pontoon bridges which were taken off at the beginning of the winter have to be constructed again. For this purpose soldiers are frequently employed, and they are paid a small sum for their labour.

Such are the brighter aspects of the Russian soldier's life; he is encouraged to sing on the march; he is given a few days' freedom at Easter to beg; he is allowed to earn a few kopeks at bridge-building in the spring. Against these advantages there is a very considerable balance on the other side. The systematic brutality with which he is treated by his officers I have already mentioned in 'Russia as It Really Is,' and I gave one or two examples. Here is another for the benefit of those who are sceptical.

I happened one day to be in a tea house in Kaluga, where there were several soldiers sitting round their *samovar*, chatting in an orderly manner. Two of them attracted my attention, as I could overhear snatches of their conversation. One mentioned that his wife had come to live in Kaluga whilst he was serving, so that she might be near him. The other congratulated his friend on his good fortune in possessing a wife so devoted to him. And so for a few minutes they chatted on; and then, having finished their tea, one of them left the shop whilst the other paid the account. I also had finished my tea, and walked out into the street. I had not gone more than a few steps when the soldier who had stayed behind to pay the reckoning overtook me. At the same moment an officer, coming from the opposite direction, passed, and the soldier saluted him. The officer apparently did not see the soldier's *pot kazerok*, for he turned back, and overtaking him demanded why he had not saluted. I was only a few paces from them, and I could see the soldier trembling like a leaf as he protested that he had saluted. His explanation had no effect upon the officer, who seized the unfortunate man by the collar of his great-coat with his left hand, whilst he pummelled his face with his clenched right fist. The soldier was like a rabbit in his hands, and the blood was streaming from his nose and mouth. Several people passed without taking the slightest notice of the incident, and at the door of the shop on the opposite side of the street were assembled the customers and employes of the establishment, watching the brutal scene, but making no attempt to interfere.

There was nothing for it but active intervention on my part;

and going up to the officer I grabbed his right wrist just as he was on the point of dealing another blow on the soldier's face. Still holding the man by the collar, the officer struggled to free the arm which I held, hurling opprobrious abuse at my head, and calling me by a name which is frequently used by all Russians to their inferiors, but which constitutes the direst insult. I hit him full in the face with my left fist, and he let go his hold of the soldier's collar and turned his whole attention to me. In the *mêlée* which followed the officer drew his sword, but dropped it before he could make any use of it, and the outcome was that I broke it over his head. By that time a couple of *gorodovois* had come upon the scene; but, to my surprise, I was not arrested. I gave my card to one of them, whilst the other called a *droshka*, in which the officer drove off, slightly disfigured, and with the pieces of his broken sword in his hand. When he had gone I looked in vain for the soldier; he had disappeared. I had not escaped from the fray without damage, and I limped off down the street with a very sore shin, where my adversary had kicked me, determined, if there were any possible means of effecting it, to bring the scoundrel to justice.

I presume that the reason why I was not arrested by the *gorodovois* was due to the fact that I was known to them to be the guest of the *politizmaister*. To him I went with the whole story; but he strongly advised me to drop the matter. So I thought it over, and came to the conclusion that if the officer were satisfied there was no reason why I should pursue the subject further. I never saw or heard of the officer again whilst I was in Kaluga, but whenever I chanced to meet either of the *gorodovois* he always regarded me with a friendly smile.

There is one class of soldiers which has no particular cause to sing, because marching forms a very small part of its duties. These are the soldiers who work day and night in the tailors', carpenters', and smiths' shops in barracks. They are frequently Jews, and that is another reason why their officers maltreat them.

'You have made the sleeves of my uniform too long,' a *younger* shouted to a wretched little Jewish tailor in my presence.

'I am sorry, high-born. They shall be altered.'

'They should have been right to begin with, Judas Iscariot,' the officer rejoined, and with a blow in the face of the poor tailor he walked out of the shop.

I did not hear that Jewish soldier sing after the officer had gone; I only heard the sewing machine going like a mill.

I abstain from mentioning the term by which the officer usually addresses his men. Enough to say that it is a word which casts reflections upon the parents of the soldier, and is, therefore, of a particularly offensive nature; but it is so universally used in Russia, by all classes that it is the commonest word in the whole language.

In the reign of Alexander the Second a certain reformer, scandalised by the tone and frequency of this filthy expression, set about to petition the Tsar to make the use of it a misdemeanour, punishable by law. He secured thousands of signatures to his petition, and being granted an audience by the good-natured Alexander laid the document before him. The Tsar read it to the end sympathetically, declared that the reformer had done a noble work in devoting his energies to the suppression of bad language, and announced his intention of countersigning the petition, and making it a law that the use of that particular expression in Russia should henceforward be an indictable offence. The reformer was overjoyed at the success of his petition, and the Tsar took up his pen to sign the immortal document. But, alas! the pen was a bad one, and Alexander the Second, losing his temper, dashed it to the floor, using the very expression which he had intended to make illegal. So the petition remained unsigned by the Tsar, and to this day there is no law in Russia against the use of the offending phrase. And the reformer, when he thinks of the pen of Alexander the Second, still uses the expression himself. I have failed to find any records of this story in history, nor has it been published, I believe, in the columns of any British newspaper. But I can vouch for the truth of it.

Apart from the brutal treatment to which the soldier is subjected by his officers in the ordinary relations of life the military code provides all sorts of pains and penalties for lapses from discipline, which are stringently enforced. The knout plays an important part in maintaining order in the Tsar's forces—a form of punishment which is as degrading as it is cruel—but it is very popular with the official Russian mind. But, with a protest against flogging and the discreditable condition of the prisons in which military offenders are confined, I shall pass by the operation of military law in Russia, as I recognise the fact that in the maintenance of discipline in an army a special code is necessary and a strict enforcement of its provisions.

Every country has its *corps d'élite*—Guards, *chasseurs*, *bersaglieri*, *Jäger*—but no country gives a more prominent position to its 'cack' corps than Russia concedes to the Cossacks. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as the Cossacks are not really Russians, but the frontier tribes which Russia has absorbed. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Russians proper are not a warlike nation. They serve in the army under compulsion and without enthusiasm, and they would very much prefer that the Cossacks should do all their fighting for them. On the other hand the Cossacks revel in fighting and in the congenial task of keeping order amongst the students, Jews, and other disturbing elements of the Tsar's peace. So the Cossack is given pride of place in the Russian army because he is a genuine fighting man, and because no peaceable Russian would dream of disputing his claims.

The Cossack is a privileged person; he has a special education and laws of his own. He also has his own customs, which are not very pleasing. From his early days he is taught that blood is the one thing needful. As a youngster he will attend at the slaughtering of animals, and run to catch the blood in his little wooden cup—and he drinks it. When he grows up his thirst for blood is insatiable; it is a practical, working thirst, and not a mere figure of speech. It is the craving of a carnivorous beast. The smell of blood affects him as it does the tiger, and his instinct guides him to the 'kill.' He is not particular as to the fountain from which he drinks. An ox or a pig will serve him; but sometimes he flies at higher game. In Omsk a Cossack was arrested by the police for murdering a Persian pedlar. The Persian was what is known as a 'box wallah' in Anglo-India. He used to go round the town with a bundle of printed cottons for sale. The Cossack coveted the Persian's goods and his money, so he waylaid and murdered him. He confessed, when arrested, that he had cut the Persian's throat and drunk of his blood. I was present when he made the confession, and I came across a very similar case in Malo-Cherkass. It is a common report that in the war with Turkey the Cossacks practically lived on the blood of the Turks whom they had captured, until Alexander the Second got word of it and ordered the Cossack general to put a stop to the practice.

The British traveller in Russia who takes photographs, shakes hands with the Tsar, hobnobs with the official classes, and then returns to England and writes a book on Russia, has never told his readers how the Russian officer passes his leisure hours. The enterprising 'Special Correspondent' of the Press who writes home interesting articles on the social and political condition of the country is also silent on this subject. With the intention of providing a journalist, whom I met in Moscow, with some excellent 'copy' for an article in his paper I asked him to accompany me one evening to an establishment where I knew that we should meet a large number of army officers.

I took him to a big, four-storied mansion in the heart of the city, which might well have been the residence of a prince. The windows were of coloured glass, and the lights shining through them from behind reminded me of the stained glass windows of a church. A *gorodovoi* stood near the entrance and hastened to open the door as we approached, with his hand held out expectantly for a tip. An old man in a gorgeous livery met us in the hall and relieved us of our coats and hats. He then ushered us into the reception room, a spacious apartment with a waxed floor, and Turkish divans and little inlaid tables ranged round the walls. On the divans were reclining women in costumes diaphanous and *décolletés*, who smoked cigarettes and drank champagne whilst they chatted with the men



beside them. Several girls rose and came towards us as we entered, and my journalist friend hung back.

'You need not mind the ladies,' I said. 'They will be very pleased to see you. Here is the lady of the house,' as a large, middle-aged woman came up. 'You can call her "Matushka" without further ceremony.'

A man at the grand piano struck up a waltz. The bevy of fair women closed round my friend and bore him off, and I was left alone with 'Matushka.' I asked if she would show me round her magnificent house, and, taking me by the arm, she led me through the reception room, where officers of all ranks in uniform were dancing with the women or sitting with them on their knees on the low divans. Before we had reached the door I felt a tap on my shoulder, and, looking round, found my journalist with a troubled expression on his face. A misfortune had befallen him, he explained. Being unable to speak Russian he had contented himself with answering 'Yes, yes' to everything that his fair companions said, and as a result he had been called upon to pay for six bottles of champagne at ten roubles a bottle, and he had not enough money with him to meet the demand. Fortunately I was able to help him out of his difficulty; and the lady of the house seeing me disburse sixty roubles for champagne became very attentive. She introduced me to many of the officers present, explaining to them that I was a fabulously rich foreigner, who had honoured her house with his presence; but she took care not to leave me alone with them.

'You must be very rich yourself, Matushka,' I ventured, looking at the heavy velvet curtains and the gilded cornices.

'No, bareen, no!' she answered. 'There was a time when I used to make a lot of money. That was when a Courlandish regiment was quartered in Moscow. The officers could get plenty of money out of their men, but now they are only beggarly regiments who come here. Their officers can make nothing out of the soldiers, and they owe me thousands of roubles.'

A *polkovnik* (colonel), half-drunk and truculent, began abusing a civilian against whom he had lurched in his passing through the room.

'Oi, Loubva!' Matushka called to a pale, thin girl, with hectic red spots on her cheek bones and large, luminous eyes, 'stop that coughing and come and look after your *polkovnik*. He is quarrelling, as usual.'

The girl crammed her handkerchief into her mouth, and going up to the *polkovnik* laid a hand on his sleeve and led him away.

'Ah, the poor *polkovnik*!' Matushka exclaimed sympathetically. 'He has the devil of a wife at home. Loubva is the only one who can manage him. He is like a child with her.'

At the far end of the room there was a crash. Two *youngsters* were confronting each other across an overturned table with blazing

eyes and furious words. Matushka left my side and hurried to restore order. A girl sitting close to the two angry men was crying hysterically, and a pack of cards was scattered on the floor at her feet.

'He wasn't cheating—I swear he wasn't cheating!' she sobbed. And then Matushka's voice rang out harshly above the din.

'You don't come to my house to gamble. Before you lose your money to other people I wish you would pay me what you owe me.'

My friend came up to me. 'I have had enough of this,' he said disgustedly. 'Let us go.'

As we were leaving the room we passed Loubva sitting on the knees of the *polkovnik*; she was still coughing, and there was blood on her handkerchief.

As we walked home together I ventured to suggest to the journalist that he might write a couple of columns for his paper on the events of the evening, giving full particulars of the rank and number of Russian officers whom he had seen, the manner in which they pass their time, and the sources from which they obtain their money; but he was not enthusiastic about it.

'Do you suppose that if I were to write such an article as you suggest my paper would publish it?' he asked.

'Why not? Surely you are sent here to report on things as they are. Why should not your readers be told the whole truth?'

'I am afraid you do not understand newspaper work,' he answered coldly. 'The British public don't like to be told these things; and, besides, the proprietor of my paper has lately entertained the Tsar in England. It would never do to write down the Russian officers. The manuscript would go straight into his waste-paper basket.'

The result of this mawkishness on the part of the British public, and of the disinclination of the Press to disturb the public peace of mind, is that very erroneous ideas of foreign manners and customs are formed by that intelligent being 'the Man in the Street.'

Only the other day the same journal which announced that Russian regiments sing on the march, as a proof of the happy disposition of the men, also stated that the Russian officer is a kind and obliging gentleman, polite, and anxious to please. I do not say that in Russia there are no officers possessed of the virtues which the journal attributes to them, but I will again fall back on an American for my answer. A famous American statesman was speaking in the Carnegie Hall, New York, in support of a Republican President. This is how he finished his speech:

'Well, ladies and gentlemen, I do not mean to say that the Republican party has no bad men—yes, a very few—nor do I mean that the Democratic party has no good men—yes, a very few.'

I do not say that Russia has no kind and obliging and gentlemanly officers—yes, a very few!

There are in Great Britain to-day people who speak of the de-

sirability of this country drawing into closer relations with Russia. Ignoring our alliance with Japan and the solemn obligations which that alliance imposes upon us in certain eventualities, these people clamour for a treaty with Russia, on the lines of the agreements lately concluded with France and other civilised nations of Europe. Apart from the rank disloyalty to our allies of such a suggestion, are these people aware of the present state of the Russian Empire? Do they realise that she is governed by an autocrat whose word is not his bond? Do they know anything of the ministers who act as the Tsar's advisers? Can they record one creditable action on the part of the Russian Government within the past thirty years? Until Japan shattered the feet of clay of the image Russia was the bogey of the British Empire. Now that our allies have pulled the scarecrow down and shown us that, if its feet are of clay, its head is nothing more than a hollow turnip, where is the advantage to us of making an alliance with a discredited bogey? The mere fact that the official Russian press (and the whole Russian press is virtually official) is clamouring for a better understanding with Great Britain should make even the most ardent apostle of peace sceptical. We heard nothing of this desire on the part of Russia for the friendship of Great Britain until she was humiliated by the Japanese; but now, in her hour of trial, she throws pride to the winds and craves the good offices of a country whom she has thwarted at every turn.

The meaning of this perverted desire for friendship with Russia amongst certain people in this country must be due to one of two causes. Either they have a stake in the country—shares in oil fields or gold mines—or else they have been misled as to the true state of Russian affairs, social, political, and moral, by the books and writings of sytaphantic travellers who have shaken hands with the Tsar and taken their facts from Russian official sources.

We may reasonably talk of an alliance with Russia when Russia has shown herself to be a civilised nation; but until we have indisputable proofs that she is civilised Great Britain would do well to avoid all alliances and treaties with Russia.

CARL JOUBERT.

## *LAST MONTH*

### I

OCTOBER seems to have been a month of mystification, in two countries at least. Germany has had its own special source of bewilderment in the remarkable telegram addressed by the Emperor William to Count Leopold, the acting Regent of Lippe-Detmold. On the face of it, this telegram contained a blunt refusal on the part of the Emperor to acknowledge the validity of the Count's assumption of the office of Regent on the death of his father. It is difficult to see how any other interpretation of this telegram was possible, so long as words retain their accepted meaning. Yet when it was found that public opinion in Germany was almost wholly adverse to the Emperor, on the ground that the position he had taken up was a distinct aggression on the rights of the independent Sovereign States of Germany, Count von Bülow, as German Chancellor, came forward with an explanation of the Emperor's words which seemed to reduce them to something like nonsense, and which only mystified the German public still further as to the Emperor's position and intentions. The affair of Lippe-Detmold is, of course, to Englishmen, as to most people outside Germany, a very trivial one, and it is the comic rather than the serious side of the attempt of the Chancellor to explain away his Imperial master's autocratic message that attracts the attention of the outside public. But in Germany, where so much jealousy exists with regard to the maintenance of the rights of even the smallest independent sovereignties, it is otherwise, and during the month the Empire has witnessed a controversy almost as fierce as that which preceded the Civil War in the United States on the question of the rights of the different States. Germany, however, has had no monopoly during the month of misunderstandings caused by official statements which appear to mean one thing, and are subsequently explained as really meaning something altogether different. If, to Englishmen, the misunderstanding about the Emperor William's intentions as to the Regency of Lippe-Detmold seems to be a matter of no particular importance, the case is very different with regard to Mr. Balfour's statement at Edinburgh of his

present position on the Tariff question. To the plain man, who is not accustomed to the niceties of a game of finesse, and who does not appreciate it, however skilfully it may be played, Mr. Balfour's speech to the Edinburgh Conservative Club seemed upon the surface to have only one meaning. Parenthetically, I may remark that the speech itself was a surprise to everybody. There had been no previous announcement of the Prime Minister's intention to deliver an important political address. It came suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, but its significance was enhanced by the fact that two days later Mr. Chamberlain was to fulfil an engagement at Luton which had been announced some weeks beforehand. To some of Mr. Balfour's friends, and to the majority of his critics of both parties, it appeared, not unnaturally, that his unexpected appearance in the field was due to his wish to have his say before Mr. Chamberlain spoke at Luton. It was known that the member for West Birmingham intended to leave England immediately after fulfilling his engagement at Luton, and that he meant to remain away until after that meeting of the Unionist caucus at which it was understood a fresh attempt was to be made to capture the party in the interests of his scheme of Fiscal Reform. A year ago, when a similar attempt failed, it did so because the Prime Minister gave it to be understood that its success would involve his retirement from the leadership of the party. Naturally enough, the world put two things together, and came to the conclusion that Mr. Balfour's sudden intervention was due to his wish to warn, not only his followers, but Mr. Chamberlain himself, that the success of any fresh attempt, like that which was made at Sheffield twelve months ago, would be followed by the consequences which he threatened at that time. I have said that the Edinburgh speech seemed, on the surface at least, to be plain and simple enough. It contained an explicit declaration that the Prime Minister was no Protectionist, and that if Protection were to be adopted as the policy of the Unionist party he did not feel that he could with any advantage remain its leader. To the man of ordinary intelligence such a statement seemed to be as clear as noonday, and it was accepted accordingly as a direct repudiation of the policy of which Mr. Chamberlain is the mouthpiece. But no sooner had the Edinburgh speech appeared in the newspapers than a bewildering discussion arose in the Conservative and Protectionist press as to its true significance. It cannot be said that the discussion was from any point of view edifying. Differences of opinion between rival parties over political utterances are what everybody expects; but when an Oracle in the position of a Prime Minister speaks at a critical moment in the history of his party, and his own followers quarrel amongst themselves as to the meaning of his speech, there is clearly something wrong somewhere. To the plain man, as I have said, the apparent meaning of the speech is evident,

but the Ministerial press wrangled over it with something like ferocity. The *Standard*, backed up by Lord Hugh Cecil, insisted that it was a repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain and his proposals; the *Times* saw in it a continuation of 'the game of skill,' an adroit movement secretly intended to favour the member for West Birmingham. Other organs of Unionist opinion went further, and maintained that the speech proved there were no differences between the Prime Minister and his late colleague, but that, on the contrary, both were marching with equal steps to a common end. The one indisputable fact in connection with this curious episode is that we must apparently change the meaning that has hitherto been attached to certain words. Mr. Balfour declared that he was no Protectionist; Mr. Chamberlain, when he came to speak at Luton, repudiated Protection with almost equal fervour; whilst it was left to Mr. Victor Cavendish, who is apparently a supporter of Mr. Balfour, if not of Mr. Chamberlain as well, to proclaim with emphasis that he was a Free Trader from the bottom of his heart. And these are the gentlemen who are supporting in some cases retaliatory tariffs and in others the taxation of food! Presumably they believe that there is some mysterious difference between 'Protection' printed in inverted commas and spelt with a capital P, and protection pure and simple. The ordinary intelligence toils after these refinements of diction in vain. They suggest more strongly than anything else the old allegory of the distinction between a chestnut horse and a horse-chestnut.

Mr. Chamberlain, it is true, at Luton did his utmost to induce his audience to believe that there was no difference between himself and Mr. Balfour. Protection, according to his view, was the last thing desired by either of them. But he did not tackle the Prime Minister's assertion that taxes on food are impossible in this country; and, whilst he welcomed Mr. Balfour's proposal in favour of a conference between ourselves and the Colonies and India, he dissented from the idea that the results of such conference, if it were to take place, could not be acted upon until after a second general election. Meanwhile the Unionist press continued to be divided as to the 'true inwardness' of Mr. Balfour's declaration. So the situation remains, and it is hardly likely to undergo a change until the meeting of the Conservative associations at Southampton on the 28th of October. As that meeting will be a thing of the past when these lines appear in print, I can do little good by attempting to forecast its result; but if one wished for further proof of the disunion and disintegration of the once united Unionist party it might be found in the conflicting rumours and hopelessly divided opinions as to what would happen at Southampton which prevailed among the supporters of the Ministry down to the very eve of the meeting. Whether any party can congratulate itself upon such a condition of

things, and upon the sterile ambiguities propounded by those who ought to be its leaders when they are asked for an explicit declaration of policy, is a matter of opinion on which it might be presumptuous for me to pronounce. I cannot, however, recall any other period within my recollection when such confusion prevailed in the ranks of any party, nor do I think it possible to acquit Mr. Balfour of the chief responsibility for that confusion. His own friends declared with confidence on the eve of his speech at Edinburgh that he meant to 'put his foot down' and make his position absolutely clear. He intended, we were assured, to act up to his declaration at Sheffield that he would either be a real leader or would cease to lead. If such were his intentions, his courage was hardly equal to them, and the main result of his speech has been to make confusion worse confounded.

In the meantime it must be remembered that time is passing, and that every week brings us nearer to the moment when the grand inquest of the nation will be held. There are, of course, wiseacres who contend that the House of Commons has still two years to live, and that, no matter what may happen in the country, it will live its life out to the very last day permitted by the Septennial Act. Those who hold this opinion apparently believe that in some curious and unexplained fashion Ministers are quickly to retrieve themselves, and to regain the lost confidence of the nation. One would have thought that the experience of the last two years would have convinced even the least intelligent of the folly of this desperate expedient by which Ministers are to cling to life so long as they can command a bare majority in the House of Commons. The position of the Government and its strength, both in Parliament and in the country, has by common admission not been improved during these two years. On the contrary, we have seen the feeling out of doors against Ministers growing steadily, and in the House of Commons the party difficulties have day by day become greater. Those who imagine that now, by some curious transformation on their own part, they can regain their lost ascendancy in the country, and restore unity and loyalty to their party in the House, must be at once the most sanguine and the most simple of mortals. If, by any impossible chance, the two years of additional life which is promised by their flatterers to Ministers were to be secured, they would probably be left at the end of that term weaker than ever an English Ministry was left before, and they would find that the whips with which they are now threatened had been changed to scorpions. The practical men who control the business arrangements of the Unionists clearly do not believe in this theory of two years' further life, and, at Birmingham at least, the first steps have been taken in preparation for a General Election, which, it is assumed, may take place early in the coming year—if nothing happens at Southampton to

bring it about at a still earlier date. It is not unreasonable to assume that the rumours (officially contradicted) as to Lord Milner's impending resignation and return from South Africa are not wholly unconnected with this question of an impending dissolution. Whatever may be the opinion of the more devoted adherents of the Government, no doubt is entertained by the Opposition, and, apparently, by a considerable proportion of those who have not hitherto been opponents of the Ministry, as to the result of an appeal to the country. Mr. Asquith, for example, has spoken with absolute confidence of the disappearance of the present Government from the scene, and those acquainted with the feeling in the innermost circles of Conservatism know that hardly less uncertainty prevails even there as to the result of the General Election. Viscount Milner has, probably, more by stress of circumstances than by his own intention, been placed in a position which would hardly permit him to retain his present post under a Liberal Government, and it has consequently been understood for some months past that he would tender his resignation whenever the present Ministry met with a defeat. It is not yet the time for summing up his work in South Africa. His lot has undoubtedly been a hard one, and even those who have been unable to approve of much in his policy must render homage to his intense devotion to his duty, his courage and force of character, and the genuine ability he has shown as the representative of the British Government in one of the great crises in the history of the Empire. Whether he intends to resign, as rumour affirms, before Christmas, or to wait until a General Election takes place, the task of choosing his successor, upon whomsoever it may fall, will be no light one.

The war in the Far East has entered upon a new phase since I last wrote. A month ago I ventured to hint that many of our newspaper strategists had gone wrong in their anticipation of events in Manchuria, and that they were, above all, gravely mistaken in treating, as not a few of them did, the capture of Liao-yang! as being a defeat instead of a victory for Field-Marshal Oyama. There was a strong disposition at that time, both in this country and on the Continent, to believe that the tide had turned, and that General Kuropatkin, whose masterly retreat upon Mukden had made so strong an impression upon the mind of the public, was about to turn and pay off the score he owed to the Japanese. Popular as this view was, it did not happen to fit in with the facts. The loss of Liao-yang was no accident, any more than was its choice by General Kuropatkin as his field of battle. There he had the advantage of position, and of the great fortifications which he had raised for the protection of his army. He stood on the defensive there, on the spot chosen by himself, and it was a splendid achievement on the part of Oyama to turn him out of his position and to drive him to Mukden



with great loss in men and stores ; nor did the fact that there was no Sedan really detract from the brilliancy of the victory. What that victory meant has now been proved by one of the greatest and most sanguinary engagements which history records. The Czar and his advisers, distracted by the prolonged series of misfortunes which the Russian army has encountered since the beginning of the conflict, seem to have been in sore doubt after the loss of Liao-yang as to their proper policy. There were serious disagreements at St. Petersburg as to the chief command of the forces in the Far East. Both Alexeieff and Kuropatkin were threatened with disgrace, and it was even hinted that a Grand Duke was to be appointed as Generalissimo in Asia. In the end, however, saner counsels prevailed, and Kuropatkin was retained in his post, but apparently on one condition. That was, that, instead of retreating to Harbin, he should reorganise his army, which had been heavily reinforced, at Mukden, and, taking the offensive, attack the Japanese in their positions around Liao-yang. It was candidly admitted by friends of the Russian Government that political reasons made this change of tactics necessary. The open pretext was the desperate state of Port Arthur. The real reason seems to have been the unpopularity of the war in Russia itself, where even the peasants have revolted against a diet of continuous defeats. But, whatever may have been the real reason for the abandonment by General Kuropatkin of his defensive policy, and his attempt to turn the tide of victory which had so long rolled in favour of the Japanese by an attack upon the latter in their entrenchments, the movement has failed most completely. The Japanese have not been driven back ; on the contrary, they have forced the huge army of Russia once more to retire. It is perfectly true that, both in attacking the Japanese positions and in guarding their own retreat, the Russians have shown an admirable valour and resolution. Not since the great Napoleonic wars has there been any fighting like that which was witnessed at the battle of Sha-ho—a battle which lasted for more than a week, and in which the casualties amounted to scores of thousands. But, bravely as they fought, the Muscovites were both out-fought and out-generalled by the foe whom they can no longer despise. The terrific engagement ended in the retirement of the whole Russian army, with losses so prodigious that even the spectators in the outside world stand aghast at the tale. Where the story of bloodshed and defeat may end it is impossible at the moment at which I write to say. The accounts of the operations which have reached Europe are meagre and confused. We can only guess at the demoralisation which must afflict the beaten army, unless it is unlike any other army the world has ever known. We may admire the obstinacy with which it contests every inch of ground with the victorious enemy. There is, indeed, no reason to utter a word of disparagement of either of the combatants.

But facts are even more stubborn than Russian courage; and the main fact in the history of the month, so far as the war is concerned, is that General Kuropatkin's onward movement against the foe has not only been checked, but reversed, and that the chief question with regard to his army is at what point the retreat forced upon it will be stayed, and an attempt made to reconstitute its shattered organisation. The advantages gained here and there on the immense battlefield by the Russian army, though not unimportant so far as their moral effect is concerned, cannot outweigh the great victories achieved by Japan, and Sha-ho cannot be regarded as anything but a crushing Russian defeat. Its political effects cannot at present be calculated. The stake of Russia in the conflict is of such vital importance to her that it seems hopeless to expect that she will accept the verdict of the stricken field, even after her recent disasters; yet, to the eye of the expert it seems impossible that she can retrieve the situation in which she is now placed. But her resources are not exhausted, and it is bare justice to her to admit that her spirit is unbroken. We cannot, therefore, anticipate that the horrors of recent weeks, which, to use Mr. Kruger's phrase, 'stagger humanity,' will induce the Czar and his Ministers to seek for some way of escape from a tragical situation. As for the idea of mediation, it receives no countenance from either of the belligerents, and the end of the bloodiest struggle of modern times is evidently not yet in sight.

The death of Sir William Harcourt is an event that deserves more than merely passing notice in these pages. He had played for so many years so prominent a part in English politics that his sudden removal has created an unmistakable blank even in the minds of those who were not to be counted among his admirers. There is no more wholesome feature in the public life of England than the readiness with which men unite to praise a political opponent when the hand of death removes him from the arena. It is as though they wished to testify to the fact that political differences are, after all, only skin deep, and that men can do justice to each other in spite of them. Certainly this characteristic has been very conspicuous in the case of Sir William Harcourt. His most outspoken and vehement antagonists in Parliament have been the foremost in deploring his loss and commending his virtues, whilst journals which a few months ago could only speak of him in terms of almost brutal—and entirely undeserved—contempt have lauded his memory to the skies. Apart, however, from these elegiac tributes from his opponents, Sir William must be counted happy in the moment of his death. The great fighter passed away in his sleep, leaving behind him no sad memories of the sick-bed. He died in the house which had been the home of his race for generations, and of which, at the close of his life, he found himself the owner, whilst his impending

retirement from Parliament, which only a few months ago he notified to his constituents, had stilled the voice of controversy, and given him a foretaste of the deeper peace into which he has now entered. His was a curiously complex character, and it was one which had so important a bearing upon the political history of his time that it would be unfair both to him and to his contemporaries to be content with the mere acceptance of the panegyrical commonplaces of an obituary notice. No one ever questioned his ability. Long before he entered Parliament he was a conspicuous figure in society and the legal world. His reputation as a wit stood as high forty years ago as it did at the time of his death. As a matter of fact, he was one of the recognised 'brilliant talkers' of London.

When the circle of diners is laughing with Fane,  
And Harcourt is capping the jokes of Delane.

Nobody imagined, when this couplet was written, that the Harcourt of the dinner-table was to become one of the idols of the Radicals, in days more Radical than any that were then dreamed of. He made his real mark, however, by his work on the *Saturday Review* and the letters of 'Historicus' in the *Times*. In writing to myself, some years ago, he used a happy phrase. 'Youth,' he said, 'is the age of *Wegotism*;' and no young man ever wielded the thunders of the journalist more effectively than he did. It was something of a surprise to the world at large when people learned that 'Historicus' was Mr. Vernon Harcourt. The air of authority he assumed could not have been greater if he had been a septuagenarian. But, despite this affectation, his letters were both sound and brilliant, and did something to redeem the character of the English upper classes in their treatment of the controversies connected with the American Civil War. It seems strange that a man so gifted and so conspicuously able should not have been universally popular; but, as is proved by a well-worn anecdote of forty years ago, the contrary was the case. When he got into Parliament, in 1868, high expectations were formed of him by men of all parties. It was a surprise to some that he should have adopted with so much thoroughness the Radical creed, but I think it distinctly unfair to attribute to him anything like insincerity in doing so. The Tory party of that day had been for the time broken up by the revolutionary policy of Mr. Disraeli. The Peelites had found shelter under the newly-raised Gladstonian umbrella, and the Whigs, towards whom natural affinities might otherwise have drawn him, were manifestly effete. Radicalism, on the other hand, was a living faith, well calculated to enlist the sympathies of a comparatively young man who wished to find himself abreast of the times. It was not, it must be borne in mind, the Radicalism of to-day. Its leaders were such men as Bright, Forster, Stansfeld, and John Stuart Mill;

and these were men with whom even Mr. Vernon Harcourt might be proud to be associated. It was my good fortune to hear his maiden speech, and I can well recall the interest that was excited by his first appearance in the arena in which he was to play so conspicuous a part. But, speaking after the lapse of more than thirty years, I can also recall the fact that the prevailing opinion in the House after he had spoken was that his effort, though successful, had been too elaborate, and that he had put forth more vehemence, both in rhetoric and argument, than the occasion demanded. It was, as everybody knows, a proposal to abolish the statute of Queen Anne making the re-election of Ministers of the Crown necessary on appointment upon which he directed his formidable artillery on this occasion; nor need I remind my readers that he was, himself the first Minister in modern times to lose his seat under the provisions of the constitutional law which he defended with so much vigour. But in that maiden speech he made his mark as a Parliamentary debater, and thenceforward his rise in the opinion of the House of Commons was certain and swift. Yet even then he did not secure that absolute confidence from his fellow-members which is so essential to ultimate and abiding success. He was independent enough to take his own line, and could hardly, in those days, have been regarded as one of the elect followers of Mr. Gladstone, although before the fall of the Government of 1868 he had accepted the office of Solicitor-General. It was after the Liberal *débâcle* of 1874 that for the first and only time in his life he came into something like open collision with his chief. That Mr. Gladstone felt his action keenly was proved by the severity of the castigation that he inflicted upon the honourable gentleman 'who was, I believe, my Solicitor-General,' on the floor of the House of Commons. The scene made a deep impression upon all who witnessed it, and in no case was that impression deeper than in that of Sir William himself. He never ran the risk of another rebuff of the same kind. Yet it is only just to him to say that the line he took in opposing Mr. Gladstone on this occasion was founded upon no petty or personal motive, but upon that staunch adherence to the cause of Protestantism in the English Church to which he was loyal to the end of his days. Many, many years ago, I heard Mr. Bright, when discussing the Church of England, refer to some action taken by Mr. Vernon Harcourt and remark that even he, 'forgetful of the rock from which he was hewn,' had been moved to protest against certain features in the Church in which his grandfather had been an archbishop. Whatever doubts men at times might feel as to Sir William's sincerity upon other questions, no one has ever ventured to doubt the genuineness of his devotion to the cause of Protestantism.

In that troubled time in the history of the Liberal party which

followed Mr. Gladstone's resignation of the leadership in 1875, Sir William became one of the most active associates in the informal committee which, under the leadership of Lord Hartington, managed the affairs of Liberalism. I have seen a letter, written by Lord Granville about the time of Lord Hartington's election to the leadership, in which the veteran Earl, enumerating the difficulties of the thankless office, gave the chief place amongst them to 'Harcourt's restless ambition;' so that thus early he was proving himself to be what the French term 'a bad bedfellow' to his colleagues in the high quarters of the party. To ignore this indisputable fact would be to travesty the whole story of Sir William's career, and to leave unexplained many subsequent events. He had great gifts, and year by year, as his experience of Parliament grew, he became more and more an admired and formidable figure in that assembly. No one was happier in his power of making friends, and his public utterances, though they were more unrestrained than the older traditions of Parliament seemed to permit, never made him an enemy. He was a magnificent fighter, and the breath of battle was sweet in his nostrils. The Liberals justly came to regard him in time as one of their most valuable assets, and it seemed as though any honour and any office to which he aspired should be within his reach. But all the while the misfortune that made him a *mauvais coucheur* dogged his career, and it was this misfortune which, in the end, deprived him of the prize he coveted so eagerly. No wise man is likely to regard Sir William's inability to work smoothly with his intimate colleagues as being due to any positive vice in his nature. It was a characteristic of his temperament for which he himself could hardly be held responsible. In private life, or in private relationships with public men, he was genial, generous, and full of the spirit of good-fellowship, even though his tongue at times ran away from his discretion, stimulated by his keen love of humour and by his sense of his own undoubted intellectual powers. But in the give-and-take of Cabinets, where he had to meet men on equal terms, he was conspicuously deficient in tact. Whilst still a young politician he had not been afraid to measure swords with Mr. Gladstone, and if he never again openly entered the lists against the great man, it was probably because he had not come off victor in the sharp encounter. But nothing restrained him when dealing with men who were not Mr. Gladstone. These found in time that he was one of those very able, very accomplished, and, in the main, well-intentioned persons with whom it was almost impossible to work in mutual confidence and harmony. I have seen a great deal written since his death as to the reason of his being passed over in 1894, when the Premiership became vacant through Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and have read the old stories hashed up again of the imaginary intrigues—intrigues with the Court, intrigues with the Liberal Imperialists, intrigues

with Lord Rosebery—which are supposed by the ignorant to have been responsible for his exclusion from the Premiership. The plain fact is that there were no intrigues, but that Sir William Harcourt's colleagues in the Cabinet, not one man or one section, but almost one and all, came to the conclusion that, admirable as Sir William's qualities were in many respects, he was not a man under whose Premiership it would be possible for them to work with comfort to themselves or advantage to the country. The page of history will, I think, show conclusively that this, and this only, was the cause of his being passed over in 1894, and the cruel charge which has been brought against some of having intrigued against him, either for their own advantage or for any other reason, will then be finally refuted.

So much for an incident to which much importance seems to have been attached by Sir William's biographers. I think they do him an injustice in attributing this importance to it. Sir William had a distinguished and brilliant career, and no one will think that it was less happy in its ending because he died without having worn the thorny crown of the Premiership. He had many fine qualities as a man, and, though he had his defects of temperament, they will not diminish the affection of his friends or the admiration of those who knew him only in public life. He was staunch in his devotion to his party, even when he was most disappointed with some of its internal developments. In private life he was wholly admirable. Above all, he was second to none in his regard for the dignity of the House of Commons, and this, perhaps, was why he won so large a measure of the affection and esteem not only of his friends, but of his opponents, in that illustrious body.

WEMYSS REID.

*Postscript.*—Since the above was written the country has been startled by the wanton and unexampled outrage committed by the so-called Baltic Squadron of the Russian fleet upon the English fishing-boats in the North Sea. The outrage in itself was so completely without excuse, and was so cowardly and wicked in its character, that it is almost impossible to regard it in any other light than as the act of a madman. Certainly it is difficult to believe that any officer of any civilised State in the world would wilfully attack a harmless fishing fleet, belonging to a friendly Power, and subject it to savage bombardment from a powerful flotilla of ironclads. The Russian Government, it may be confidently anticipated, will lose no time in making all the reparation in its power for an incident which has brought discredit upon its flag, and which might seriously have jeopardised the peace of Europe. But whilst there can be no doubt as to our receiving the reparation which is due to us for this

extraordinary outrage, there is another aspect of the matter of which it is impossible to lose sight. Ever since the war with Japan broke out ships bearing the Russian flag have interfered very seriously with British shipping in different parts of the world, and have done so even after their acts have been disavowed by the authorities at St. Petersburg. In short, we have seen on the high seas, what has so often been seen in the Far East, acts committed by Russian agents not only without the sanction of their Government but in express opposition to its professed intentions. Now that these acts have assumed the tragical character of the incident in the North Sea, it is difficult for any civilised State to tolerate the possibility of their recurrence. If unarmed vessels are to be exposed to the attacks of a powerful foe whose reason has apparently given way under stress of panic, the ocean highways of the world will become impassable. In these circumstances it becomes the duty of other maritime Powers, and obviously of England first of all, to take the necessary measures for policing the seas and for preventing the possibility of any repetition of the scandalous outrage of which Admiral Rozhdestvensky and the force under his command have been guilty. English seamen look for protection to their own Government and their own fleet, and that protection it is impossible to withhold from them.—W. R.

## LAST MONTH

### II

ELEVEN years ago, the present writer, when fresh from Australia, set forth in these pages<sup>1</sup> views which were held at the time to be rashly prophetic, but which, in the course of the last month, have become the commonplaces of the fiscal controversy. These were, firstly, that the cause of Protection and the cause of the Empire were inseparable. Without pledging ourselves to tax any particular product or to adopt any catchword, we must—so it was maintained—in discussions at home, cease to speak of ‘Free Trade’ (so-called) as if it were a mandate from Heaven like the Ten Commandments. It must be conceded that a business expedient might suit one time or country and not another. Moreover, since all our Colonies admitted Protection to a position of equal dignity with Free Trade in their discussions on the subject, England could still less claim for her own system a Sinaitic sanction if she desired to be taken seriously by the Colonies when she spoke of closer union with them in the interests of the Empire.

It was, secondly, maintained that the cause of the Empire was the cause of the working man everywhere throughout our borders. He it is, and not the capitalist, who would be fatally injured by a break-up of the Empire. With this conclusion before our eyes the weakness of the Gospel of cheapness becomes apparent. It is not a question of securing cheap food for the labourer so that the capitalist may secure a cheap type of working man. On the contrary, it is a question of so adjusting our financial system that the very expensive Anglo-Saxon type may survive in comfort; that is the business of an Anglo-Saxon Government, and everything else must give way to that consideration. So-called Free Trade, it was argued, implied unlimited competition; and under unlimited competition the Englishman must necessarily give way before cheaper types; just as the rabbit would eat up Australia if the sheep were not ‘protected.’ Union is strength; and without independence (which we are rapidly losing, if we have not already lost it) cheap goods are a delusion and a snare.

Mr. Balfour’s methods of thought and speech are so dispassionately

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, June 1893.



speculative that the singleness of his mind on the fiscal question, as displayed in all his recent deliverances from Sheffield to Edinburgh, is not apparent to many of his adherents. Though he is a man of many words and even many speeches, and in spite of being often credited with a bewildering gift of saying nothing and saying it gracefully and convincingly, he has, on this subject, been so definite and so restricted that he might almost be called Single-speech Balfour. All the ingenuity of Opposition members has been exerted to conceal the fact that, so far as he goes, he has been clear and emphatic. With infinite skill he has confined his energies to holding his Government in office while the slowly moving mind of the country has time to grasp that the one thing he asks for is Retaliation.

Mr. Chamberlain, unhampered by the cares of office, has been able to urge his cause—'our' cause one should rather say—with equal definiteness and with equal frequency of utterance; and has 'asked for more.' While Mr. Balfour, with characteristic caution, would be content, for the present, to secure the defensive position of Retaliation, Mr. Chamberlain, with equally characteristic impulse, has pronounced for the more belligerent right to 'Preference.'

Neither statesman will as yet venture to call himself a Protectionist; and, perhaps, for a man of action, the word is somewhat too risky to be adopted for fighting purposes. Nevertheless, when Mr. Balfour makes it clear that the interests of the country call for Retaliation, and Mr. Chamberlain eagerly advocates Preference, we are not far from the protection that the present writer called for eleven years ago.

Retaliation + Preference = Protection; the equation is complete. Meanwhile the Tories hold office while the country thinks. The Tory Cabinet does not give complete satisfaction to its supporters (as what Cabinet ever did?), yet if we imagine what use its opponents would make of power, if the country were to place power in their hands, we shall easily reconcile ourselves to a long continuance of Tory Government. None the less must it be recorded that the party will utterly destroy its power for good if it allows any coquetting with 'Home Rule on the sly,' of which there have been lately some ominous signs.

Assuming, however, that the party, as a whole, is not in sympathy with any fresh movement in favour of plundering England for the benefit of Ireland, and finds itself free to face the problem of fiscal reform, there is no party that could face it with better chance of success. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the difficulties: difficulties are made to be overcome; and to this end Mr. Balfour's mind and Mr. Chamberlain's mind are complementary. Supposing that we had only to deal with the United Kingdom, we should still have to remember how materially things have changed since 'sixty years ago,' when a not less stupendous fiscal revolution was effected. As

Mr. Balfour has himself pointed out, the 'vested interests' disturbed by the abolition of the Corn Laws were mostly the interests of highly placed people. To a man with considerable accumulations of personalty it was not a matter of life and death to maintain the existing system. Even to many a landlord dependent on his land for his income the question presented itself as one of principle rather than of immediate profit and loss. There are many solvents of opposition in such circumstances. But when nothing less than next week's living is at stake the complexity of the situation is intensified.

Still more is it intensified when we have to deal, not only with the tangled web of commercial interests in these islands, but with similar tangles in three continents. To revert for a moment to Australia, we see a continent larger than the United States of America, but with a ridiculously small population, a mere fringe, numbering some three millions. The land cries aloud for population. Who keeps it out? It is not a ready-made country that we see; on the contrary, it is a country that needs capital more than any other country on the face of the earth. Who frightens capital away? Capital is the mother of labour everywhere, and most of all in Australia. So far as a sympathetic observer can judge of a situation from the distance of 12,000 miles, Protection has been misapplied in the Commonwealth. It often happens that a sound principle is misapplied; and there is nothing discreditable in admitting the fact. It seems clear that the resources of a great continent are being wasted in the attempt to make a manufacturing country where Nature has placed an agricultural country. Hence we have a tiny fringe of population artificially restricted to the great cities, whose existence is a terrible burden to the land. If this conclusion is sound, the fiscal problem in the Commonwealth will take shape as a struggle on the part of the land to regain the ascendancy which a mistaken policy has conferred upon the cities. There, as here, the working man will decide. It need hardly be indicated that a very small measure of Mr. Chamberlain's 'preference' would give the country party a stake in the conflict which it has not so far realised, and would open up a future of boundless prosperity for Australia. At present it is clear that the continent is half strangled. South Africa has a peck of troubles of her own; no doubt Canada would have a great deal to say. The case for an Imperial conference on what the Colonies want, and what England has to offer them, is overwhelming.

The newspaper topics started in the dead season are useful indications of what in the opinion of their shrewd proprietors is likely to excite popular attention—to 'catch on,' as the popular phraseology has it. For this autumn, in place of the sea serpent, we have had two main subjects tried—the everlasting marriage question, succeeded by the religious, or quasi-religious, discussion of 'Do we believe?' Neither of them, perhaps, has thrown out any illumination, or,

to use another slang phrase of the day, is very 'convincing.' But the marriage controversy has been noticeable for the light thrown upon one of the prophets of literature—Mr. George Meredith—who has shown, with his own hand, where and what his pseudo-mystical prophesyings may lead to in the sphere of practical life.

If it furnishes the public with a key to the pretentious affectation and cryptic nonsense of his works, no harm perhaps will be done; for it is always well to be rid of false gods, especially when they are abolished by themselves.

We have been accustomed for a generation past to hear Mr. Meredith's work described in very grand language. Those of us who, after a slight or even an exhaustive acquaintance with the Master's works have been able to discover in them neither sense nor style, still less inspiration, have held our tongues. On the other hand, no disciple has deigned to interpret Mr. Meredith to a waiting and watching world. So the Meredithian cult has remained esoteric, and we outsiders have had to rest content with the assurance that if we could only 'understand' we should find the burden of 'this weary, unintelligible world' sensibly lightened.

In the course of the dead-season agitation, however, Mr. Meredith has, for once, spoken plainly. By his suggestion of marriage for a term of years he has relieved those who cannot read his books from any sense of intellectual inferiority. Those of us who still believe in the antiquated institution of marriage may perhaps be conscious of feelings somewhat stronger than mere relief. In effect Mr. Meredith has definitely taken his place among the sea-serpents of this year, and by linking his name to a ten years' marriage system he has attained an eminence among sea-serpents which ought to satisfy everybody—his admirers because he is incontestably chief, and the rest of the world because he has now definitely placed himself among the monstrosities.

The autumn season has been marked by the production of three noticeable plays. At His Majesty's there is much to please and attract. All that we lack is William Shakespeare. *The Tempest* of Mr. Tree has merit. There is an enchanting 'Ariel'—not Shakespeare's Ariel, but still an enchanting figure. There are some pretty airs, although to put *The Tempest* on the stage without Purcell's music to 'Full Fathom Five' is to seriously damage the production from the musical point of view. Here we stop. Just as a provincial bandmaster will entertain his audience with *Selections from Handel*, in which 'Ombra mai fu' is preceded with 'I Know that my Redeemer Liveth,' and succeeded by 'See the Conquering Hero Comes,' so at His Majesty's we are regaled with a series of 'Variations on Shakespeare'—with a not dissimilar effect upon our nerves. There is a very fine shipwreck; and no doubt the play does open with a shipwreck. The sands are yellow, as Shakespeare said they were, and the bogies are

numerous enough and funny enough for Drury Lane. In short, we have everything that we have a right to expect for ten-and-sixpence, and more, perhaps—except Shakespeare.

After Shakespeare, Pinero, and *A Wife without a Smile* gives us furiously to think. Two years ago Mr. Redford declined to sanction the production of a play the central incident of which was the appearance on the stage of a young lady with nothing on but a dressing-gown. Some champions of the play maintained that a 'voluminous robe' was not the same thing as a 'dressing-gown,' and gave quite a different tone to the piece. However, 'robe,' 'frock,' or 'gown,' the thing was one garment that would come off easily, and the audience was to be provided with the delicious thrill of wondering, through the whole of a very warm scene, whether it was coming off or not. Mr. Redford said (very properly, as some of us thought) that he must draw the line somewhere; and he drew it here. Thirteen people with reputations to lose objected to Mr. Redford in the columns of *The Times*, and a judge upon the Bench espoused the cause of the girl in the dressing-gown in his charge to the jury. After this everybody expected an Act to amend the Act of Parliament under which Mr. Redford works; but, to the general astonishment, the indignant thirteen collapsed utterly. The appearance of *A Wife without a Smile* suggests that they must have privately intimated to Mr. Redford that they would overlook his conduct for once, but that 'he had better not do it again.' Certainly, to refuse one play and license the other is to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. It is unnecessary to describe the play here. It is sure of a long run, and will command crowded audiences who have not easy access to an unexpurgated *Decameron*, or Burton's *Arabian Nights*.

It is a relief to visit the Adelphi, where there is a play—*The Prayer of the Sword*—of all but the highest order, and, as regards its aim, of quite the highest. No playgoer ought to lose the opportunity of seeing this perfectly harmonious production. In saying 'all but the highest' one feels instinctively that an author who can do so well as Mr. Fagan does would resent extravagance of expression, for it is in reserve that the play is remarkable. We have here not a note of absurdity or exaggeration. Audiences have of late grown so critical as to scenery and accessories that it may be as well to say at once that both are perfect. It is not that, in vulgar words, 'no expense has been spared,' although that is tolerably evident. It is that at every turn we see the control of an exacting and fastidious taste which insists that, however magnificent the accessories may be, they shall remain accessories. A ducal court in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century gives abundant opportunity for display; but we remember the story and forget the display, which is the best possible tribute to the management. As to the story, it is told in blank verse, which is truly courageous and even rash. Yet has the

author not tried too much. It is not didactic. The author's aim has been primarily and, one would say, exclusively artistic. Perhaps for that reason he has produced the greater effect. Nevertheless, at a time when so many of us appear to be hankering after a slavery that it cost us a great deal to be rid of, it might be worth while to remember how much discomfort, misery, nay, agony, was implied by the habitual interference of the clergy in private affairs.

It was precisely at the period when the action of *The Prayer of the Sword* was taking place, and when, as we heretics think, that prayer was so graciously heard and answered, that England was preparing for her final tussle with Papal Rome. Probably this was the last idea that was present in the distinguished author's mind. Nothing could better demonstrate the vitality of the play, as a whole, than to record (as may most faithfully be done) that these contentious reflections do not occur to the mind until long after the curtain is down and we have returned from the sixteenth century to the twentieth.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXXIV—DECEMBER 1904

*GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY:*

*A CONVERSATION WITH COUNT VON BULOW, THE GERMAN  
CHANCELLOR.*

For many months—nay, for the last few years—the belief that Germany's Kaiser and Chancellor have been, and are still, playing a hostile game against Great Britain, and are cynically laying an elaborate plot for the ultimate ruin of our country's power, has been gaining ground in all spheres of British society, and not amongst the masses of unthinking people alone, who, perhaps, take their cue from the unreliable lucubrations of sensational journalism. The cultured classes of the United Kingdom also have become impregnated with similar views, and many persons from among the intellectual portion of the King's subjects speak of Germany as England's bitterest and most dangerous foe. In very exalted circles, too, we find persons who think they are justified in believing that Germany wants to rule the North Sea; to wrest the whole shipping trade out of our hands; to invade England; and to annihilate the world-power of Great Britain. For the attainment of these ends German

diplomacy is said to be everywhere angling in turbid streams, and to be intriguing against England in all the capitals of the world.

Some writers have recently gone so far as to denounce every Englishman who ventures to doubt the sufficiency of the grounds set forth in support of such insidious designs as too optimistic, or a simpleton—or even as a partisan of Jewish bankers. And yet, as a distinguished French diplomatist not very long ago remarked to me, ‘il faut être un peu optimiste dans la vie.’ But for the encouragement of optimism, how would countries ever be able to bury their animosities? Austria would never have become reconciled to Prussia; Great Britain would still be at loggerheads with the United States and with France. If one did not cherish a hope for better relations between Great Britain and Germany, one would have to throw up the sponge and abandon the task of striving for them. But no sane person can pretend that it is in the interest of our country, whose foreign policy is and must be determined by our commercial interests, to continue a campaign of insult and mischievous suspicion that in the long run would infallibly prove disastrous, whichever way it ended. Nor is one a simpleton for supporting such views; and even a Jewish banker can assuredly lay claim to political judgment.

The causes of controversy with Germany that have been exciting the passions of both Germans and Britons for so long should be removed, and we should start with a clean slate. In trying to effect so laudable a consummation, there can be no abandonment of either our intellectual or political independence. A perpetual cannonade of the same unproved statements, based on mere suspicions, produces an unhealthy condition of things; and a campaign of this kind is unworthy of a great and free people.

Whenever an incident unpleasant to England happens in any part of the globe, a German diplomatist or the Central Government in Berlin is said to be behind it. Could anything be more fatuous than to attribute so much power to German diplomacy; or could anything be less complimentary to the representatives of Powers that are friendly disposed to us than to insinuate that they are completely under the thumb of their German colleagues?

If we look at the matter from an unprejudiced and business-like point of view, we must surely admit that nothing is more mischievous than to convert a rival into a bitter enemy. If some very serious international question were to arise whilst the peoples of two great Powers like Britain and Germany are being wilfully kept asunder by fomenters of international hatred, the situation might suddenly become fraught with untold danger; for the existing friction between them could easily develop into a complete rupture of relations. Friendship with other Powers need not involve bickerings with Germany. King Edward's political programme has

been to try to establish friendly relations with all countries on a practical basis of mutual interests making for continuous peace.

A few months ago I was talking to Count von Bülow, at a reception at his official residence, on the deplorable state of the relations between our two countries. It had long been my desire to broach the subject to him. His Excellency rejoined: 'I regret this condition of things as much as you do; but can you suggest any way for bringing about a change?'

My reply was to the effect that if his Excellency would do me the honour of allowing me to have a conversation with him on this subject, and would permit me to communicate the gist thereof to the British public in such a way that it would be a faithful reflection of his views, I thought a very salutary effect would be produced, because hitherto no authoritative statement had been made calculated to dispel the suspicions and apprehensions concerning German policy towards Britain which, whether well or ill founded, undoubtedly existed at home amongst all spheres of people.

The Chancellor without hesitation signified his willingness to accede to my request; but owing to a variety of circumstances—pressure of Parliamentary business, the visit of the King at Kiel, commercial treaty negotiations, and his own absence for his summer holiday—the date of the audience had to be constantly postponed. He very kindly sent me a message from Homburg to the effect that on his return to Berlin in the autumn he would be glad to see me.

Those who know Count von Bülow will have always been enchanted by his amiable and courteous manners and speech; but he has the character of telling nothing whilst he entertains his visitor. Diplomats say he is most urbane, complaisant, and communicative of speech, but tantalising as regards his reticence on subjects about which his views are sought. This also is the criticism passed on him when he speaks from his seat in the Reichstag.

On this occasion I found him, on the contrary, most desirous to dispel the errors as to German policy that are current on your side of the Channel; and, as will be seen in the following lines, he spoke frankly and at length on the chief points upon which it was my desire to enlighten the public at home. We did not discourse on the special relations between Germany and Russia, on which subject Lord Lansdowne is amply informed, but confined our conversation to specific matters affecting German policy towards Great Britain, the Chancellor's political views on Anglo-German relations, and his personal sentiments towards our nation. Nor did we touch, except in a cursory manner, on incidents that no longer have a bearing on present practical politics. I know personally that Count von Bülow always opposed and condemned the extravagant malignity of the enthusiasm of his fellow-countrymen for the Boers, but deem it



desirable not to rake up questions of the past the discussion of which is now futile and could only lead to renewed misunderstandings or divert attention from the main points at issue. If I am correctly informed, the King's visit to Kiel completely obliterated the soreness that had been left by those incidents. The mischievous perpetuation of an exaggerated sense of suspicion, of withering gall and blighting bitterness, must be stemmed if Britain and Germany are not to drift into a condition of dangerous hostility.

#### THE BRITISH PRESS.

'I have had much pleasure,' said Count von Bülow, as he greeted me in his library on the evening of the 15th of November, and motioned me to take a seat close to his writing-table, 'in acceding to your request to have a conversation with me. A good deal of hostility towards Germany seems to influence the writing of a number of your compatriots—which I sincerely regret; and I am bound to say that it seems to me as if a certain school of your publicists looks upon a paper-war against Germany as the main object of its life. Surely our mutual interests would be better served if these writers were to try to extinguish, instead of to foment, ill-feeling between Germany and England.

'I am gratified, however, to see that a reaction appears to have set in—at least, against the calumnious excesses of this campaign—and some of the English papers have of late been dropping that tone of rabid bitterness that was so very irritating.'

Suppressing the obvious comparison with the other side, especially as the leading organ of the Pan-German press tried to make the *amende honorable* about a couple of months ago by distinctly admitting the grave error of the malicious Teuton campaign during the Boer War, I merely intimated that the bitterness of our writers had not been unprovoked.

'Even the Anglo-Chinese press,' added the Chancellor—'I refer to the *North China Herald*—considers the constant hammering at Germany with insinuations against our policy in China to be undignified and dangerous, and calculated to throw Germany into Russia's arms.'

#### THE THIBET QUESTION.

'Let me cite the charge made in the *Times* against our Minister at Peking concerning the Thibet Question,' continued the Chancellor. 'I think I may assume that people in England are by this time convinced that we did not interfere in order to prevent the ratification of your treaty with Thibet—or, indeed, with any matters affecting Thibet.'

‘I can assure you that we are at least as indifferent about Thibet as we are about Manchuria. We have always strictly confined our efforts for the protection of the neutrality and integrity of China to the Celestial Empire proper, and have left the provinces beyond it and its dependencies outside the scope of our policy. We have documentary evidence showing that the representative of the German Empire at Pekin has refrained from all interference whatever in the Thibet Question, and that all assertions to the contrary are pure inventions.

‘Let me show you Baron von Mumm’s despatch, which is his answer to my telegram asking for an explanation of the statement published in the *Times* of the 18th of October.’

The text of this despatch, which I then had an opportunity of perusing, clearly showed that the *Times* report was erroneous. Baron von Mumm stated that he simply asked once at the Wai-wu-pu whether the text of the Treaty, as published in the newspapers, was authentic; and that he expressly made a point, at the time, of saying that Germany took no interest in the matter.

The Chancellor continued: ‘I do not mean to affirm that Dr. Morrison deliberately told an untruth. I can easily imagine that in his efforts to discover some anti-English act in Germany’s diplomatic policy he came across somebody who bore him a grudge. There are persons in the Wai-wu-pu, and also outside this Chinese Department, who think they can derive some advantage by presenting Germany as interested in the Thibet Question.

‘At all events, I authorise you to state publicly that Baron von Mumm did not meddle with this question, and that I characterise any other version about this matter as a fabrication.

#### THE ALLEGED GERMAN WARNINGS TO RUSSIA.

‘Another recent effort to excite bad blood against us is the story that the nervousness of the Baltic Fleet was due to “warnings” from Germany; so that we are denounced as the cause of the misfortune that befell the Hull trawlers. There is not a word of truth in this, either. As a matter of fact, anxiety concerning the safety of the Baltic Fleet was felt in Russian official spheres long before the date of its departure was fixed. I may tell you that as early as last August the Russian authorities officially drew our attention to what they thought was the possibility that a Japanese attack would be also made from some place on German soil. It is our duty, as it would be the duty of every neutral State in similar circumstances, to take measures for preventing our territory from being used as the basis of hostilities against a belligerent. We acted in obedience to the call of duty by so far taking note of Russia’s warnings as to urge

our Admiralty and our coast officials to be specially on the watch and to investigate the matter. Denmark acted in a similar manner. We are pleased to think that no untoward event occurred in our waters, whilst we regret that a misfortune took place elsewhere.'

#### ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

In reply to my remark that many people in England believe that the German Government 'intrigues' against England all over the world, and has been particularly busy of late in trying to make mischief between England and Russia and between England and France, his Excellency continued :

'I anticipated a question from you on this subject, and I want to lay special stress on the fact that we do *not* aim at setting the English and the Russians by the ears, either in Asia or in Europe. We are, on the contrary, most desirous that there should be no violent collision between England and Russia anywhere, if for no other reason than because our own interests would compel us to try to prevent it. We could not possibly tell, supposing such a calamity should befall the world, how far war between these two countries would spread, or what consequences might accrue therefrom to ourselves. We would not dream of playing with such a firebrand, because we have no desire to see our own house ignited.

'That is why we have done everything in our power to localise the war in East Asia; and we are entitled to say that our endeavours have met with success. We can claim some credit for China's remaining neutral, and we hope that there is no longer any fear that she will break her neutrality.

'The questions as to our relations with Russia and as to England's relations with Russia are always treated in a very extraordinary manner by some of your publicists in England. A party in your country is always advocating a special understanding between England and Russia. Good! we have nothing whatever to say against this, especially if it makes for peace; but when it is a question of Germany being on specially good terms with Russia, there is at once an outcry in England that we have some ulterior aim in view, and that we are concocting an alliance against England. We have no special arrangements with Russia, but we have every desire and intention to live on friendly and intimate terms with our Eastern neighbour, and neither I nor any other German statesman would be doing his duty if he did not foster this friendship. If you look at the map, I think you will have no difficulty in comprehending this.

'During the present war we have observed strict neutrality, and shall continue to do so; and we hope to remain on intimate terms with Russia.

## ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

'As regards the charge made against us of having tried to sow discord and embarrassment between France and England, with a view of hindering the ratification of the Agreement, could you possibly believe that we should select the present moment for doing so, when we see before our eyes all the most patent signs of an *entente cordiale*? Surely blundering intrigues of this nature would have no effect on the sincerity of an *entente* like this? Is it possible—and how is it possible—that we should be considered in your country to be capable of such arrant stupidity as this, for it could only compromise us?

'On the other hand, it is quite allowable—if you like—to question whether this intimacy between France and England is likely to be considered desirable or not by us.

'At all events, by agreeing to what you desire in Egypt we showed our good-will to the British Government in that we did not throw any obstacles in the way of its friendly arrangement with France.'

## GERMAN HISTORIANS AND ENGLAND.

Whilst talking generally about the language used by German writers, and notably by some celebrated German historians, as to the probability of a war between Germany and England in the future, I pointed out to the Chancellor that much importance was attached in intellectual spheres in England to the menacing language occasionally met with in the writings of learned German professors which are accepted as text-books at the Universities. I cited as a specimen a sentence Heinrich von Treitschke is said to have used in 1884: 'The reckoning with England has still to come; it will be the longest and most difficult'; and mentioned that it had been said of him in England that he 'had made it the task of his life to foster in Germany a passionate hatred for England.' Count von Bülow replied:—

'I have never seen the passage you quote; anyhow, I can assure you—for I know Treitschke well—that hostility to England cannot be fairly attributed to him. He had many friends in England, Carlyle amongst them; he was intimately acquainted with English literature and life. You will find many passages in his writings which will prove the contrary of what you tell me is asserted in England. If passages expressing anti-English sentiments are cited from Treitschke's works, those showing friendly feelings to England should also, in common fairness, be given. You must not forget that Treitschke, besides being an historian, was a poet and a man of strong passions. He was an ardent Imperialist even before 1870,

and hated Particularism. Although a Saxon by birth, he had no fondness for his narrower Fatherland, precisely because of what he interpreted as its Particularist tendencies, nor could he abide the States of southern Germany. If he really made use of the words you cite, it must have been in a fit of emotion or rage; for he was easily moved to anger. But even if he or others did use such words, they do not contain the doctrine encouraged or advocated by the statesmen or educators of the land. There is no means of controlling the whims and language of poets, philosophers, and historians; but of Treitschke I can speak from knowledge. He admired England, Greece, Italy—all three countries where liberty and letters have been fostered. Carlyle and Byron were amongst his favourite heroes.

‘How often, too, is it said by your countrymen that Bismarck was a hater of England! This is not true, however, whatever you may say about his policy. Bismarck is known to have often said: “We (the Germans) like the English; but they will have nothing to say to us.” I can speak myself with some knowledge of Bismarck’s policy; and I utterly repudiate the idea that he was a hater of England, or that he entertained designs against England’s position in the world.

#### THE GERMAN NAVY.

‘Now let me say a few words about the constantly recurring assertions that our naval policy is aimed at preparing for a war with England. I can conscientiously say, in answer to this charge, that we do not dream of conjuring up such a war. It would be a monstrous crime to do so.

‘A war to the knife between Germany and England could only be politically justified on the assumption that Germany and England were the sole competitors on the world’s surface, and on the assumption that the defeat of one of the two rivals would mean the absolute supremacy of the other. In former centuries England was always in a state of rivalry with only one rival at a time—with Spain, Holland, and France in turn. Everything was then at stake. But nowadays there are a number of Powers that make the same claims as we do, and the Russo-Japanese War shows that an addition may be made to their number.

‘As things are, a war between Germany and England would be the greatest piece of good fortune that could possibly be conceived for all their rivals. For whereas such a war—and we must not deceive ourselves on this point—would completely destroy German trade, as far as one can judge, and would seriously damage British trade, our rivals would utilise the opportunity for securing the markets of the world without firing a shot. So that, were we to come to blows, there would be a whole bevy of *tertii gaudentes*.

‘As you have yourself gone very carefully into the question of our navy, you will certainly have obtained proofs that our fleet is only meant for defensive purposes. Its object is to secure our waters against any attack, and to afford the necessary protection for our interests abroad. We shall, of course, always take care that it is ready to strike when required, for our motto must be—“Always be ready.”

‘Foreign countries must reconcile themselves to the fact that the German merchant beyond the seas is no longer the poverty-stricken creature who must content himself with picking up the crumbs from under the table. He now takes his seat next his fellows; and we are fully entitled to stand up for and defend the rights which are ours in company with the citizens of other nations.’

Before taking leave of the Chancellor I craved permission to put one more question, intimating that I felt sure that his answer would add great weight to the remarks he had already been good enough to communicate to me. I said that a belief prevailed in Great Britain that Germany is Britain’s real and mortal enemy, adding: ‘It is also widely reported on the other side of the Channel that your Excellency entertains a cordial dislike of England. Will you kindly authorise me to reply to this remarkable charge?’

‘Certainly,’ responded the Chancellor in an earnest and serious tone. ‘I will answer this question as a politician and as a man. As a politician and German statesman I consider that it would be most iniquitous and criminal to represent a policy that was directed towards fomenting hostility between two great nations such as Germany and England, both of which are indispensable to the civilised world. A war between these two peoples would be a dire calamity, and, I repeat, it would be an unpardonable crime for a statesman wilfully to provoke it or to act in such a way as to render it possible or probable. As a man, I can assure you that nothing could be farther from my thoughts than dislike of, not to mention hatred or hostility towards, England.

‘I admire the country, its people, and its literature. Pray state that I most emphatically repudiate the charge that I entertain the slightest ill-feeling or dislike of England or the English—a charge that is quite new to me and wholly incomprehensible.’

The above conversation was carried on partly in English and partly in German. Count von Bülow has a perfect knowledge of English, which language he speaks quite fluently—more fluently than did his great predecessor, Bismarck.

J. L. BASHFORD.

*Berlin : November 1904.*

## *PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S OPPORTUNITIES*

ACCORDING to all trustworthy accounts the recent Presidential election in the United States was the dullest that has been witnessed for some decades. All the recognised mechanical incentives to popular enthusiasm were employed ; but the public declined to 'enthuse,' despite the parades, the fireworks, the advertisements, the professional oratory, and the desperate efforts of the journalists to work their readers into the customary quadrennial paroxysm. Outside the Southern States the great majority of respectable Americans had made up their minds that Mr. Roosevelt was going to be elected, and the minority were not seriously disturbed at the prospect. As a show, the campaign, on either side, was a failure ; it filled the newspapers, but the people turned aside from the close-printed columns, and were more interested in the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the singular conjunction of the Church and the World, as illustrated by the hob-nobbing of his Grace with Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Yet this 'apathy,' as we call it in our politics, disappeared at the polling-booths. The electors did not fail to exercise their suffrage, and they gave a record vote. The majority for President Roosevelt is the largest in the history of the Union ; no man, so far as we know, has ever been appointed to any place or office by the choice of so overwhelming a multitude of his fellow-citizens. Perhaps, then, the Presidential electors did not regard the event with indifference. But they knew that the result was a foregone conclusion, and they saw no reason for making a fuss over it in advance. The Americans are a sentimental, but at the same time a practical, people.

From the practical point of view, they must know that it is not a light thing they have done. The re-election of Mr. Roosevelt to power, with this tremendous national 'mandate' behind him, may have important consequences for the United States, and for other countries as well. For the next four years, and perhaps for the next eight, the executive of the largest homogeneous civilised population in the world will be controlled by the foremost representative of American self-assertion in international politics. Imperialism was the most vital of

the issues involved in the electoral campaign. Most of the other differences between the parties were blurred or shadowy. The Tariff was introduced *pro forma*, but no one really believes that there is any substantial divergence of principle on that point. High Protection has probably reached its zenith, and may begin to slope very slowly downwards, no matter which party is in power; neither of them could, or would, venture on any substantial advance towards genuine Free Trade. The defeat of the Bryanite Democrats at St. Louis has taken the currency out of party politics. On the Trusts, both say a good deal, and say it with equal obscurity.

In all these matters the elector might easily feel that there was little to choose between Judge Parker and Mr. Roosevelt. But in temperament, in character, and in their outlook on affairs, there is a good deal to choose. The personality of the President was the real electoral asset of the Republicans, just as it was the strongest 'plank' in the platform of the Democrats. Mr. Roosevelt was denounced as a kind of prancing Proconsul, an American Boulanger, who might perhaps use his 60,000 soldiers to subvert the Constitution, and would in any case be sure to plunge the Union into the welter of world-politics, and hurry it upon every sort of aggressive adventure. Mr. Bryan says that the President's 'big stick' policy, his 'physical enthusiasm and love for war,' are a direct menace to constitutional government, and a cause of justifiable alarm. The majority of American voters were, however, not alarmed. They do not believe in Mr. Bryan's phantasmal Caesarism; they know well enough that the liberties of eighty millions of people are in no danger from an army smaller than that of Belgium. They prefer the big stick to the painted reed. 'The subject of Imperialism,' says Mr. Bryan, 'is, all things considered, the most important of the questions at issue between the parties.' If that is true, the Imperialists have won a striking victory. The policy of Mr. Roosevelt in China, in Central America, in South America, towards Germany, towards Turkey, towards Russia, has been endorsed by the constituencies. The President and the Secretary of State are enabled, they are indeed encouraged, to carry it further.

And carried further it probably will be. On the very morrow of the elections two important pieces of information were cabled from America. The one was the announcement that the State Department had proposed to confer with the British Government on the subject of an Anglo-American Treaty of Arbitration; the other, that the Navy Construction Board had propounded a ship-building scheme, which, if accepted by Congress, will make the United States the third, if not the second, maritime Power in the two hemispheres, within a very few years. We must take these two items together, and put them side by side with the intelligence that the President's invitation to the Powers to enter upon another Peace Conference had taken



definite shape. They are parts of a scheme which seems to have been forming in the ambitious and comprehensive intellect of the American statesman. It is the big stick in a different form from that in which it presents itself to the indignant Democratic imagination—the truncheon of the policeman, not the bludgeon of the swashbuckler.

American opinion is undergoing a gradual evolution on these subjects, of which a stage is marked by the voting for the Electoral Colleges. On the one hand, by temperament and tradition, the people of the United States are eminently conservative in foreign affairs. They are easily moved by bluster and patriotic jingoism, especially at elections; and at a time, not distant, though happily now past, they rather enjoyed the sport of twisting the lion's tail. But the great steady-going mass of middle-class people, mostly of Anglo-Saxon descent, who are the real rulers of the conglomerate nationality, have been brought up to a rooted belief in American political isolation. They would fight at any time to keep European aggression out of the two Americas; but, apart from this, they have a deep distrust of mixing themselves up with the tangled politics of the older nations. They have always endeavoured to persuade themselves that America was a separate *enclave*, and that it could survey the wars and diplomacies of Europe and Asia with serene indifference, listening unmoved to the far-off echoes of strife that rolled faintly across the Atlantic and the Pacific. But times have changed. For political purposes the Ocean has narrowed to a stream. The United States is itself a country with foreign dependencies, and in the Philippines it has its finger close to the throbbing pulse of Asia. It has ceased to be self-contained and self-dependent. With a gigantic export trade, still growing, which may presently be as large as that of all Europe, it cannot be indifferent to the political conditions of those vast reservoirs of humanity in which it must find its markets. Its citizens begin to discern the close relation between international politics and international trade; and they are learning the lesson, mastered so reluctantly by ourselves through the troubled centuries, that no community, however great and however powerful, can release itself from the play of the forces that hold the peoples of this planet together or apart.

This truth is being brought slowly home to the American intelligence; but it is received doubtfully, and with more anxiety than enthusiasm. The Anglo-Saxon, *utriusque juris*, is essentially an isolation-loving, individualistic, person, whose aim is to 'keep himself to himself,' and to meddle with nobody who does not meddle with him. He likes to get behind a ring-fence, when he can. In that umbrageous heart of Sussex, where so much of immemorial antiquity still lingers, you may sometimes find an ancient farm, spaced off from the whispering woodlands by a broad belt of untilled pasture. It is

the *mark* of the primitive hamlet community, founded some thirteen centuries ago by a family of Teutonic or Scandinavian Colonists. Here they settled, these pioneers from beyond the Northern Sea; they built their dwelling-houses, their granaries, their cattle-byres; and round the whole they drew their *tun* or zareeba-like hedge of thorn and box, girt by the wide zone of rough grass and weed, that islanded them from an intrusive world.

The characteristic has survived through the ages. In national, as well as domestic, affairs, non-intervention, *laissez-faire*, the policy of letting alone, and individual effort, are the aims of the race. They are aims which have been frustrated from generation to generation, constantly abandoned in practice, yet perpetually asserted in theory. There is some truth in the reproach of foreign critics that we have gone about the earth, interfering with everybody, and protesting all the while that we only wanted to be allowed to get on with our own business and had no concern with other people's quarrels. But the fact is that almost every great English statesman and ruler, while genuinely anxious to limit the sphere of British activity abroad, has found himself compelled to enlarge it. A great nation is irresistibly drawn into the cosmic states-system, and must play its part there, if it would maintain its dignity and safety. China lies at the mercy of foreign aggression, as the penalty for living too long in a world of its own.

Mr. Roosevelt was among the first of distinguished American public men to understand the application of these facts to the United States. Several years ago he put the case boldly :

We cannot be huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters, who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the Isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage, which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and West.

He has gone even further. He has thrust aside the plea of non-interference, of cosmopolitan quietism, and preached openly the doctrine which Rudyard Kipling has thrown into verse. Mr. Roosevelt is quite willing to 'take up the White Man's burden.' He has disclaimed all sympathy with that 'mock humanitarianism which would prevent the great free, liberty- and order-loving races of the earth from doing their duty in the world's waste places, because there must needs be some rough surgery at first.' His general view is that 'it is for the interests of mankind to have the higher, supplant the lower, life.'

In the first instance, the founders of the new American Imperialism

were content with the Spanish islands. The Americans are in the Philippines on much the same moral title as ourselves in Egypt. They blundered in, under a sudden pressure of events, not very clearly seeing what they were doing, not at all anxious to make a conquest; and, having pushed themselves into the country, and rendered themselves responsible for its future, just as we have done in Egypt, they have to remain; and not only that, but they must remain under conditions, which will ensure that the Filipinos do not relapse into anarchy or barbarism or mediæval, priest-ridden, stagnation. The group must become an integral part of the modern civilised world. It was one of the weaknesses of the Democrats at the recent election that they would not frankly accept the situation. They fenced with it, in their Convention programme, in a fashion at once maladroit and disingenuous:

We oppose, as fervently as did George Washington himself, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised. . . . Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, that people ought not to be a part of the American domain. We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have already done for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now; and, upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries, resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent, to work out their own destiny.

This passage bears a rather curious resemblance to the woolly declarations of some prominent English Liberals during the first three or four years of our occupation of Egypt. The Policy of Scuttle, as it was sometimes called, was greatly disliked in England, and it is no more popular in the United States. Sensible Americans know that the assertion of it is both undignified and meaningless. It would be cowardly to run away from the Philippines, and it would also be impossible. If the Democrats came in, they would not be able to 'set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent,' and they could not attempt to do it. The electors wisely preferred a statesman, who does not make these ridiculous pretences, and who regards the possession of the over-sea territories, not as a disagreeable burden, to be dropped as soon as circumstances allow, but as an honourable obligation, to be discharged with zeal and fidelity.

But the Imperialist appetite *vient en mangeant*; the scope of Imperialist activity widens with each fresh accession. There is no help for it, and so the Americans are beginning to understand, with mingled elation and apprehension. They are now a Colonial Power, with special interests in the freedom of the seas, in addition to that of having more cargoes afloat upon it than any other people except ourselves. Therefore anything that interferes with the even flow of maritime commerce touches them closely. The United States is the

natural chief and champion of neutral nations in time of war ; for its gigantic export and import trade is still to a great extent carried in neutral bottoms. It is not possible for the Americans to survey a conflict on the seas between two or more of the Naval Powers, with indifference. The Russians entered upon their war against Japan with the tranquil confidence that they would be permitted to practise the kind of nautical highway robbery, more or less recognised in the chaotic muddle of precedents and principles, which is dignified by the name of International Law. They have had to be reminded that this was an error, and to discover that the 'rights' of a belligerent do not include the right to steal and the right to commit assault with violence.

We have done something ourselves, as in the case of the *Peterburg* and the *Smolensk*, to enforce the lesson ; but we have moved tentatively and timidly, and with an evident desire not to raise fundamental questions. For, to speak plainly, the bullying code which the Russians are trying to apply is largely of our creation ; the 'Right of Search,' with its confiscatory provisions, is very dear to our statesmen. They are still convinced that, if ever we come to a maritime war, we shall continue to be, in the strategic sense, the aggressors ; that we shall be able to take the offensive, with the old swaggering superiority ; that with our commanding force we shall seal up and blockade all the coasts of our enemy ; and that one of our main duties will be to chastise the neutrals who seek to bring him aid and comfort. We suppose ourselves to represent the overwhelming navy that can sweep the seas clear for our own commerce, with little interest in neutrals beyond that of seeing that they do not annoy us or interfere with our operations. Our traditional policy is to vindicate the claims of the maritime belligerent to do very much as he pleases, or as he can. So we have felt a little awkwardness in explaining to Russia that these examinations, and overhauls, and visitations, and condemnations, though we practised them ourselves industriously in the days of sailing frigates and corvettes, are no longer tolerable.

The opportunity of performing this service to civilised humanity lies with the United States ; and it seems that President Roosevelt and his able Secretary of State do not propose to miss it. Mr. Hay's Note, protesting against the Russian seizures of neutral vessels, is in some sense the beginning of an epoch. It is the most vigorous and direct assertion of the rights of neutrals which has been formulated for many years. The State Secretary emphatically refuses to admit the extravagant pretension that Russia, or any other Power, can add fresh articles to the Law of Nations by issuing a proclamation or obtaining a 'decision' in one of its own prize courts ; he repudiates the extensions which it has been sought to give to the doctrine of conditional contraband, and the claim which Russia has set up to establish a kind of paper blockade of the trade routes of the world.

The protest has had its effect. Russia, after some demur, was forced to abandon her extreme claims, and to place the question of conditional contraband on a footing which will at least relieve neutral shipping from a repetition of the series of threatening incidents that occurred during the opening months of the war.

But Mr. Roosevelt does not intend to stop at this point. He aspires to protect trading nations from similar dangers in future. Hence his invitation to the Powers to combine in another Hague Conference. When we consider the traditions of American diplomacy, the standing dislike of the people of the Republic to go out of their way to court foreign complications, and their anxiety to avoid being involved in the mesh of European politics, this bold initiative must be deemed extremely remarkable. It might well be regarded as a new stage in the history of the United States, perhaps even the history of the world; provided, of course, that it is followed up. Some shrewd observers tell us that it was mere playing to the American peace gallery, that it was 'good politics' for the President to counter the accusation of being a fire-eater and a militarist by coming forward as the promoter of international concord. One cannot think so. In the first place, it is not Mr. Roosevelt's way; in the second, it would seem that, having committed himself to this Conference, he would not care to incur the discredit of a fiasco. To the final 'Act' of the Hague Convention, various pious opinions were added as a postscript. One of these was that a Conference 'in the near future' should consider the rights and duties of neutrals, and another, that it should discuss the inviolability of private property at sea. On this last point, official American opinion may be said to be committed. The President, in his Message to Congress a year ago, registered his adhesion to 'this humane and beneficent principle,' and he has been supported by Resolutions in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. It will not be the fault of the American State Department if the Conference separates without coming to an agreement on such a revision and definition of the rules of International Law as will safeguard neutral sea-borne commerce in time of war.

Whether this result is reached depends, to a large extent, upon the government and people of this country. In the last number of this Review, Sir John Macdonell<sup>1</sup> shows that it is high time for us to reconsider our established policy in this respect. The statements of Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour at the close of last Session, and the whole course of our recent diplomacy, demonstrate that tenderness towards belligerents and harshness towards neutrals still determine our attitude. But, as Sir John explains, this sentiment is a little out of date. It takes no account of the changed conditions of the past few years. It assumes, not only that we are the first of

<sup>1</sup> 'The Rights and Duties of Neutrals,' in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for November 1904.

Naval Powers, but that our former predominance can be maintained. When we were searching cargoes in the Baltic in defiance of the Armed Neutrality, or when we seized the whole Danish Fleet and brought it captive into the Channel, we had enemies but no real rival. And from the peace of 1815 until the later seventies there was only one foreign fleet, or at the most two, worth talking about in relation to our own.

All this is now changed. There are seven great Naval Powers in Europe, Asia, and America. One of these, the United States, will, in a few years, possess a maritime force not very far behind ours; it has a much larger taxable population, a greater iron and steel production, a longer coast-line on two oceans, more available wealth, and less occasion to expend its resources on military establishments. Some of the same considerations apply to Germany; with a great mercantile shipping, a numerous coastal population, a vast metal industry, and unbounded enterprise and ambition, it may provide itself with a navy nearer to ours than any that has been known since Trafalgar. And not far below these will follow France, Japan, Russia, all first-class Naval Powers; not to mention Italy, and quite possibly, at no very distant date, China. We may, and must, keep the first place. But we shall not sweep the seas as if no other flag existed. And if we endeavoured to enforce the system which Lord Stowell crystallised in his prize-courts, and which Russia has been endeavouring to apply, we might find ourselves faced by a much more formidable combination than any we could possibly have encountered a hundred years, or even thirty years, ago. Meanwhile we do the chief carrying trade of the world; and any belligerent, as this Eastern war has shown, who begins to exercise the Right of Search, is likely to harass and injure a dozen British merchants for every one belonging to a foreign nation. In other words, our interests are now on the side of the neutrals, not against them. Are we to repeat our *non possumus* of Brussels in 1874 and The Hague of 1899, and declare that we cannot discuss the subject, for fear that the liberty of our captains and admirals might be unduly hampered in war time? Or shall we join with the United States in securing the rights of private traders and putting an end to the oppressive practices that have come down from a period when there was no law of the sea but that of the bigger crew and the heavier gun? If we accept the latter alternative, most of the Continental Powers would probably do the same; it would not greatly matter if they did not. The Anglo-Saxon navies could enforce the law of the sea against all the world, if they chose.

The mere suggestion that the armed force of the two English-speaking nations could be employed for such purposes would be indignantly repelled by many Americans. It is none of our business, they would say, to police the universe or to act as guardians of the rights of humanity. The task may be a noble one, but it is not cast upon us. We prefer to look after our own affairs, and to defend our

own interests when they are directly attacked. It remains to be seen whether President Roosevelt will be able, or willing, to convince his countrymen that mere immobility and passivity may sometimes be as bad a defence in peace as in war. A strong initiative is often necessary. Mr. Roosevelt and his Cabinet have themselves taken it very boldly, and perhaps rather unscrupulously, in Panama, energetically enough against Turkey and Morocco, somewhat more cautiously, but with firmness, in regard to Manchuria. So far they have received the undoubted support of their fellow-citizens. The Democrats made nothing out of their impeachment of the President on these points. A few years ago they would have been more successful. The caution, the provincialism, of the great mass of the sober stay-at-home electors, would have been alarmed at these adventures. The Democratic candidate, on this occasion, preached to deaf ears, when he denounced the abandonment of the non-intervention policy, the dangerous exploring of 'untried paths,' the following of new ideals, which appealed to ambition and the imagination. 'It is essential more than ever to adhere strictly to the traditional policy of the country as formulated by its first President, to invite friendly relations with all nations, while avoiding entangling alliances with any.'

Entangling alliances! It is a good phrase, a phrase not unknown to our own political controversy. It has a congenial sound, as I have said, to the Anglo-Saxon householder, who does not want to 'entangle' himself with any strange persons, if he can help it. But sometimes he cannot help it, unless he is to suffer various inconveniences. Is it a certain consciousness of this truth, which renders Americans much more tolerant of President Roosevelt's spirited foreign policy, and much more impervious to the Democratic invocations of the ancient idols, than they otherwise might be? The feeling, to which Mr. Roosevelt appeals, is a little vague, and not clearly articulate at present; but it is gathering force, as these movements do in America, and it may come to be held, by large numbers of people, with something like the passionate intensity with which the people of New England repudiated the Slave Power. There is a growing conviction that war is simply a survival of obsolete barbarism, a nuisance and a danger to civilisation at large, and that it may become part of the 'White Man's burden' to sit down on the thing altogether, or at least to see that it is kept within bounds.

As practical men, American statesmen are aware that neither peace conferences nor treaties of arbitration will carry us very far towards the goal. Every law implies what the jurists used to call a sanction—the knowledge that it is laid down by a superior power, which in the last resort is prepared to enforce it. International Law has no sanction; and that is why it is not law at all, but only custom and vaguely established practice, which nations will follow no longer than it suits them to do so. We want not merely a tribunal, but a

policeman—a policeman with a big stick. And we should get our international guardian of the peace, if the pacific industrial communities, having first thoroughly armed themselves, were to make it known that any disturbance of the public order, any wanton aggression or violence, would be repressed by the strong hand : that any two peoples who had a quarrel, which could not be settled by mutual agreement, would be required to submit the dispute to the decision, not of force but of a properly constituted court of arbitration.

That is the ideal. It may never be reached ; but the only way to approach it is by binding alliances between great Powers, or an efficient majority of them, willing and able to 'levy execution,' if necessary, upon offenders. The two European alliances, that of the central States on the one hand, and that of France and Russia on the other, have undoubtedly served the purpose of keeping the Continent at peace by rendering war too dangerous. Is it fantastic to hope that the precedent might be applied on a wider stage, and with less doubtful motives ? Supposing that Great Britain and the United States entered into an agreement to employ their splendid navies, their immense moral and material force, for certain common beneficial objects ? They would not, in the first instance, look for anything so utopian as the repression of all international hostilities. But they might aim at securing two things : first, that a war, if it did break out, should be 'localised' and confined to the parties directly concerned ; secondly, that in any case the freedom of the seas should be maintained, and neutral commerce protected. Such a League of Peace would almost certainly be joined by Japan, probably by Italy, possibly by France. In the end it might include Russia and Germany as well, and so bring about that 'Arcopagus' of the nations, which may eventually substitute the Rule of Law for the Rule of Might in international politics.

The establishment of any pact of this nature would be a delicate, a difficult, and, in some ways, a perilous, enterprise ; for, if hastily or clumsily attempted, it might make matters worse and precipitate the conflicts it is designed to avert. But if a beginning is to be made, it would seem that it can come more easily from the United States than from any other Power ; since the Washington Government can take the initiative without incurring the immediate dangers, or provoking the animosities, which must beset any other Foreign Office. Mr. Roosevelt will be a bold man if he sets himself seriously to overcome the prepossession of his countrymen for isolation and conservatism in external affairs. But the President has never lacked courage and ambition ; and much more surprising things might happen than that the foundations should be laid of a League of Peace, based on a genuine and effective Anglo-Saxon Alliance, before it is time for him to quit the Executive Mansion.

SIDNEY LOW.



## WHAT THE FRENCH DOCTORS SAW

It is scarcely seven weeks ago since the medical world of London was stirred to its depths by the arrival on our shores of a detachment of medical brothers, 150 strong, from the hospitals and medical schools of Paris. This invasion of the Gauls was not unexpected, but coming at the moment when the holiday bloom was still fresh on the cheek, and a nut-brown tinge told joyous tales of weeks spent on Alpine heights, moor, sea, river, or lawn, the faculty had to bestir itself to get ready in time to do honour to the occasion. Scarcely were port-manteaus unpacked and houses divested of their wrappings before the M.D.'s of the République Française were upon them. Still, the Royal Colleges were equal to the occasion, for if the time allowed was short, they made up in energy and resource with such effect that nothing was wanting when the supreme moment arrived to emphasise the *entente cordiale*.

All doors were open : the language of *la belle France* was ready to greet them, and even the rustiest French was polished up to sound like new. Banqueting-halls were filled to overflowing, Christmas was forestalled, and hospitable boards groaned under the roast beefs, flaming plum-puddings, and seductive mince-pies, which Frenchmen with native politeness felt bound to honour because it was the national food ! Thus were the brothers of France received by the outstretched hands of England's friendship.

The second day after their arrival they were delighted to see 'the famous London fog,' and among other things that rejoiced them was the beauty of the English children. Their philosophy, however, could not quite accept the evidence that *all* our children were beautiful; hence the question arose, What did we do with the ugly ones ?

But in order to see at least a little of what the French doctors saw *in extenso* it will be necessary now to follow them into some of the haunts of science and be prepared to enter a new and recently discovered world ; one still full of mystery, but presenting many fairy tales to the uninitiated. With ears receptive, and eyes capable of looking into the depths, and watching under the microscope the

minute organisms which influence our lives so largely for good and evil, we must also be prepared for emotions fluctuating between hope for the future and haunting fears, before more definite knowledge can be attained.

On the Thames Embankment, in Savoy Place, there stands a noble building, opened a few years ago by Queen Victoria, known as the Examination Hall and Imperial Laboratory for Cancer Research of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. It is flanked on the one side by the Savoy Restaurant, and on the other by Somerset House and King's College. Passing through the large hall, we ascend to the top floor, where we find ourselves in a corridor giving access to a row of laboratories all devoted to the one purpose—cancer research. The Director and General Superintendent receives us in the white linen coat of office, and bids us welcome to his den. It is by no means a pretty place, nor exactly comfortable. No easy-chair is there to tempt the silent worker to pursue his researches through the mazes of 'tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep.' All is stern, the few chairs uncompromising; the stool placed in exact relation to the microscope is well worn, and does not move. Over the mantelpiece is a black-board with strange markings, red and blue, significant to trained eyes, but incomprehensible to the untrained. A row of queerly bound books adorns the shelves, which also contain a variety of things of which these books speak. Before going further let us see what these books contain.

They contain a heterogeneous mass of papers, not bound and trimmed, but loose and filed, ready for reference, and all bearing on the one special subject—cancer research. These papers have come in from all parts of the British Empire at the instance of our late Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, who last year issued the following circular:

*Mr. Chamberlain to the Governors of all Colonies.*

(Circular.)

Downing Street, May 27, 1903.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that a fund has been started in this country for the purpose of promoting investigations into all matters connected with or bearing on the causes, prevention, and treatment of Cancer and Malignant Disease, and that the Scheme of which copies are enclosed has been approved by the Royal College of Physicians of London and the Royal College of Surgeons of England, who have undertaken control of the inquiry.

(2) I also enclose copies of a Memorandum prepared by the Honorary Treasurer of the fund, giving further information as to the origin of the Scheme and the progress which has been made with it.

(3) I need scarcely emphasise the importance of this inquiry, and I request that you will further its objects as far as possible by giving publicity to the information contained in this despatch, and by any other means which may appear to you to be suitable.

I have &c.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

## SCHEME.

I. *Objects of the Fund.*

In order to promote investigations into all matters connected with or bearing on the causes, prevention, and treatment of Cancer and Malignant Disease, steps shall be taken :

(1) To provide, extend, equip, and maintain laboratories to be devoted to Cancer Research.

(2) To encourage Researches on the subject of Cancer within the United Kingdom or in the British Dominions beyond the seas.

(3) To assist in the développement of Cancer Research in various Hospitals and Institutions approved by the Executive Committee.

(4) And generally to provide means for systematic investigation into the causes, prevention, and treatment of Cancer.

Should the objects of the fund be attained by the discovery of the cause and nature of Cancer and of an effective method of treatment, the Royal Colleges, with the consent of the Trustees, shall be empowered to utilise the fund either (a) for equipping with the necessities for such treatment such Hospitals as they may select, or (b) forwarding research into other diseases.

There shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Honorary Treasurer, General Committee and Executive Committee of the Fund.

The Office of the Fund shall (with the consent of the Royal Colleges) be at the Examination Hall, Victoria Embankment.

Without enlarging further, it is sufficient to say that our French visitors were deeply impressed with the organisation thus adopted for gathering together the records of our hospitals and medical experience from all parts of our Colonies, and bringing them to the one home centre. Since Mr. Chamberlain's retirement Mr. Lyttelton has followed the same course most assiduously, and the India Office and Foreign Office, fully recognising the importance of the work, have also issued despatches of a similar kind to governors and medical officers. Thus the investigation of cancer is placed on a uniform basis throughout widely divergent races, regions, and isolated communities for the common benefit of all nations.

Turning from the files of official reports, we shall now direct our attention to the row of microscopes before us to find therein the justification of these efforts on the part of our far-seeing statesmen. At first we can only discern under the lens a mere conglomeration of cells, specks, and streaks. With the aid, however, of the monitor by our side, the general chaos soon falls into order; the eye is able to follow the oral explanation, and the mind is at length able to form some faint conception of the life-history of this dreadful disease.

To understand properly this life-history it is necessary to remember that all living things throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms are composed of cells, springing in the first instance from one single cell. All these cells are nucleated, and from the moment of fertilisation begin to divide and subdivide and form into clusters of cells, till, in the final grouping of specialised cells, we have the highest order of

being at one end of the biological chain, and the humblest at the other. After birth there is no sudden break; the cells continue the process of multiplication till maturity is attained and growth ceases. All now remains normal during the years that intervene between youth and age, when a gradual degeneration sets in, but what causes the normal cells to spring once again into activity and appear in abnormal shape is the point yet to be determined. One school adheres to the purely parasitic theory, the more modern to that of renewed cellular growth taking a malignant form.

This disease, we are told, pervades the whole vertebrate kingdom, human beings civilised and savage, animals wild and domesticated, the fish of the river and sea. External agencies have no causative influence. Further, it cannot be transplanted from one species to another species, but can be transplanted subcutaneously from one mouse to another of the same species. It is not found to be infectious, or transmissible in any other way, and theories as to cancer houses and heredity have to be given up. The specimens of malignant growths taken from the human being, an animal, and a fish, which we are examining at present under the microscopes, show no difference; the features are alike in all.

Without going too far into the genesis of this disease and intricacies of this research, it is curious to learn that the manner of life concerning this organism can be fully traced under the microscope. In an active rapid growth the cells can be seen preparing for fertilisation, and the actual conjugation of the nuclei from one cell to that adjoining can be observed. Again, in the slow growths, the same phenomena can be seen accompanied by a disposition on the part of the nuclear process to abort. Whether this conjugation of cells is the initial phenomenon in the cancer cycle must be settled, we are told, by further investigations; but

it is certain that such conjugation would explain without further assumption the characteristics of malignant tumours; their local but occasionally polycentric origin; their independence and behaviour as a new organism; their power of invasion, their differentiation in the direction of the 'mother' tissue; the phenomenon or artificial transmission with all its limitations, and the superaddition of malignant properties to the tissues of those complicated tumours which are undoubtedly of congenital origin.<sup>1</sup>

Before leaving we anxiously inquire about the fund for this vast work. 'Ah! that is always too low for the work to be done, but, thanks to Mr. W. Waldorf Astor, the sum of 20,000*l.* was added to the fund last year to enable us to fight on.'

Let us try to imagine this worker at his work when all is quiet. Here he does not bind himself to the recognised eight hours, but occasionally keeps his solitary vigil amidst the shaded lamps till midnight, trying to wrest from Nature her secrets, and absorbed in

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Cancer Research Fund.*

all that is revealed to him from that strange world of disease. As the knowledge to be gained and benefits to accrue to the public are limited or expanded just in proportion to the funds available, it is curious to reflect that here in the house of beneficent science the means are all too small, while in the restaurant next door the *beau monde* assemble night after night to pour out in fleeting joys the superabundant money!

In following the track of the French doctors we shall best maintain the sequence by adjourning now to the Middlesex Hospital, which carries on cancer research with all the advantages of a clinique. This is the only hospital in London—perhaps in the kingdom—with a special endowment for the maintenance of special wards for cancer cases, the sufferers to be kept till ‘relieved by art, or released by death.’ These wards now occupy a separate wing, with separate entrance-hall and staircase, but not without channels of communication with the rest of the building.

On entering these wards the first impression made on the mind is the astonishing cheerfulness of the patients, and the little evidence of suffering. In the face of this the doctors cannot understand why this disease is regarded with such dread when there are many mitigations and so many worse diseases to be encountered, so far as actual suffering goes. Fatal it may or may not be; early surgery always gives hope, but great suffering they find the exception, not the rule. One woman was found weeping, not from pain, but because her companion in the next bed had been quietly removed an hour before. The vacant place would before long be filled again by a newcomer, who would soon restore cheerfulness by exciting a general interest and presenting a fresh field for gossip. The women soon become domesticated and reconciled, feeling grateful for the rest after a life of toil, and for the care expended on them until the initial conditions are fulfilled.

Coming fresh from the microscopes, it was curious to see how innocently unconscious the patients were as to what was the matter with them *au fond*. The trustfulness, however, was beautiful; we could not wish it otherwise, and one’s philanthropic sense was gratified by the prettiness, comfort, and purity of the wards, and the quiet goodness of the nurses.

One thing here that struck the French doctors was the way in which the wards were adorned with plants and cut flowers. At first they thought it was in honour of their visit, but on being told they were the voluntary gifts of the philanthropic, and were an abiding feature of all our hospitals, they joined heartily in a little merriment over the scientific aspects of the matter.

Having visited the wards, we are now taken through various passages, and up staircases till we get nearer the sky and microscopes, to find ourselves once more among laboratories devoted to clinical

and cancer research. Here we are shown by Dr. Bonney the difference between the malignant and non-malignant cells under the lens. The line of research is similar to that we have already seen, the conclusion arrived at being that the reproduction of cancer cells occurs similarly, but with slight variation, to the reproduction of normal tissue cells. They consider the development of disease is due to some abnormality of growth occurring in normal cells, and do not regard it as an invasion from without of any special parasite.

In this laboratory there was a particular instrument which greatly excited the natural inventive genius of the French, who are curious in respect of all kinds of physical apparatus. This apparatus was designed and carried out by Dr. Lazarus Barlow, Director of the Cancer Research Laboratory, and Mr. Hillier, to enable the student to keep the microscopic slides he is examining under the microscope at blood heat. It is in fact a warm plate which maintains an equal temperature, very simple to look at, but in reality a deeply complicated arrangement of metals—silver, brass, mercury, iron, an alloy of platinum and iridium, manganese and aluminium, each having its special part to play in bringing about a complete whole, the result being a very useful and perfect aid to research.

Another object of interest was the charts and records of every case of cancer since 1746, when the special wards were established. These charts have shown that cancer in women gradually increased to about the year 1874, since when it has maintained a constant level. On the other hand, cancer in men has steadily increased from the first. This experience has been confirmed by the charts of St. George's Hospital, which similarly record a fixed level for women, and one still rising for men.

On looking along the charts recording the seat of attack in women I was struck by its being so much associated with the nature of their sex, when it was explained that the tendency in that direction was curiously synchronous with mothers ceasing to nurse their own children; among the rich because they would not, among the poor because they could not on account of going out to work. In former times this was different, and the seat of cancer was more general, as in the lower animals, where no such specialisation exists; but it was clear that the birth of a child followed by the forcible repression of the nourishment provided by nature was a violation of nature's laws. It was said to be bad for recovery, bad for the child in the present, and in the future led to degeneration in new generations to come.

In the next laboratory, that of Clinical Research, a great deal of business was going on; for whereas the physicians at work in the wards down below can form their own conclusions as to the nature of the malady from experience and symptoms, it is up here that the diagnosis is definitely determined.

In the adjoining laboratory the Director, Mr. Foulerton, and

Dr. Bonney, are carrying on researches in connection with puerperal fever, a disease from which hundreds of women die annually after childbirth owing to insanitary dwellings, and also to infection conveyed by untrained midwives, and other causes.

The special microbes which cause this fever belong to the family of *streptococci*, not one alone, but many members of the family, having the power to produce this terrible disease. This fact adds not a little to the difficulty of finding the right protective serum for the particular case.

After examining a long series of cases of more or less severe puerperal fever, a number of strains of *streptococcus* have been obtained, many of which possess distinctive characters, and presumably produce different toxins (poisons) requiring different antitoxins for their successful treatment. These organisms were cultivated and their toxins obtained. For the last two years these toxins have been injected from time to time into the veins of a horse, so that at the present time the serum of that horse contains antitoxins capable of neutralising the poisons produced by *seven different strains of streptococcus* which have been isolated from different cases of puerperal fever direct. By this method the chances of success by the injection of this serum into the blood of stricken mothers is enormously increased. In practice it has only been known for a short time, but good results in severe cases have been obtained by its use. The fever is found to abate soon after each inoculation until recovery takes place.

To continue on the track of the French doctors we must follow them now to the Lister Institute, which, thanks to Lord Iveagh, has been rescued from want and enabled to extend its work in chemistry and bacteriology.

Down in the basement we find Professor McFadyean busy crushing the microbes of typhoid fever in order to extract what he calls the cell-juice: in other words, the toxin (poison) which is used to produce the serum henceforth to be used for those who desire it, or in the army when troops are sent out to dangerous localities and war. He and his assistant together have devised ingenious mechanical means for accomplishing the crushing of the cells in three hours, a process which hitherto in Koch's laboratory has taken a week. This contrivance greatly interested our *confrères*, who saw the machine worked by electricity. First of all the typhoid bacilli have to be cultivated from the parent cells of the original disease in culture tubes. In the microbes' kitchen, close by, the food they thrive best upon is carefully prepared and poured over the flat inside of large glass bottles. This is a gelatine of Iceland moss, which does not go soft during the cultivation and is called agar. From the culture tube a little of the growth is taken, then mixed with a little sterilised water and washed over the surface of the agar. The fluid is now poured off, the neck of the bottle is closed with cotton wool, and the seeds, if I may so call them, are

left to grow. Next day a fine crop of typhoid can be seen flourishing in this scientific garden, where the soil in relation to crops is so well considered. When the correct pathological moment arrives the growth on the surface of the agar is scraped off and subjected to a marvellous process of washing and drying, the machinery at work all the time and the electric sparks adding weirdness to the scene. At one stage they are placed in a small copper cylinder which is made to revolve very rapidly, leaving the microbes in a sticky mass adhering to the side. The copper containing this precious mass is now placed in a bath of liquid air 180 degrees below freezing-point, and so closed up that during the freezing and crushing no particle can escape alive in the form of dust. To ensure this, the rod or piston which is working rapidly up and down is made to pass through carbolic acid, which would immediately arrest and devitalise any that might perchance get out.

We have now the crushed substance still vital, notwithstanding the severe treatment. Again it is washed and wrapped round the outside of a porcelain bougie, from which the water is drawn by a suction tube inside the bougie, till finally in a small phial we have the pure essence of typhoid in a clear liquid of cell juice, the object of their desire. These phials are next sent down to Elstree, the country part of the establishment, where the fluid is passed through the living laboratory of the horse, to yield at the right therapeutical moment a serum which can safely be passed into the blood of man to protect him against the danger of the disease.

Having seen something of this process and heard the rest, we pass into the next room, where the air we breathe is being liquefied by immense and intricate machinery to provide the small cold bath we have seen at work in crushing living objects so minute that they cannot be efficiently dealt with in any other way.

The next room we are taken to is the microbes' soup kitchen, where several highly trained and most learned chefs in white linen overalls are composing dainty repasts for the microbes. Their tastes require the most careful study, and fine adjustment and proportion of ingredients, before they consent to live or thrive in the laboratory. Over the fire potatoes are steaming in a caldron, and in the course of a few days these same potatoes may be found under glass covers with flourishing growths of various diseases on the top. In various pots and pans the most savoury soups are in progress—chicken broth, meat broth, beef jelly, all specially prepared to suit the various wants of the many little families about to be artificially reared.

At St. Mary's Hospital the first thing that pleased the French visitors was the admirable out-patient department, which forms the basement of the new Clarence wing. In the large central hall the patients await their turn, and the consulting rooms all round are adapted specially to the needs of the various departments. This is



of great advantage alike to patients and medical students. In the eye department, for instance, they had all the latest developments for operations—dark room for ophthalmoscopic cases, and new electric-light apparatus for examining the eyes, &c.

After looking round the wards, Professor A. E. Wright gave them a lecture on that intricate subject—the therapeutic inoculation of bacterial vaccines. To put it simply, it amounts to this—that disease due to bacteria may arise either in consequence of their mere presence, or in consequence of the action of their poisonous products. Now the body of a healthy person does not suffer patiently this foreign invasion, for Nature has provided the blood with the all-important white cells called phagocytes, which are there to oppose and destroy, if possible, the invaders. In some diseases the attack is made mainly on the bacteria, these little specks we see under the microscope, which are taken up, devoured, and digested by the transparent white cells called phagocytes. In certain other diseases the fluids of the body generate substances (antitoxins) which have the power to render innocuous the poisons produced by the action of the bacteria. There is, however, a third group of diseases which has proved refractory to each of these remedial measures provided by Nature, and it is here that Professor Wright has stepped in by endeavouring to combine both procedures, and to apply his conception practically. It is not difficult to understand that when a patient is sinking under disease it may be due either to the invasion of bacteria in too great a force for the white blood-cells (phagocytes) to deal with, or to failure to produce enough of the antidote to neutralise the poison created by their action. Professor Wright, by uniting the observations of the French and German schools in these directions, claims that by special treatment it is possible to cause the body fluids of unresponsive patients to acquire or reacquire the power so to prepare or affect the bacteria that they become, as it were, served up in a less inimical form, and are then greedily devoured by the white cells of the patient, who, without this treatment, would or might long continue a victim to their ravages.

¶ We must now leave the metropolis for the moment and follow the French doctors to the School of Tropical Medicine at the Albert Docks. Here, once again, they were struck by the propelling influence of our late Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, whose keen recognition of the benefits likely to arise did so much to establish this new branch of research in our midst. The hospital, being so close to the docks, receives patients from all parts of the East, who step in, or are carried in, straight from the ships. The reception hall presents an aspect truly oriental, with the turbaned sick sitting round in every attitude of suffering, awaiting their turn for medical attention.

Here they were shown the large new laboratory, with thirty-six

students at work, the residential quarters, mess-rooms, museum, &c., and more recent additions to tropical pathology, as the *Tympanosoma Gambiense*, the reputed cause of sleeping sickness, and the recognised cause of a grave form of recurring fever in tropical Africa to which more than one European has already succumbed.

They were also shown the newly discovered Leishman body—a disease germ which promises to occupy a very important place in the growing list of tropical pathogenic agents. It is now recognised as the cause of what used to be called 'malarial cachexia' (or at least one form of malarial cachexia), and is probably the germ cause of Oriental sore, known locally as Delhi boil, Scinde sore, Bagdad boil, &c. Besides these curiosities they were shown microscopic preparations illustrative of the various tropical disease germs and their life-history, in insect and other intermediaries. In the tropical wards of this hospital they were shown cases of leprosy, beri-beri, dysentery, liver abscess, malaria, and a variety of other diseases of tropical origin.

The school, recognising the importance of the study of protozoa and other kinds of animal parasites, is about to establish (funds permitting) two new chairs, one for medical protozoology, and one for medical helminthology, subjects which have not hitherto received the recognition they deserve either in our laboratories or in our teaching institutions. It is felt that the scientific study of the grim causes of tropical diseases is the best foundation for scientific treatment and prevention.

The Frenchmen were much impressed by the spaciousness, cleanliness, discipline, and comfort of the wards, and by the variety of races represented by the patients.

At the Westminster Hospital great interest was taken in a patient—a young man—suffering from a disease which is fortunately very rare. It is rapid paralysis, beginning at the feet and spreading upwards till all muscular power throughout the body is lost in fifteen days. The origin of this malady was diagnosed as being in the spinal cord, and accordingly a syringe was plunged into his back and some of the fluid drawn off and placed under the microscope. Away up on the wonderful roof of this hospital is a clinical laboratory, and here the fluid was examined and the cause of the disease discovered in a microbe distinguished as the 'tetracoccus'—simply four little black specks clustered together forming a square, and many such appearing in groups.

Under proper treatment recovery began at the head and continued steadily downward till the lost power was recovered, and now, like many hospital patients, he was very much pleased with himself.

The operation room in this hospital is quite up to date, with an adjoining vestibule for the administration of chloroform before the patient is wheeled into the pale green-tiled chamber, where every-

thing—surgeon, assistants, nurses, instruments—is ready and awaiting him.

On the roof new rooms have been built for the use of the Röntgen rays, electrical bath, &c., and communicate by covered ways through the open air like cloisters.

At the National Hospital for the Epileptic and Paralytic the French doctors saw Sir Victor Horsley remove a tumour from a man's brain, the man being completely paralysed. A few days later I could testify personally that the man could move his legs and arms quite freely, and, although not allowed to raise his head from the pillow, was enjoying a generous slice of Swiss roll and a very good tea. The man was still filled with astonishment at the sudden change in himself. The ward in which he lay was close to the operating room, and is kept specially for these cases. While operating the surgeon wears an electric lamp fixed over his forehead, by which he is enabled to see right through the brain. Here, again, may be seen a perfect operation room, all white tiles and tessellated pavement, with an electric fan to cool the air, and radiators to warm it. In an ante-room the patient is put under the anæsthetic, and in a vestibule a row of indiarubber boots of all sizes stands ready for nurses and assistants to save them getting wet feet by standing in pools of water during the operation. On a rail hangs a row of thin indiarubber gloves, ready for the use of surgeon and assistants.

In another ward a woman had to go through a remarkable process of stretching the neck every day to cure trembling—a form of paralysis agitans of the head. When asked if she liked it she shook her head, but smiled when the nurse brought forward the 'gallows' to show how it was done. It was one of the cases where this particular treatment was found to do good.

At St. Bartholomew's Hospital the French doctors had an opportunity of seeing how our oldest and best endowed hospital could carry on excellent work under all the disabilities of old age. Could these ancient walls speak, they could tell many a tale of hopeless suffering in times gone by, suffering which no benevolence could relieve while the true cause of disease was unknown, and surgeons, in giving relief with one hand, dealt death all unconsciously with the other. A large picture on the wall shows the surgeon pouring oil and wine into the wound of a patient, a custom resorted to from ancient times as a healing measure; but there was no scientific knowledge to direct and improve upon this early effort at antiseptic treatment, and without safeguards little good was done. Again, Ambroise Paré's method of searing the wounds with red-hot irons was a further attempt at antiseptics, but often failed to save where shock from suffering killed. The walls that once were death-traps are now kept scrupulously clean, and the homely comfort of the wards, the excellent food and good nursing, excited the admiration of the doctors. On the top

floor were wards for children suffering from infectious diseases, one ward being rigorously shut off from another. The ward set aside for diphtheria excited much interest, as the cases were all treated with the anti-diphtheric serum worked out by Dr. Roux, of the Institut Pasteur, the serum of all others found to be the most certain in its immediate effects if given early enough. In the medical wards were several cases of typhoid fever. One was that of a young man, the victim of oysters, who had had two relapses and was in the eighty-first day of his illness. Another case was that of one of the Queen's Jubilee nurses, who lay, with flushed cheeks, looking very ill, but hoping and longing to get back to her work among the poor of the London slums.

Here, as in the London Hospital and other great hospitals of London, the neat appearance of the nurses, their perfect training, and numbers, excited not only the admiration of the doctors but their envy. In Paris, since the sisterhoods had been scattered, the gaps had never been filled up, and the difficulty of getting nurses was a real one. It was feared that French mothers would never consent to allow the freedom necessary for daughters who might desire to follow this vocation and make themselves useful in a sphere where their services are required, not only at home, but in the colonies and all the world over.

Of the many hospitals visited by the French surgeons and physicians there was just one which was far from disposed to open its doors, owing to an unhappy consciousness of being out of date. This was King's College Hospital, which never ceases to proclaim its readiness to move to a less expensive neighbourhood when the public provide the necessary means. The site for this new hospital has already been given by the Hon. W. F. D. Smith, M.P., and the site of the old will yield an income of 6,000*l.* a year; but, pending the hoped-for change, the hospital as it stands is not proud of itself in these advanced times. It has become what the Scotch call 'cassy-faced,' *anglice* causeway-faced—that is, a disposition to keep in the back streets rather than be seen in the front. Still, drawbacks notwithstanding, this was *the* hospital the French doctors elected to see, and accordingly drove up, a considerable party, one morning at eleven o'clock, and asked permission to visit Lister's theatre. The most advanced hospital in the world had little interest for them compared with the hospital where Lister led the reform of all surgical practice by the introduction of true antiseptics thirty-five years ago. The theatre, with the semicircle of raised benches, is still what it was in his day, and is still doing duty as operating theatre and class-room combined—a combination now universally condemned. With all the surroundings just as they were in Lister's day, the operating theatre had an archaic interest for the French that nothing else had. It was the centre whence modern teaching spread to all other London hospitals.

It was here the reduction in mortality told its own tale. With the fundamental principle everywhere adopted and universally the same, this 'cassy-faced' hospital forms the keystone of all the proud edifices that have since been reared in all parts of the civilised world for the care of the sick and the scientific education of medical men. Reflecting on all these things, it must have struck our intelligent neighbours as a curious irony of fate that left this hospital behind in the general advance, a parent repudiated by her children, when of all hospitals this should stand out a model to the world, and a monument to the reformer to whom the world owes so much.

While the French doctors were always ready to accentuate their profound respect for Lister, the English were not behind in acknowledging all that we owe to Pasteur, and to that early *entente cordiale* that existed between these two men when they formed, in the teeth of fierce opposition, a 'brotherhood of science labouring to diminish the sorrows of humanity.'

As we are all now aware, Lord Lister was the first medical apostle who believed in the word of Pasteur. The word was conveyed to his brain while sitting in his armchair (at Glasgow) reading Pasteur's *researches sur les corpuscules organisés qui existent dans l'atmosphère*. We can imagine him, with attention riveted on all he was learning, as it gradually dawned on his mind that herein lay the whole explanation of things going wrong with wounds. It was the drawing up of a curtain that revealed to him the immense possibilities which have since been realised.

In the Institut Pasteur we have a *living*, working monument raised by the contributions of all nations to honour for ever the name of Pasteur. In a beautiful tomb he lies in the crypt down below at rest; but the words he wrote to his father on receiving the prize for experimental physiology from the Academy forty-five years ago seem to rise from that tomb like a prayer that has been heard—'God grant that by my persevering labours I may bring a little stone to the frail and ill-assured edifice of our knowledge of those deep mysteries of life and death, where all our intellects have so lamentably failed.'

Let us, then, welcome the *entente cordiale* so happily begun, and do our share in encouraging scientific research and spreading the knowledge gained over every part of the earth. By this means alone can we hope to save suffering and needless death, with all the miseries that haunt the track of ignorance, and do so much to overshadow the brightness of our homes.

ELIZA PRIESTLEY.

# FREE THOUGHT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

## A REJOINDER

### I

THE MAIN POINT URGED IN MY ORIGINAL ARTICLE EVADED BY MY  
TWO CRITICS, NOTABLY BY MR. MAYNARD SMITH

Two Anglican clergymen—Prebendary Whitworth and Mr. Maynard Smith, the latter speaking expressly on behalf of the Bishop of Worcester,—have replied to my recent article on Free Thought in the Church of England. I must thank them both for their freedom from that personal acrimony which so often, besides disfiguring, confuses theological controversy. Mr. Smith, however, has completely, and Mr. Whitworth has to some extent, misapprehended the object with which the original article was written by me.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Maynard Smith, on behalf of the Bishop of Worcester, complains strongly of the manner in which I quote from the Bishop's writings. Both he and the Bishop believe, he says, 'and it is only charitable to suppose,' that I have never read them myself, but have dealt with isolated sentences supplied to me by some malicious third person, to which, torn from their context, I have imputed meanings not those of the writer. Mr. Smith complains also that besides mis-stating the opinions held by the Bishop himself, I have wronged him—it would seem in a manner yet more unpardonable—by associating these with the opinions of Dr. Sanday. Now if I have in any way mis-stated the opinions of the Bishop himself I regret my error, and propose presently to correct it; but as for the charge that I set myself to attack the Bishop, equipped with garbled quotations from him, got together for me by somebody else, I must assure Mr. Smith that, though the charge may have the support of his charity, it has not the support of fact. Farther, for deliberately associating the Bishop's opinions with Dr. Sanday's, I have a far better warrant than Mr. Smith probably suspects. Several years ago I published a small volume dealing with the position of dogma in the English Church. The Bishop of Worcester reviewed it at considerable length; and in the course of his review he administered to me the following specific information—namely, that if I wanted to understand what are the real foundations on which an Anglican's faith in miraculous Christianity rests, Dr. Sanday, with whose view of the matter he was himself in profound agreement, was the Anglican divine best fitted to tell me.

## II

## THE REVOLUTION IN ANGLICAN THOUGHT AS TO THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES

Let me begin with a brief sketch of the broader facts of the situation.

'The whole historical position and justification of that specific form of Christianity which is called Anglicanism is bound up,' says the Bishop of Worcester, 'with its strenuous appeal to Scripture.'<sup>2</sup> Whatever may be the case now, this was certainly true once. Up to a time so recent that it still seems like yesterday, the vast majority of our clergy and laity also were unanimous in believing that the miraculous dogmas of Christianity rested on the evidence of a substantially infallible Bible. Thus Dean Burgon declared that every word of Scripture is 'the very utterance of the Eternal Himself'; whilst, according to Dr. Pusey, to doubt the traditional date of Daniel was equivalent to doubting the entire scheme of Redemption. Some, indeed, maintained that inspiration was plenary, not verbal; but this merely meant that the meaning of every Biblical sentence was directly supplied by God, though the grammar and the phraseology were human. But this state of opinion, which survived, till his death, in Mr. Gladstone, and survives still among churchmen of the school of Canon Webb-Peploe, is no longer dominant. It is rejected not by the Broad Church party only, but by a considerable section of the Evangelical party also; whilst those who are foremost in repudiating it are the inheritors of the Pusey tradition—men such as the Bishop of Worcester, and the other contributors to *Lux Mundi*. That the Biblical books are inspired in some sort of sense or other they maintain as vehemently as Dr. Pusey himself did; but, whatever inspiration in its new sense may be, they, as Mr. Smith and Mr. Whitworth admit, dismiss with a pitying contempt the idea that it even tended to protect the sacred writers from errors of the most astounding kind in science, history, and prediction. Thus neither of my critics makes any attempt to deny that their party not only regards the beginning of Genesis as mythical, but discerns in those parts of the Old Testament which can really be treated as history errors and legends like those that abound in Livy, and admits that the Gospels themselves, however true as a whole, are vitiated by mistakes due to the imperfect information, and, here and there, to the over-zealous faith, of the Evangelists.

Such, then, being the case, let me ask Bishop Gore, Mr. Whitworth, and Mr. Smith whether they can wonder that a growing number of people, if they find Dr. Pusey's successors enunciating such con-

<sup>1</sup> *Dissertations*, p. 205.

clusions as the above, should draw for themselves the inference from them which Dr. Pusey declared to be inevitable, that the whole Christian creed in its orthodox form is a delusion? It must at all events be admitted that there are *prima facie* grounds for such an inference, and that those who seek to maintain the old conclusions, whilst completely discarding the premisses hitherto held to be essential to them, must expect to be severely interrogated as to the precise character of their procedure, and that the doubts originally entertained will not be at once dissipated when they realise what the character of this procedure is.

For this procedure is one by which the old evidences for the miraculous are not merely modified, but are actually turned topsyturvy, and placed in an inverted order. The central doctrine of Christianity—namely, that of Christ's divinity, of His consequent power to redeem us, and of His claim on our adoration and service—was till yesterday presented to the world as attested by a series of miraculous events beginning with the creation of mankind, leading up to and accompanying His birth, and making His life peculiar in the eyes even of those who rejected Him. That is to say, the central miracle of the Incarnation, in virtue of which Christ was God as well as an exceptional man, was supposed to be proved by a number of other miracles, the reality of which was vouched for by the testimony of an infallible Bible, and a general assent to which was the postulate of Christian argument—these other miracles, amongst them the infallibility of the Bible itself, being supposed to render the miracle of the Incarnation indubitable. But now, according to the Bishop of Worcester and his friends, it is an *a priori* conviction that the miracle of the Incarnation is indubitable, which alone makes such other miracles as they elect to retain believable. This is like saying that whereas in former days we believed that the English were invincible because of the history of the battle of Waterloo, we now believe that they won the battle of Waterloo because of an *a priori* conviction that the English arms are invincible. Surely Mr. Smith and the Bishop of Worcester must see that an attempt to inquire into the effects on the public mind of a change so profound as this cannot be adequately met by pretending that it is a personal attack on the mental and moral character of the Bishop of Worcester himself.

So much, then, for the general aspects of the matter. Let us now go on to particulars. I will first verify and complete my account of the neo-Anglican theory. I will next deal with the more important of the results which those who propound this theory themselves reach by the application of it. I will then go on to inquire how far the ordinary public, living in the critical and scientific atmosphere of to-day, are likely to draw from the premisses which the clergy give them, conclusions coincident with those drawn from them by the clergy themselves.



## III

## DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE NEO-ANGLICAN THEORY OF EVIDENCES

I will then quote again, as I did in my previous article, certain passages in which the Bishop of Worcester describes the neo-Anglican theory in plain and succinct language<sup>3</sup>:

The inspiration of Scripture is an important part of the superstructure, but it is not among the *bases* of Christian belief. . . . Belief in the Spirit's work in Scripture follows, does not precede, belief in Christ. . . . All that is necessary for faith in Christ is to be found in the moral dispositions which predispose to belief, and make intelligible and credible the thing to be believed, coupled with such acceptance of the generally historical character of the Gospels, and the trustworthiness of the other apostolic documents as justifies the belief

in the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of Christ, and—Mr. Smith insists I should add—His founding and guiding of the Church by aid of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Smith, however (with what object I am totally at a loss to conjecture), goes out of his way to maintain that what the Bishop is here describing is not his own position at all, but 'what St. Paul summed up in the word faith.' Now in any case it would be paying a poor compliment to a bishop to assume that if he is describing Paul's idea of Faith he cannot possibly be describing his own also; but when we reflect that when Paul wrote there were no Gospels existing, and that he can hardly have meant that Faith comprised a faith in his own Epistles, it is difficult to see how Paul could have included in Faith an acceptance of both as substantially trustworthy documents. However, whether the Bishop is alluding to Paul's view or no, he is obviously describing what is his own view as well. It is also the view which he recommended me to learn from the writings of Dr. Sanday. It is, indeed, the view of the neo-Anglicans generally. But if Mr. Smith has any doubts about the matter, let us turn to Mr. Whitworth's article, and we shall find the same thing stated in an even simpler way.

The starting-point, says Mr. Whitworth, of faith in miraculous Christianity is a conviction of the truth of the great central miracle that 'Christ is God incarnate,' which necessarily, according to him, leads to a belief in the Resurrection. These two miracles—the miracles of the divine Personality—are, he says, 'vital to Christianity in a sense which can be predicated of no others.' All the others might be discarded, he says; but if we still believed in these 'Christianity would still remain what it is.' It does not, however, follow, he continues, that we do discard the others, a belief in which has been demanded by Christian orthodoxy. On the contrary, we assert them no less stoutly than ever; but we are enabled to do so only because

<sup>3</sup> See *Lux Mundi*, p. 340.

they are rendered credible by the fact of our accepting the two primary miracles first.

The case, however, can really be simplified yet farther. Mr. Smith complains of me because I said that for the Bishop of Worcester the primary miracles were four, whereas they are really six. This is merely a question of words. Mr. Whitworth says, 'I prefer to speak of them as two . . . which practically cover the ground.' In reality, he and the Bishop reduce the whole group to one—that is to say, to the belief that Christ is God.

The initial question, then, narrows itself down to this: how is a belief in the Godhead of Christ reached? And the answer of the whole neo-Anglican school is identical. We reach this belief primarily by a subjective experience of its truth. We are first affected by what we may call the human magnetism of Christ; and we gradually learn by an 'experience' that the human Personality is divine. We do not, however, as Mr. Whitworth is careful to urge, reduce the foundations of our faith to the experiences of isolated individuals. The evidence afforded by these derives a cumulative force from the fact that the personal experiences of innumerable individuals have coincided.

Now let me admit, in anticipation of what I shall say hereafter, that I recognise in this argument from experience great force of a kind; but will it justify the conclusions which the neo-Anglicans draw from it? That is the question to which we shall come ultimately; but first let us consider what these conclusions are, and the precise stages by which the neo-Anglicans reach them.

The first stage is as follows. If we start with assuming that Christ was a supernatural person, we at once see that, in one way or another, three specific miracles must have taken place in connection with Him. His birth must have differed in some way from the birth of ordinary men. He could not be 'holden of death,' therefore in some way He must have come to life again; and since after His revivification He admittedly disappeared from the earth, the mode of His disappearance must certainly have been as supernatural as the mode of His advent. Farther, says Mr. Whitworth, we should expect from His unique character 'that His sojourn on earth would be attended by other unique phenomena,' though we might not *a priori* be able to make a guess at their nature. But whatever they were, they would certainly not surprise us. Christ's walking on the water, if this should happen to be amongst them, would be no more unlikely than His teaching the people from a boat.

Our minds having been thus brought into a properly critical condition, we enter on the next stage of the pathway to complete orthodoxy. Convinced *a priori* that wonders must have happened somehow, we consult the Biblical records, and we there find it stated that the class of events we look for actually did take place in certain definite ways. It was certain that Christ must have been born in

some unusual manner. He was. He was born without a human father. It was certain that in some way He must have got the better of death. He did. Angels rolled away the door of His sepulchre, and men in white apparel announced that His body had come to life again. The disappearance of His revived body must have been just as miraculous as His resurrection. It was. Whilst He was speaking to His disciples His body rose into the air; it was lost to sight in a cloud; and more men in white apparel commented on and signalled the event. Further, since Christ was one with the Lord of Nature, His omnipotence must have betrayed itself in many other ways as well. It did. We find records of a whole cycle of miracles, of which, though some may be false, others are certainly true.

The neo-Anglican argument now reaches its third stage—the part of it which is essentially modern, and which is supposed to harmonise orthodoxy with science and impartial thought. In accepting the evidence of the Bible as to the occurrence of certain miracles, we have no need to regard it as a book that is in any way supernaturally inerrant. On the contrary, we recognise that, in its earlier parts especially, it contains, just as Livy does, a large number of errors. But it is still admitted on all hands that a large part of it is historical. Now, the occurrence of miracles of some sort being *a priori* inevitable, they stand on no different footing from any other events, the occurrence of which is mentioned in the Biblical narratives. The Bible, then, being what it is, it is only natural to expect that its writers, who made mistakes about the ordinary events of history, should also make some mistakes in the case of miracles also, and that the evidence for some miracles should be worthless, whilst the evidence for others is convincing. Here is the meeting-point of orthodoxy and scientific criticism. The latter separates the miracles into two classes—those for which the evidence is worthless or defective, and which we consequently cast aside, and those for which the evidence is convincing, and which we assert with renewed confidence.

And now the argument advances to its fourth, and final, stage. The neo-Anglicans assert that in a truly wonderful way the miracles which are found to stand the critical test are precisely those, and practically comprise all those, which traditional orthodoxy has looked upon as essential, or even important, and that orthodoxy emerges from its trial triumphant in its old integrity.

This is a fair statement of the neo-Anglican case generally; and now comes the question of what these miracles are, which are thus reaffirmed and offered to us on this new critical basis. We have seen that Mr. Whitworth and the Bishop of Worcester comprise amongst them, at all events, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; and I said that these, in addition to the miracle of the Incarnation, were the only miracles that the Bishop was not prepared to discard. This, however, is the one which, of all my original statements,

Mr. Smith and the Bishop seem to resent most. The Bishop, Mr. Smith says, believes in many more miracles than these. Now for having under-estimated the number of the Bishop's beliefs—though I only spoke of those which he held to be essential—I am very sorry, and in honourable amend for my error, I will add that I suspected that I must have done so shortly after my original article was written. I came accidentally across a passage in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, describing the Bishop's beliefs with regard to the Lord's Supper. The Bishop believes—so the writer asserts—that whenever the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is celebrated, a sacrifice simultaneously takes place on some actual table in Heaven. If the Bishop, who is presumably a believer in modern astronomy, can really harbour a geocentric fancy like this, I see no reason why he should not believe anything.

Now, as I have said already, the personal beliefs of the Bishop are not, except incidentally, any part of what I am seeking to discuss. Still, in order to have something definite to go upon, we will here take his personal beliefs as a starting-point, and I will deal with them again in the light thrown on them by Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of them; but he specially emphasises several in addition to the primary miracles, my omission of which is, according to him, the most 'disagreeable' of all my 'fictions'; and for our present purpose these will be quite sufficient. They are beliefs in an actual aboriginal fall of man; in the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, which the Bishop seems to refer to in his latest charge as specifically illustrative of the 'creative' power of Christ; and in an actual casting out of actual living devils—which last belief, presumably, carries with it a belief in the Temptation in the wilderness by the supreme Devil in person. We will, then, take these various beliefs in order, dealing with those which are admittedly the most fundamental last, namely, those which Mr. Whitworth calls the miracles of the divine Personality; and with regard to all of them let me remind the reader that the crucial question before us is this, and only this: not does the Bishop believe in these miracles; but are other people who accept his critical premisses, who are cognisant of the fact that there are other traditional beliefs which in accordance with these premisses he himself rejects, and who also compare with his own the conclusions of his brother clerics, likely to follow him in his acceptance of the beliefs now immediately before us?

#### IV

CONCLUSIONS WHICH NEO-ANGLICANS DRAW FROM THEIR OWN PREMISES. THEY CANNOT AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES. WILL ANY-ONE ELSE FOLLOW THEM?

Let us remember, then, that all these particular miracles are avowedly accepted by the Bishop, whilst a number of others are rejected by him,

on the ground that there is for these sound historical evidence, which in the case of the rest is wanting. Let us see, bearing this in mind, what the Bishop has to tell us about the Fall.

The only historical evidence that such an event took place is contained in certain Hebrew writings which were accepted when the Bishop was a boy as 'the very utterance of the Eternal Himself.' This evidence the Bishop frankly dismisses as a late patchwork of discrepant Oriental myths, in which it would be idle to look for anything like literal history; and yet in spite of all this, as Mr. Smith is careful to urge on me, the Bishop elaborates a doctrine of his own, that an event which did not happen at the only date ever assigned to it, happened a million, or perhaps a hundred million, years before, when a pair, or perhaps several pairs, of missing links, whom he calls 'anthropoid animals,' received an 'inbreathing' of some new 'spiritual capacity,' which they at once proceeded to misuse; 'and from this pair or group,' says the Bishop, 'humanity has its origin. . . . There was, therefore,' he proceeds, 'a fall at the very root of our humanity . . . a lapse into an approximately animal condition.' Now the Bishop, of course, may believe this if he pleases; but is the world in general likely to believe it also? The first widely felt difficulty in the way of orthodox faith arose out of discoveries, admitted by the Bishop himself, which run directly counter to the idea that any such event as the Fall has ever taken place during the existence of the human species; and what has the Bishop done to make this difficulty less, beyond calling Adam and Eve a 'pair of anthropoid animals'? He only makes the story seem more incredible than ever by thus inviting us to compare it with the revelations of evolutionary science.

Let us now turn to the secondary miracles of the Gospels—the Temptation, the loaves and fishes, and the casting out of actual devils. As a preparation for considering the grounds on which he asserts these, let us see how his own application of his own critical method leads him to reject others once thought equally indubitable. The very first miracles recorded in St. Luke's Gospel—and none in any of the Gospels are recorded with greater emphasis—are two appearances of the angel Gabriel, one to Zacharias, the other to the Blessed Virgin. According to the Bishop of Worcester,<sup>4</sup> it is probable that no Gabriel ever appeared at all, but that those concerned received subjective intimations, which shaped themselves to the 'imagination' in 'the outward form of an angel.' Again, in St. Matthew's Gospel three events are mentioned, associated with the most solemn moments of Christ's career, and narrated by the Evangelist with an emphasis no less solemn—namely, the colt beside the ass; the thirty pieces of silver, and the mingling of the gall and vinegar. All these the Bishop invites us to regard as what he calls 'modifications' of fact, intro-

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertations*, p. 21.

duced by the writer 'under the influence of Zechariah and the Psalmist respectively.' What the Bishop means to say with regard to these is that the 'modifying' writer unconsciously invented them in his zeal to show that Christ was really the foretold Messiah; and, as we shall see presently in a yet more important connection, he tells us that the same Evangelist got his facts at second-hand from the memoranda of other writers, and then 'worked them over in his interest in the fulfilment of prophecy.'<sup>5</sup>

If, then, the Bishop rejects such events as the above, and rejects them on the ground that the very strength of an Evangelist's faith may have given him a tendency to imagine and assert what was not, can this criticism stop at the points where the Bishop would have it stop? Mr. Smith's only answer to this question is that the Bishop himself applies it to very few points indeed, and that I traduce him by quoting such exceptions in his teaching as 'samples' of it. I did not quote them as samples of the Bishop's teaching. I quoted them as samples of results to which the Bishop's critical method has led even a man as conservative as the Bishop himself; and I asked whether, when applied by other people, its destructive results will not be more extensive, and be fatal to the beliefs which the Bishop still continues to assert. This is the question which I am asking at the present moment with regard to the three miracles now immediately before us. If alleged fulfilments of Messianic prophecies are modifications of fact piously invented by St. Matthew, and if St. Luke converts subjective impressions into actual appearances of the angel Gabriel, can the Bishop maintain to the satisfaction of the ordinary mind that the Temptation, the multiplication of the loaves, and the casting out of devils were not subjective impressions, or modifications of fact, likewise? This question is almost sufficiently answered by saying that the Bishop cannot even convince Dr. Sanday—the man whom he has singled out as the very type of the reasonable believer. The incidents of the Temptation, Dr. Sanday says, 'are on the face of them not historical.' A true account of the incident of the loaves and fishes would be certainly very different, he says, 'from that which has come down to us'; whilst, though Christ Himself believed that He was casting out actual devils, He believed this only as an 'accommodation' to the erroneous 'ideas of the time,' which ideas 'He assumed as part of His incarnate manhood.' As to the first two miracles nothing more need be said; but as to the third, it must be noted that the Bishop may, and does actually answer, that he believes this on the authority, not of the Evangelists, but of Christ. This answer, however, he has himself deprived of all its weight; for he, too, like Dr. Sanday, has committed himself to the admission that in matters of science Christ was no better informed than His contemporaries, He 'having refrained from the divine mode of consciousness

<sup>5</sup> *Dissertations*, p. 31.

within the sphere of His human life, that He might really enter into human experience.' <sup>6</sup> On what ground, then, is it that the Bishop of Worcester here takes his stand when he differs from Dr. Sanday? His sole ground is a certain arbitrary assumption of his own that Christ, though He so thoroughly refrained from the divine mode of consciousness that His ideas as to science and history were merely those of His contemporaries, and though He was no better able than any Palestinian Rabbi to distinguish the errors in the Old Testament from the truth, yet allowed Himself an interval of omniscience, and 'taught positively' in His character of God, when He spoke about 'good, and still more about bad spirits.' <sup>7</sup> Thus He allowed Himself to be in human error when He believed that Jonah was swallowed up by the whale; but when He believed that a legion of devils had got into one man, and were begging Him for permission to transfer themselves to a herd of pigs, He was then believing and speaking as the Eternal Word and Wisdom.

Now will such reasoning as this compel any ordinary man to agree with the Bishop rather than with Dr. Sanday, and to place the alleged casting out of devils in any other category than that which the Bishop himself assigns to the appearances of the angel Gabriel, and the standing of the colt beside the ass? That the Bishop is personally convinced by it I do not for a moment question; but even he, as to the secondary miracles, expresses himself with a certain hesitation. In especial it may be noted that in his revised version of the Fall, as quoted by Mr. Smith, he completely eviscerates the old orthodox doctrine, which was that the sin of Adam was transmitted to mankind as an inheritance, by substituting the statement that after it had been once committed, each succeeding generation 'repeated, reiterated, and renewed it.' The Bishop, in short, though he has convinced himself, has convinced himself with difficulty. Leading divines even of his own immediate party he has been unable to convince at all; and outside his party, but still within the Anglican fold, we have grave Evangelicals rejecting the Fall altogether. When, then, we find that the secondary miracles of orthodoxy are so widely questioned, and so unconvincingly defended by those even whose office proclaims them devout Christians, the ordinary man will, firstly, be led to assume that the secondary miracles are being given up altogether, the primary ones being alone vouched for; and, secondly, to ask whether, when tried by the same tests, the primary miracles will fare any better than the secondary ones.

Let us now turn to the primary miracles, and see. We will take the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and the Ascension first, and we will lastly go on to the root-miracle—that of the Incarnation itself.

All the believable miracles pertaining to miraculous Christianity are, let me repeat, defended by neo-Anglican orthodoxy on two

<sup>6</sup> *Dissertations*, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

grounds. In the first place, they are antecedently likely, and in the second place the documentary evidence for their actual occurrence is convincing; and to the primary miracles both these assertions are held to be applicable in a pre-eminent and exceptional degree. As to the secondary miracles, the antecedent likelihood is general; as to the primary miracles it is specific. However strong may be the evidence for any of the secondary miracles, that for the primary is immeasurably stronger.

Now, assuming for the moment the alleged antecedent likelihood, let us take the question of the documentary evidence first. Even those who make most of its strength admit that it contains difficulties and discrepancies; but these, they say, are small and unimportant. Is this so? Let us begin with the Virgin Birth. I said that the Bishop of Worcester, in a very important connection, admitted that one of the Evangelists had 'worked over' his material in order to introduce imaginary fulfilments of prophecies. He was alluding to St. Matthew's account of the miraculous birth of Christ. If the reader will refer to my previous article, he will see that, according to the Bishop of Worcester, St. Luke's account has been 'worked over' in a very similar way, and that in order to invest the evidence with even the aspect of history he has to invent a whole chapter of apocryphal gospel for himself. As to the value of this excursion into a kind of apologetical fairyland, it will be enough to refer, as I have done previously, to the effect of the Bishop's arguments on his own friends. On Dr. Sanday they have had so little effect that the 'immeasurably strong' evidence leaves him with this reflection—that, whether the Virgin Birth was really a fact or no, God, at all events, willed that we should take it for a fact once. Let us now turn to Mr. Whitworth. He wisely avoids the Bishop's line of argument altogether. If Christ was God, he says, His birth must have been, miraculous somehow. 'What particular form the necessary miracle took is of quite secondary consideration.' It is true that St. John, who was, *par excellence*, the Evangelist of the incarnate Godhead, does not say that the Incarnation was accomplished by means of a virgin birth, but 'at least he does not suggest any other way'; and, finally, says Mr. Whitworth, by way of making everything easy, the Virgin Birth 'was not a physiological fact' at all.\* Is the ordinary

\* It would be difficult to imagine a more striking illustration than this of the instinctive shrinking of the modern professor of orthodoxy from anything like a definite issue. If the orthodox doctrine were that Christ was born without any human parents at all, Mr. Whitworth's language might pass; but the precise point contended for is that His birth took place by means of the Virgin's womb, which God 'did not abhor.' The miracle, therefore, which all the Churches assert, was either a physiological fact, or it was nothing. It no more failed to be a physiological fact because an element of miracle was contained in it, than the Resurrection, for the same reason, failed to be a physical fact. But the physical reality of the Resurrection is just what Mr. Whitworth's school maintain with such vehemence in opposition to the doctrines of Canon Henson. What, then, does Mr. Whitworth mean when he



man likely, in a medley of opinions such as these, to find any signs that the evidence for the Virgin Birth, as given in the Gospels and tested by neo-Anglican methods, is 'immeasurably strong,' or that it has any strength whatever?

And what of the evidences for the Resurrection—the bodily resurrection from a sepulchre whose stone had been rolled away—for the Bishop of Worcester will hear of nothing less? In so far as we are concerned with the purely documentary evidences, which cannot be dissociated from the accounts of the Crucifixion and the burial, I must content myself with saying that they contain a number of notorious discrepancies, which anyone can verify for himself who studies his New Testament. They are not of a kind that could be easily summarised here. But the case of the Ascension, which is, in the opinion of the orthodox, closely bound up with the Resurrection, and stands on the same footing, is very much simpler. Of this stupendous event, of which St. John says absolutely nothing, there are two definite accounts, which are capable of being compared sharply. According to one of them, it took place on the same day as the Resurrection, at a spot close to Jerusalem. According to the other, it took place a number of weeks afterwards, in a locality which, measured by the time then taken in reaching it, was farther off from Jerusalem than Vienna now is from Brighton.

Let the Bishop and others believe in this event if they please. I am not here arguing myself that it did not actually take place. I wish at the present moment to insist only on this—that when ordinary men have learnt from the Bishop and his friends that the Evangelists, instead of being writers supernaturally informed and guided, got their information from fragments of pre-existing material, which they 'worked over' in the interest of preconceived ideas, ordinary men will regard the documentary evidence for the Ascension, just as they will that for the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection, as being in itself not only not strong, but worthless. We will now turn to a far more important question, and ask whether the deficiencies of this evidence, when taken on its own merits, are made up for by the antecedent likelihood of the events.

At first sight it seems reasonable to suppose that such may be the case. The moral appeal made by Christ's personality to the human consciousness—to the consciousness of Paul, for example—is one of the most interesting facts of history; and in what thinkers like Mr. Whitworth say about it there is a great deal with which everybody must frankly agree. Thus it is perfectly intelligible that this moral appeal having been made, those who experienced it should

denies any physiological reality to the miracle of the Virgin Birth? It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he means nothing whatever, except that he shrinks from putting to himself in a plain form a belief which, nevertheless, he is determined not to deny.

be led on to the conviction that He who made it must be more than human—must be divine. It is equally intelligible that, when this conviction has been reached, miracles in connection with such a being become antecedently probable. We may also go farther and admit that, in the case of Christ, the three miracles of His Birth, Resurrection, and Ascension naturally suggested themselves to believers in a specific and inevitable way. Indeed, the position of the neo-Anglicans is here much stronger than they see it to be ; but it is precisely its strength that for them renders it valueless. For in proportion as these miracles are such as to suggest themselves naturally to the imagination, the ordinary mind will at once draw the inference that the natural imagination, and that alone, was their origin ; and when we turn to the case of other religious teachers, this inference will tend to become a certainty. In the case of Buddha, just as in the case of Christ, the moral appeal came first ; then the belief that the teacher was the incarnation of the Supreme Principle ; then the belief that, like Christ, he, too, was born of a virgin. The antecedent probability of the virgin birth of Buddha is, for the neo-Anglicans, a proof not that it was a fact, but that it was a fable. Can they wonder if others, whom they have taught to criticise the Gospels, apply the same argument to the Virgin Birth of Christ ? The neo-Anglican argument, in short, instead of affording a foundation for any particular faith, is, on the contrary, an instrument of general scepticism. Its destructive power, moreover, increases every day—and for the following reason. While the antecedent probability of the three great Christian miracles was so great in the past as to account for the rise of a belief in them, even their antecedent probability is now rapidly disappearing. It was easy enough for men to believe in the Resurrection of Christ when Herod, who certainly was not a type of faith, anticipated the belief of the disciples, in assuming Him to be the risen Baptist. Antecedent probabilities are very different now ; and if we turn to the Virgin Birth and the Ascension, we find not so much an evanescence of the old probabilities as an inversion of them. As Archdeacon Wilberforce has pointed out, in a passage already quoted by me, the probability of the Ascension and even its meaning depended on, and have passed away with, the old geocentric astronomy ; and another clergyman, Mr. Inge,<sup>9</sup> gives utterance to the same truth :

The difficulties now felt as to miracles are [so he says] these : (1) They are unlikely ; (2) They are unmeaning. We should not expect *a priori* that the Incarnate Logos would be born without a human father, that he would suspend his own laws during his sojourn on earth, or that he would resuscitate his human body and remove it into the sky.

In other words, these great Christian miracles, which, as the

Bishop of Worcester and Mr. Whitworth urge, once possessed so strong an antecedent probability that this fact alone will account for the rise of a belief in them, are now, to a growing number of minds, even within the Church itself, rapidly coming to be recognised as unlikely and meaningless, and the primary miracles are going the way of the secondary. This is partly the result of a general acceptance of the principles of which the Bishop of Worcester is one of the most prominent exponents, and partly the result of a general growth of knowledge which the Bishop's own use of his principles is utterly powerless to resist.

It still remains for us to consider the root-miracle of the Incarnation. I will not pause to ask why that subjective experience, which was of no value in attesting the superhuman nature of Buddha, should be accepted as indubitable evidence of the superhuman nature of Christ. I will merely call attention to the fact that our neo-Anglican teachers, starting from this premiss, are themselves ceasing to be able to draw from it the old conclusions. Nor does what I am going to say apply to neo-Anglicans only. It applies equally to men like Professors Harnack and Sabatier, and to liberal Catholics, such as the Abbé Loloisy and Baron F. von Hugel. All these thinkers have come to the same conclusion, that, if principles like the Bishop of Worcester's are to be applied to the interpretation of the Gospels, our conception of the divine character of Christ must, in one respect at all events, undergo a profound change. We can no longer regard His incarnation of the Godhead as complete. We must regard Him, says the Bishop of Worcester, as 'having refrained from the divine mode of consciousness' to such an extent that His knowledge, in many respects, was no better than an ignorant man's. I do not know how far the Bishop may realise the scope of this admission; but, as other thinkers have shown, who are no less devout than he, it compels us to recognise that Christ was not only ignorant of many things, but was actually subject to very serious delusions—chief amongst these being the delusion that His own second coming would be immediate. Such being the case, as Baron F. von Hugel observes, the question has to be faced of how, under these conditions, Christ could have had any intention of founding an earthly Church. With his own answer as a Catholic we are not here concerned, nor with what might be the answer of the Bishop of Worcester either. It is enough to point out that, to a growing number of minds, these admissions will be a proof that even within the Church itself the very belief in the Godhead of Christ is at last beginning to disintegrate.

It remains for me now to touch on one farther point which will exhibit what I have said before in a yet more vivid light. This is the general character which the neo-Anglican school ascribe to the Bible as a book which they continue to call 'inspired.'

## V

## NEO-ANGLICANS AND AN INSPIRED BIBLE

I have reserved the discussion of this point till now, because the manner in which the neo-Anglican party, whilst rejecting with scorn the doctrine that the Bible is infallible, still insist on calling it inspired, is a type of the hopeless and utterly artificial character of their attempts to reconcile their beliefs generally with their principles. I will take three explicit statements as to this subject by the Bishop of Worcester, Mr. Whitworth, and Mr. Illingworth (in *Lux Mundi*) respectively. 'The inspiration of the Old Testament,' says the Bishop,<sup>8</sup> 'lies in the (racial) point of view. It is that everything is presented to us as illustrating God's dealings with man, God's judgment on sin, His gradual delimitation of a chosen race.' In the same way Mr. Whitworth says of the New Testament, 'It is a Christian literature . . . a literature which reveals the convictions of the first followers of Christ, as infallibly as the Elizabethan literature exhibits the beliefs of the Elizabethan age.' The Bible, according to Mr. Illingworth,<sup>9</sup> is a vehicle of revelation, just as 'all other great teachers, of whatever kind, are vehicles of revelation, each in his proper sphere, and we accept their verified conclusions as divinely true; while we reject them the moment they transgress their proper limits, as thereby convicted of unsound thinking, and thereby deprived of the divine assistance which was the secret of their previous success.' Of his meaning here he gives Lord Bacon as an example. •

Let us begin with Mr. Illingworth. Mr. Illingworth is a writer who claims to be taken seriously. I know of one passage, at all events, in which he shows himself as one of the clearest and most courageous thinkers that the Church of England has produced. We will take him seriously here. If the above passage then has any definite meaning, its statements must form part of some definite system of philosophy. According to this philosophy, true things are of two kinds—things which are *merely* true, and things which are *divinely* true. Unless all true news is revelation, true news is of two kinds—that which gives us *ascertained* facts, and that which gives us *revealed* facts; and unless nobody without inspiration can discover anything at all, a man like Bacon, when dealing with science or history, discovers facts by two different processes. He discovers some by the use of his normal faculties; he discovers others, and presumably all that are important, by some added 'divine assistance' which is the sole 'secret of his success.' Now, is it possible to attach to these statements any intelligible meaning? If it is, let Mr. Illingworth show us by examples how facts that are *merely* true differ from facts that are *divinely* true.

<sup>8</sup> *Lux Mundi*, p. 344.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 198.

Let him show us how facts that are 'revelations' in his own Pickwickian sense differ from facts that are revelations in the newspaper or law-court sense. Let him publish a polychrome edition of Lord Bacon's writings, printing those parts in black which were due to Bacon's natural faculties; those parts in red which represented the divine assistance; and those parts in yellow which represented not merely his natural blunders, but the fact that the divine assistance had become a minus quantity. Since, according to Mr. Illingworth, the assisted and the unassisted passages can be discriminated by the unassisted process of ordinary subsequent verification, this task, if his philosophy is sound, ought to present no difficulties. It is obvious, however, the moment we take it closely, that his whole argument resolves itself into a piece of confused jargon—the result of a hopeless effort on the part of a gifted man to retain for the old doctrine that the Bible is veritably inspired something of the old prestige of which his principles have entirely emptied it.

Let us see if the Bishop of Worcester and Mr. Whitworth can do better. Their way of putting the matter is at any rate plainer than Mr. Illingworth's. Biblical inspiration, they say, is inspiration at second-hand. What was really inspired was the life of the Jewish nation, and the life of the first generation or first two generations of Christians. The Old Testament is inspired because it is a literary mirror of the former; the New Testament is inspired because it is a literary mirror of the latter. The blessed word 'inspired' is thus smuggled back somehow, and Mr. Whitworth, in a touchingly ingenious way, brings back the blessed word 'infallibility' also. The Bible is infallible because, like the Elizabethan literature, it infallibly represents the circumstances under which its various books were composed. Now, granting all this, what do we get as the upshot of it? We get a Bible that is infallible, but a Bible that is infallible in an antiquarian sense only. It shows us what the Jews believed and felt, and what the early Christians believed and felt; and this the Bishop and his friends invite us to regard as inspired. But do we, in this way, get a body of Scriptures to which the Church of England, as the Bishop says, can continue to 'make a strenuous appeal'? He might as well, if we substitute Elizabethan literature for the Biblical, say that we test our knowledge of Roman and English history by strenuous appeals to the historical plays of Shakespeare. The Church to teach, the Bible to prove—that is the Bishop's motto. Mommsen, Green, and Freeman to teach, Coriolanus and Henry VIII. to prove—that is its equivalent. Shakespeare, no doubt, may have believed certain things; the question is, do *we* believe them? The Jews and early Christians may have believed certain things; the question is, do *we*, for that reason, believe them too? A strenuous appeal to the Old Testament shows us that the Jews believed in the six days of creation. A strenuous appeal to the New Testament shows us that the early

Christians, and Christ Himself, believed that the second advent was going to take place immediately. The Bishop rejects the first of these beliefs for himself; events have disposed of the second belief for him. What good do we get, then, from the infallibility and inspiration of the Bible, when it is infallible only because it infallibly reflects the opinions of a nation and a community whose 'inspiration' did nothing to protect it from mixing up truth with error? Mr. Whitworth himself seems to feel that his case, when put thus, is not quite satisfactory; for after he has formulated the above doctrine of inspiration, he supplements it on another page with a doctrine altogether different. He there indicates that Biblical inspiration consists in the fact 'that the Holy Ghost moved the authors to undertake their work'; but since he goes on to insist that when once the Holy Ghost had done this, he gave the authors no farther help, it will be felt that Mr. Whitworth has hardly improved his case by tacking on an end to his argument which has no connection with the beginning of it.

It may well be asked how high-principled and educated men can have allowed themselves to flounder into this quagmire of feeble sophistries. The most obvious answer is that they have bound themselves to support a conclusion not logically compatible with their premisses, and that they must do so at all costs; but there is another answer also of a much more important kind, which is this. Though their theories and statements, as they stand, are altogether untenable, there is at the bottom of them an element of profound truth. The Old Testament is a literature representing a peculiar people. The New Testament is a literature representing a nascent community; and the respective characters of this people and this community are amongst the most important factors in the history of human progress. But just as the Bible can no longer be looked on as inerrant except as a reflection of the beliefs of those amongst whom its books were written, so have the beliefs themselves no other inerrancy than that of symbols or hieroglyphics representing the development of man's inner nature. In other words, the whole miraculous system of Christianity is no more true in the old sense than the Bible is 'inspired' in the old sense. Such is the conclusion to which neo-Anglicanism logically leads; but this is the conclusion which neo-Anglicans will not draw. Some religion, no doubt, may be deducible from these principles, to which the name of Christianity might, without impropriety, be transferred; but such a religion, whatever it might turn out to be, would not be the Christianity of the Creeds and the Church of England liturgy. It would not be the Christianity which the neo-Anglicans are endeavouring to defend.

Whether this latter form of Christianity be really true or false it has been no proper part of my present business to discuss. What I sought to point out in my first article, and what I have sought to

emphasise and illustrate in greater detail here, is that, if the critical principles of neo-Anglicanism are accepted, it is inevitable that, to an increasing degree, the ordinary educated public will reject the miraculous doctrines of Anglican orthodoxy altogether; and, since the Church services are solemn affirmations of these doctrines, this public, in growing numbers, will decline to take any part in them, and will be content to let our modern Flamens have 'their service quaint' to themselves.

W. H. MALLOCK.

## HYMNS—'ANCIENT' AND "MODERN"

These are Thy glorious works, Parent of good,  
Almighty! Thine this universal frame,  
Thus wondrous fair: Thyself how wondrous then!

SUCH are the opening words of the splendid morning hymn which Milton puts into the mouths of our first parents in their sinless Paradise, 'when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' A poet's dream, perchance; yet we can hardly refuse to believe that a song not unlike this burst from the hearts of the first beings who on this globe of ours found themselves with eyes to see the glories of Nature, with intellects to soar through realms of space, and with souls to adore the All-Father who had made them lords of that fair earth.

Nor do any records of old belie such imaginings. In all we find the same recognition of an all-creating First Cause, the same appeal for protection against evil, the same aspiration of the spirit towards reunion with the central flame from which its divine spark was kindled.

Then from adoration of the Spirit of the Cosmos the bard of old passes to the glorification of the divine in man, and as he chants the deeds of demigods and heroes the hymn proper merges into the epic:

First hymn they the Father  
Of all things; and then  
The Rest of Immortals,  
The Action of men.

It is, however, the hymn, and not the epic, which we have here to consider.

It would be hard to decide between the relative antiquity of the sacred verses which have descended to us. The worshippers of ancient Egypt have left their ritual chants on the papyri guarded by their dead, while in the libraries of Babylonia are found clay tablets showing the kinship of their devotion to that of their Hebrew brothers.

The Vedic hymns emerge from the primal mists of Indian history; while the devotees of Zoroaster hardly hesitate to claim that the Gâthas, or first hymns of his followers, date from ten or fifteen hundred



years before Christ, and that the copies still existing are amongst the earliest inscribed on parchment.

Says the Gâtha :

The Almighty numbers our words,  
Deeds done aforetime remembering ;  
He knoweth what shall be hereafter,  
To us shall it be as He willeth.

The Vedic hymns, praising the Almighty in His countless revelations of Himself in Nature, still have the underlying instinct of unity. ' Who is the God,' say they, ' to whom we shall offer sacrifice ? ' And the answer comes :

He who gives breath, He who gives strength, whose command all the bright gods revere, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death . . .

He who by His sun first looked even over the waters which held power, and generated the sacrifice—He who alone is God above all gods.

And why should we hesitate to hold these hymns as addressed to the God of Abraham when St. Paul claims for the Eternal the song of his own fellow-countryman ? Aratus was born in Cilicia about 260 years before Christ, and he began his ' Phenomena ' with the famous invocation from which the Apostle quoted when addressing the philosophers at Athens. It has been thus rendered : <sup>1</sup>

Let us begin from God. Let every mortal raise  
His grateful voice to tune God's endless praise.  
God fills the heaven—the earth—the sea—the air :  
We feel His spirit moving here, and everywhere.  
*And we His offspring are.* He ever good  
Daily provides for man his daily food. . . .  
To Him—the First—the Last—all homage yield,  
Our Father—Wonderful—our Help—our Shield.

We must not linger over the countless songs, choral, dramatic, and didactic, addressed to the Power recognised as Alpha and Omega by so-called Pagans, but rather hasten on to the Christian era.

Though the early Christians doubtless took the first sacred songs used in their services from the Hebrews, the name ' hymn ' is the Greek ' hymnos,' and no special distinction seems to have been drawn between the ' psalms and hymns ' which St. Paul recommended to the Church.

Many references to hymns used in religious services are found in the early Fathers, and tradition says that Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom about 107 A.D., introduced antiphonal singing into the Church of Antioch after a vision of angels who were thus glorifying the Almighty.

Tertullian describes the ' Agapæ,' or love-feasts, of his day, and says that after hand-washing and bringing in lights, each man was invited

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. Lamb. He, however, translates ' Dios ' ' Jove.'

to come forward and sing verses of praise either from Holy Scripture or of his own composition. It is not recorded whether a limit was put to the length or frequency of any individual poet's performance!

Translations of some of these very early hymns are sung in our day, notably the 'Gloria in excelsis' in our Communion service. This was originally a Greek morning hymn, dating at least from the fourth and possibly from the second century. It was subsequently translated into Latin and imported into the Roman liturgy. Unfortunately hymnody could not remain untainted by theological controversy, but fell a prey to the disputes of Arius and Athanasius. Early in the fourth century the latter had rebuked his rival for certain hymns by which he had endeavoured to popularise his doctrines. Towards the close of the same century the defeated Arians, though still numerous in Constantinople, were allowed no place of worship within the city walls. They avenged themselves by assembling at sunset on Saturdays, Sundays, and great festivals, and, gathering in porticos and other places of public resort, they sang all night songs expressing their own views, and often adding taunts and insults to the orthodox. Chrysostom, who was then bishop, was not to be outdone. At the expense of the Empress Eudoxia, who was then his friend, he organised counter-processions, with hymns, silver crosses, wax tapers, and other spectacular attractions. As a natural consequence riots ensued, there was bloodshed on both sides, and, the Empress's chief eunuch being injured, public singing by Arians was suppressed by edict. Nevertheless, the custom of nocturnal hymn-singing on special occasions, though introduced in this stormy manner, was continued in the Church.

Hymns were extremely popular in the Eastern Church before they made their way to the Western communities. The Arian disputes played their part here also. St. Augustine tells us that when Justina, mother of the Emperor Valentinian, who favoured these heretics, wished to remove Bishop Ambrose from his see, devout people assembled to protect him, and kept guard in the church. 'Then it was first appointed that, after the manner of the Eastern churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should grow weary and faint through sorrow, which custom has ever since been retained, and has been followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world.' Ambrose was himself a distinguished writer of Latin hymns; and tradition attributes to him the authorship of the *Te Deum*.

From this time onwards hymns appropriate to the canonical hours, to the ecclesiastical fasts and festivals, to commemorations of saints, and to other offices of the Church rapidly multiplied, and were collected in the various breviaries used in different dioceses and religious houses by the authority of bishops or ecclesiastical superiors.

At the time of the Reformation, when the old Latin service-books were revised, translated, and adapted to the requirements of the

English Church, little provision was made for the musical tastes of congregations. The 'Veni Creator' in the Ordination services, and the creeds and canticles in the daily prayers and at Holy Communion, might be 'said or sung'; but nothing was definitely ordered to replace the hymns in the old breviaries.

Luther, fond of music, and well acquainted with popular taste, had taken care to make full provision of hymns in the vulgar tongue for German Protestants; and Cranmer appears to have made some attempt to follow his example, and to introduce English hymns into the services of the Reformed Anglican Church; but before the Prayer-book took its present form a new fashion in hymnody had arisen.

Clement Marot, a servant of the French King, Francis the First, with the aid of a youth called Theodore Beza, translated the Psalms of David into French verse; and these verses, dedicated to the French King and to the ladies of France, and set to cheerful tunes, became exceedingly popular. Calvin promptly perceived that metrical translations from the words of the Bible were more conducive to the spread of Reformation doctrines than versions of Latin hymns, and seizing upon Marot's Psalter appended it to his catechism, while it was with equal promptitude interdicted by the Roman Catholic priesthood. The example set in France was followed in England. Thomas Sternhold began a translation of the Psalms, which was continued by John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman, who added, amongst others, the ever-famous 'Old Hundredth.' The work was carried on by English refugees at Geneva during the Marian persecution, and brought into use in England after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. As many as six thousand persons are described as singing together from its pages, after sermons at St. Paul's Cross, with thrilling effect.

Queen Elizabeth, by an injunction issued in the first year of her reign, after allowing the use of 'a modest and distinct song in all parts of the common prayer of the Church, so that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing,' proceeds to permit, 'for the comforting of such that delight in music,' the singing of 'a hymn or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God' at the beginning or end either of Morning or Evening Prayer, 'in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised,' always providing that the sense of the hymn may be 'understood and perceived.' This injunction, and the insertion, a hundred years later, of the words in the rubric after the third collect at Morning and Evening Prayer, 'in quires and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem,' are generally considered to be the only authorities for singing metrical hymns whose words are not taken from Holy Scripture.

How far the metrical version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins was regularly authorised has often been debated. It certainly claimed such authority. I possess a copy printed in 1629 'for

the Companie of Stationers,' bearing on its title-page the words 'Cum privilegio Regis Regali,' and stating that it is

Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after sermons: and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballades: which tend onely to the nourishing of vice and corrupting of youth.

This copy of the Psalms and metrical versions of the Canticles is also enriched 'with apt notes to sing them withall,' and has some quaint little hymns which are omitted in later copies of the collection. The 'New Version,' made by William the Third's chaplain, Dr. Brady, and the poet laureate, Nahum Tate, was published with an Order in Council dated the 3rd of December, 1696, permitting it 'to be used in all churches, chapels, and congregations as shall think fit to receive the same'; and in May 1698 the Bishop of London—Dr. Compton—recommends it as 'a work done with so much judgment and ingenuity' as he is persuaded 'may take off that unhappy objection which has hitherto lain against the singing psalms.'

What 'that unhappy objection' may have been is not stated, but it is clear that the new version never entirely displaced the old in popular estimation. So late as 1852 copies of the Prayer-book were published with both versions appended, though others of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exist, some with the old and some with the new version only.

A German, Charles Moritz, who travelled in England in 1782, gives an interesting account of a Sunday spent in the village of Nettlebed. Having borrowed a Prayer-book from the landlord of his inn, he studied it during breakfast, and comments as follows: .

It being called a prayer-book, rather than, like ours, a hymn-book, arises from the nature of the English service, which is composed very little of singing, and almost entirely of praying. The Psalms of David, however, are here translated into English verse, and are generally printed at the end of English prayer-books.

The service began at half-past nine, and the village boys were drawn up 'as if they had been recruits to be drilled,' to salute the parson, who arrived on horseback. They are described as 'well-looking, healthy boys, neat and decently dressed, with their hair cut short and combed on the forehead, according to the English fashion. Their bosoms were open, and the white frills of their shirts turned back on each side.'

The English service, Moritz thinks, must be very fatiguing to the minister, so large a part falling to his share. Before the sermon there was a little stir, several musical instruments appeared, and the clerk said, in a loud voice: 'Let us sing, to the praise and glory of God,

the forty-seventh psalm.' This, in the old version, which was probably heard by our traveller, begins :

Ye people all, with one accord, clap hands and eke rejoice,  
Be glad and sing unto the Lord with sweet and pleasant voice.

The tunes, he says, 'were particularly lively and cheerful, though at the same time sufficiently grave and uncommonly interesting.' English church music, he declares, often affected him even to tears.

In the afternoon there was no service; the young people, however, went to church and there sang some few psalms. Others of the congregation were also present. This was conducted with so much decorum that I could hardly help considering it as actually a kind of church service.

—a guarded statement in which one may safely concur! Moritz was so delighted with this peaceful village that when the time came to depart he could hardly tear himself away.

Reference has been made to the hymns printed at the end of the old version, some of which were omitted in later editions, while others took their place. In like manner Tate and Brady published hymns and translations of the canticles in a supplement to their version sanctioned by Queen Anne; and the favourite 'While shepherds watched their flocks' is said to have been written by Tate himself. 'Hark! the herald-angels,' however, which appears in all the nineteenth-century editions of this supplement, must have been added later, probably after the publication of Wesley's hymns in 1779. The publishers of these supplementary hymns seem to have arranged the order in which they should be printed, and to have made additions from time to time, without troubling themselves about official sanction of any kind. Nevertheless, custom, or a hazy recollection of Orders in Council, evidently in popular opinion extended to the supplements the ægis cast over the metrical versions, and some persons of an older generation still recollect a kind of uneasy feeling which prevailed when hymns from other collections made their way into churches. These unauthorised hymnals appear to have come into partial use seventy or eighty years ago. Bishop Heber's widow published in 1827 a collection of hymns for Church seasons, written by her husband, with the addition of several by Milman and others, and in so doing she expressed the hope that they might be generally adopted for congregational use. Others followed, and many, like myself, may remember when it was customary to sing one metrical psalm and one hymn in the course of a service.

In 1861 the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* appeared, and three years later the compilers were able to state that 350,000 copies had already been sold, while it was lately announced that the sales of the various editions had reached forty millions. The *Hymnal Companion*, first published in 1870, has also obtained wide popularity, especially in churches where the doctrinal tone of *Hymns Ancient and*

*Modern* is considered too high. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was even earlier in the field, having issued a collection of hymns in 1852, which, in its later form of *Psalms and Hymns*, is still obtainable. For over thirty years, however, the Society has also published its well-known collection called *Church Hymns*, of which an entirely new edition was issued in 1903.

Before considering the hymnology of the present day we may quote the opinion of the late Lord Selborne recorded in his excellent article on 'Hymns' in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Speaking of the numerous collections then issued by various religious denominations for their own congregations, and of those which, though devoid of official authority, had become popular in the English Church, he wrote :

In these more recent collections an improved standard of taste has become generally apparent. There is a larger and more liberal admission of good hymns from all sources than might have been expected from the jealousy, so often felt by churches, parties and denominations, of everything which does not bear their own mint-mark ; a considerable (perhaps too large) use of translations, especially from the Latin ; and an increased (though not as yet sufficient) scrupulousness about tampering with the text of other men's work.

This liberal admission of hymns not bearing exclusive mint-marks is still striking in the hymnals of divers religious bodies, as is shown by a somewhat close examination of the following eight representative books : The new edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* ; the latest edition of the *Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer* ; the *Church Hymns* of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; the *Methodist Hymn-book*, issued last June by a committee of the English Wesleyan Conference in conjunction with other Methodist bodies in England and Australasia ; the *Congregational Church Hymnal* ; the *Church Hymnary*, authorised for use by the Church of Scotland and allied Presbyterian bodies in Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies ; the *Church Hymnal*, authorised by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland ; and the authorised *Hymnal* of the Episcopal Church of America.

No fewer than sixty-seven hymns have been found in *all* eight books, three more in seven books, but not in the Scotch Hymnary. 'There is a fountain' is omitted from *Church Hymns*. No translation of 'Dies Iræ' appears in the Congregational collection, but the hymn is included, either in Walter Scott's or in Irons' version, in all the others ; while two favourite hymns, Heber's 'Brightest and best' and Dr. Sears' 'It came upon the midnight clear,' are excluded only from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Had time permitted, further search would have doubtless proved that many more hymns are common to the majority of these hymnals, if not to all ; but it is not unreasonable to take these seventy-four (all of which are included in the Irish, American, and Wesleyan collections) as fairly representing the preference of the

English-speaking peoples, and they are certainly varied in origin, and sentiment.

Six are by Charles Wesley, five by Bishop Heber, four by Dr. Watts; Cowper, Bonar, and H. Lyte are each responsible for three, and two apiece come from Bishop Ken, Charlotte Elliot, Mrs. Alexander, the Rev. S. J. Stone, and C. Dix. One hymn, 'Through the night of doubt and sorrow,' is translated from the Danish; another, 'Guide me, O Thou great Redeemer,' was written in Welsh by the Rev. W. Williams, and turned into English by the author with the help of P. Williams; while eight are translations from old Greek and Latin hymns. 'Dies Iræ' has already been noted: the other seven (included in all eight collections) are 'Art thou weary?' and 'The day is past and over,' from the Greek; 'All glory, laud, and honour,' 'Jerusalem the golden,' and 'Jesu, the very thought' from the Latin (these five being chiefly translated by the Rev. J. M. Neale), and the well-known Latin hymns 'Adeste fideles' and 'Veni Creator,' the latter said by tradition to have been written by Charlemagne.

The remaining thirty favourites are original English hymns by various authors of the last three centuries, from R. Baxter, born in 1615, who wrote 'Lord, it belongs not to my care,' to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, the present Rector of Lew Trenchard, who has stirred so many hearts with his 'Onward, Christian soldiers.' Though it must be noted that the compilers of these different hymnals have not always hesitated to 'tamper with the text,' or else to select from several current versions the one best suited to their particular shades of theology, we may still rejoice that so many great thoughts expressed in melodious words have found favour in shrines thus diverse, and that the lines of Lowell have been once more justified:

Moravian hymn and Roman chant  
In one devotion blend,  
To speak the soul's eternal want  
Of Him, the inmost friend;  
One prayer soars cleansed with martyr fire,  
One choked with sinner's tears,  
In heaven both meet in one desire,  
And God one music hears.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was peculiarly fortunate in the composition of the committee which served for six years in preparing the new edition of *Church Hymns*. Among those who from time to time assisted in this arduous task the names of Dr. Bright, Dr. Walsham How, Dr. Julian, and Mr. Palgrave are in themselves a guarantee of the high standard, devotional and poetical, maintained in the volume. Exceptionally good is the selection of children's hymns; and the committee throughout their work seem to have borne in mind the memorandum of Dr. Bright quoted in the preface: 'I do not think that the original texts ought to be deemed

sacrosanct, but the alteration ought to be done with a very careful hand, and only under conditions which make it practically necessary.'

The Wesleyan or Methodist Hymn-book has a very interesting ancestry. We are told in the preface to the present volume that John Wesley's first compilation was printed in Georgia in 1737, and was followed by several others in which various changes were effected. In 1779 Wesley wrote his famous preface for the hymn-book published in London, which was intended for general use amongst his congregations, and of this book the present revised version claims to be the 'lineal descendant.' It is an exhaustive collection, containing no fewer than 981 hymns, for the most part well adapted to the ends which Wesley desired to attain by Poetry 'as the handmaid of Piety'; these are raising or quickening the spirit of devotion, confirming faith, enlivening hope, kindling and increasing love to God and man. Here and there are lines which sound rather strange to modern ears; but these are no doubt preserved as a tribute to old associations.

The Congregational Hymn-book contains most of the well-known hymns of the Church Universal, but it strikes occasionally an original note, as in a hymn intended to be sung 'Before a Parliamentary Election,' which petitions:

The heat of party strife abate,  
And teach us how to choose  
Good men and wise to guide the State,  
The evil to refuse.

One cannot help fearing that the 'intention' with which such a hymn would be sung in most congregations would not be unanimous!

Two beautiful hymns may be noted as almost peculiar to this collection: 'Christ to the young man said,' written by Longfellow for his brother's ordination, and 'In the field with their flocks abiding,' by Dean Farrar.

The Scotch, American, and Irish collections have each peculiar merits, and attention may well be drawn to hymns especially written by Mrs. Alexander for the last-named book. One of these, 'The breast-plate of St. Patrick,' is adapted from an old Irish hymn, and is a gem of which the Church of Ireland may well be proud. As it is little known to English readers, the quotation of one verse may be permitted:

I bind this day to me for ever,  
By pow'r of faith, Christ's Incarnation;  
His baptism in Jordan river;  
His death on Cross for my salvation;  
His bursting from the spiced tomb;  
His riding up the heav'nly way;  
His coming at the day of doom;  
I bind unto myself to-day.

We have now to consider what steps the compilers of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* have taken to keep that widely known volume



in the forefront of hymnals competing for the favour of English Churchmen.

No better tribute to its hold upon popular affection could be found than the chorus of protest which arose upon the mere rumour that its contents had been tampered with ; few were willing to concede the simple fact that it is the property of a body of private individuals, and not of the Church as a whole. Granting, however, to the fullest extent that the compilers are within their legal and moral rights in adding, removing, and altering hymns at their own discretion, the public have an equal right to criticise freely the treatment of a volume endeared to thousands by long association ; and should they find that its character is materially deteriorated by such treatment, they can either demand that the old book should be still supplied to them (which it is rumoured will be done), or, failing this, congregations will certainly desire the substitution of some more congenial hymnal in their public services.

We may consider the work in two portions : the translations from old breviaries and monkish authors, and the selection of original compositions. It has already been noted that Cranmer's intention to introduce English hymns, including translations from the ancient and mediæval service-books, was largely superseded by the introduction of metrical psalms. The 'Veni Creator,' nevertheless, kept its place in the Ordination service, and many English hymns, without being translations, were evidently influenced by the ancient verses. Concurrently with the Tractarian attempt to revive the discipline and usages of the mediæval Church, came increased interest in its hymnody, and many translations from Greek and Latin originals were made by the Rev. J. M. Neale, the Rev. E. Caswall, and others.

A number of these, varying in merit, were included in the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and those which, like 'Jerusalem the golden' and 'Hark ! a thrilling voice is sounding,' added poetic beauty to devotional sentiment, and soon justly made their way into the affections of the people. Others, whatever may have been their merit in their classical garb, were almost disregarded, and might have been omitted in the new edition without exciting a single protest. It is hardly too much to say that these very compositions appear to have been those which have received the most devoted attention from the present compilers, who tell us, no doubt with perfect truth, that 'immense labour has been spent on improving the translations.' One can almost see these earnest students toiling with pen and paper, discussing minute points of scholarship, comparing their versions word by word and line by line, till they produce, not a song of praise nor a cry of penitence, but a sixth-form exercise corrected by a conscientious master. They have been digging in a mine instead of tending a garden.

Take, for instance, 'Veni Redemptor gentium.' How often was it sung in the former translation, and how far is the present version suited for use in an ordinary congregation ?

It would be difficult to conceive a choir practising the new version of ‘*A solis ortus cardine*’—‘From east to west, from shore to shore’; but the most extraordinary fate has befallen a rather pretty hymn from the Paris Breviary, ‘*Divine crescebas Puer.*’ This was efficiently rendered in the former book by the Rev. J. Chandler, the translation of the fourth verse being not devoid of beauty :

He whom the choirs of angels praise,  
Bearing each dread decree,  
His earthly parents now obeys  
In deep humility.

The compilers, however, espied a fault either in the theology or the accuracy of these words, and with ‘immense labour’ evolved the following in their place :

He at whose word swift angels fly,  
His dread commands to bear,  
Obeys in deep humility  
A simple carpenter.

Comment is surely superfluous.

It were a thankless task to collect further instances of the lack of lyric inspiration, of clumsy diction, and of failures in rhyme and rhythm in what may be called the ‘classical side’ of the new book. We can only note with sorrow that in her excursions through these pages Piety seems to have discarded her ‘handmaid’ Poetry, and to have enlisted in her stead that clerkly retainer Scholarship, and we may be thankful that a certain number of translations have been left untouched by the hand of the reviser.

It is harder to discuss the original compositions included in the new book, as the power of hymns over the mind of man is largely influenced by association. There are hymns which we repeated as children, and whose words became dear to us almost before we grasped their meaning; hymns which, sung by the village choir, brought to our childish faith visions of a happy land not far removed from the pleasant meadows which we crossed on our way to church; hymns which in the perplexities of youth whispered their messages of hope, of warning, of encouragement; hymns which ever remain to us as echoes of the gladness of the wedding-day or the mournful shadows of the tomb. There are the triumphant strains with which we greeted Christmas and Easter, and the solemn requiem with which we watched by Calvary.

As we glance through the new book and compare it with the volume so familiar to thousands during the past forty years, the thought cannot but arise that the changes have been made by men who have lost touch to a great extent with human sentiment, or who, in their anxiety to enforce Church doctrines, have forgotten the old couplet :

A verse may find him who a sermon flies,  
And turn delight into a sacrifice.

How else can we explain the omission of 'O Paradise! O Paradise!' whose loss is lamented by numbers of men and women who seem to have clung to it as 'the Lord's song in a strange land?' What induced the excision of 'Now, beloved Lord, Thy soul resigning'? and of Heber's hymn, instinct with poetry, 'When through the torn sail the wild tempest is streaming'? Almost stranger than the omissions are the curious changes made in hymns added and retained. The compilers have wisely included for the first time Heber's beautiful 'There was joy in heaven'; but why alter the closing lines? 'The sheep that went astray' is more dramatic and more true to Scripture than 'The soul that went astray,' and the whole quatrain, as the author wrote it, is more consonant with the preceding verses. There is seldom an excuse for changing original words—certainly not those of a true poet like Bishop Heber.

'Outside a city wall,' for Mrs. Alexander's 'Without a city wall,' in 'There is a green hill,' is another unpardonable alteration.

The crowning sin in the new edition is, however, the reversion to the original 'Hark how all the welkin rings,' which has been the occasion of so remarkable a burst of indignation. Consecrated by the usage of over a hundred years, 'Hark! the herald-angels' had surely become a heritage in the Christian Church with which no man should have lightly interfered. It may be noted that this is the opening line of the hymn in the Methodist Hymn-book, and we need hardly be more Wesleyan than the Wesleys. The defences put forward for the change are remarkable. One of the compilers is reported to have said that 'herald-angels' was incorrect, as one angel was the herald and the others only joined in afterwards. If this purist had ever heard a proclamation by several heralds he might have discovered that one generally makes the announcement and his companions blow trumpets or otherwise express concurrence. But such an argument is akin to that of the Middle Ages concerning the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle.

One or two hymns, such as 'Crossing the bar' and 'Alone Thou trodd'st the winepress,' are welcome additions, but it is impossible to contend that the average of the newcomers is high, and this is the more to be regretted when there are so many fine hymns which have never found a place in the collection. To mention only two or three, there are Dean Milman's 'Bound upon the accursed tree' and 'Brother, thou art gone before us,' Addison's 'The spacious firmament on high,' and a spirited hymn by Charles Wesley:

Christ the Lord is risen to-day,  
Sons of men and angels say.

The revised volume is supposed to be especially strong in mission hymns; presumably it was too much to expect that room should be found for 'There were ninety and nine' and 'Jesus of Nazareth

passeth by.' Both these are in Sankey's collection; the former is included in *Church Hymns* and other hymnals.

Since two or three hymns for time of war find place in the new *Ancient and Modern*, what a grand addition would be Rudyard Kipling's 'Hymn before Action'! The verse 'Ah, Mary pierced with sorrow' must needs be omitted, but how true to the spirit of the Christian Warrior are the lines—

From panic, pride, and terror,  
Revenge that knows no rein,  
Light haste and lawless error,  
Protect us yet again.  
Cloak Thou our undeserving,  
Make firm the shuddering breath,  
In silence and unswerving  
To taste Thy lesser death!

It is stated in the preface to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* that in 1892 negotiations took place between the compilers and Convocation, probably with a view to giving some kind of *imprimatur* to a volume founded on this collection. It is remarkable that, alone among the principal Reformed Churches of the Empire, the Church of England has no sort of authorised hymnal. In this it somewhat resembles the Roman Church in this country, whose collections of English hymns are used (chiefly at Benediction) at the discretion of individual clergy.

Twelve years spent in revision seem hardly to have rendered *Hymns Ancient and Modern* more fitted in popular estimation for official recognition, and the dignitaries of our Church may shrink from the almost impossible task of deciding what hymnal is best suited to the varying requirements of their flocks in both hemispheres. They will certainly be disinclined to comply with such demands as that of the Editor of the *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern*, who wishes for a book containing, first, all the ancient and mediæval hymns of the Universal Church; and secondly, selected modern hymns, but only those which have 'issued from a Churchman's heart and head.' It is not quite clear whether Wesley's would be excluded under this rule, but it is certain that 'Nearer, my God, to Thee,' written by a Baptist, and 'There's a friend for little children,' by a Plymouth Brother, would be ostracised.

These questions, however, may be safely left to the discretion of our spiritual Fathers. In conclusion we would ask,—What is a true hymn? Is it not the voice of man's heart speaking to the Eternal Spirit in adoration, in supplication, in humble faith, expressed in words the most simple, yet the most dignified, the most musical, and the most truthful which the mind of man can conceive and the spirit which is in man inspire?

M. E. JERSEY.

*THE CENSUS OF INDIA*

THE counting of the 294,361,056 human beings who live under conditions of every possible variety, climatic, ethnic, and economic, upon 1,766,597 square miles of the surface of the globe, extending from the Persian frontier to the Chinese march, from the passes of eternal snow, which look down upon our troops on their march towards Lhasa to the burning jungles of Burma and Malabar, is indeed an operation which can only be described as stupendous. The thing was done, however, for the third time, on the 1st of March 1901 by Mr. H. H. Risley, C.I.E., and his assistants, and in a fashion more complete and comprehensive than upon the two former occasions, for in the present census new ground, such as the Beluchistan Agency and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, is included. The convict isles were entrusted to the very competent hands of Sir Richard Temple—the second—whose aid is specially acknowledged by Mr. Risley, and Mr. Gait, to the latter of whom, after the official promotion of the former, it fell to write most of the report but lately received in England. In this volume is condensed and abstracted information collected at a cost of only 173,000*l.* by 9800 charge superintendents, 122,000 supervisors, and no fewer than 1,325,000 enumerators.

Mr. Risley points out, as any fair-minded man might of many of our successes in India, but as few do, that the Indian census is pre-eminently the work of the Indian people, and that if they withheld their unpaid services the undertaking would be financially impracticable. As a fact, they entered, with painstaking zeal and complete trust in their administrators, into an operation they might, and in some cases still do, regard with suspicion. Mr. Burn, of the formerly North-West, but now United, Provinces, relates how the zeal of one volunteer enumerator impelled him to turn his official instructions into verses, the acquisition of which by heart on the part of his colleagues should, he urged, have been made obligatory. Not otherwise after all did a learned Fellow of the Linnæan Society try to induce a class of boys, of whom I was one, to learn the beggarly elements of botany by putting into rhyme the characteristics of the chief natural orders and the polygamous pursuits of the plants! Another conscientious and accurate enumerator expounded the case of a deaf

and dumb lunatic wandering alone in the moonlight of the fateful night, yet bound by the order of the Sirkar (Government) to fill up sixteen columns of a schedule! A proof of the universal trust now prevailing that no one will, so far as lies within the power of the British Government to prevent it, be allowed to suffer from actual want of food, is found in the fact that the wildest tribe in India, the Bheels, submitted for the first time to enumeration. They were impressed with the argument that no food might be available in the next famine for those who were not counted—in short, that the Sirkar would not know for how many guests to prepare.

A separate slip, like that used in the Bavarian census of 1891, with the necessary modifications and additions, was for the first time introduced with very happy results by Mr. Risley, the colour, shape, and size differing in order to indicate the religion, sex, civil condition, and so on, of the individual to whom it related. The Brahmin gentleman, who very capably conducted the census of the State of Mysore, further had printed on the slips he issued pictorial busts indicative of the information required in each case. A widower, for instance, to the credit of the class, was represented with his head bare, and without his caste mark, both signs of extreme grief and deep mourning. Of the twenty-three Superintendents of Census in Provinces and States, five were Indian gentlemen, and the reports submitted by those in charge in Cochin, Mysore, and Travancore, three of the most beautiful and well-administered States, are deservedly singled out for commendation by Mr. Risley.

No part of India is more interesting from an administrative or historical point of view than the 678,393 square miles, or 38 per cent. of the whole, still under native government, more or less independent according to the more or less scrupulous adherence by the local Government, or Resident concerned, to the treaty obligations existing in each particular case. Native India, though over a third of the area, supports less than a quarter of the population. Of the provinces, the largest, Bengal, is bigger than Sweden, and has a population of 78,500,000. Of the native States, the most extensive, Hyderabad, is greater in size than Great Britain, and has a population exceeding 11,000,000. Yet the average population of the whole Empire is but 167 per square mile, ranging from eleven in Beluchistan to 1828 in the crowded coast country of Cochin. Density of population is all a matter of irrigation and rainfall; but whether it be dense or sparse, no less than nine-tenths of the whole dwell in villages, though the town population has risen by 7·3 per cent. since last census; while the total population is but 2·4 greater, this net advance being made up of an increase of 4·8 in British, and a decrease of 5·4 in native, India. It is satisfactory to learn that the rise in the urban population is due, not to the drift of famine and plague subjects to the towns, but to the growth of cotton and jute mills, railway works,

and other large industries. Nor is the small proportion of the urban population so remarkable, in a country in which two-thirds of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, when it is remembered that the growth of cities is of comparatively recent date in England, wherein a third, and in Germany and France, wherein a sixth and a seventh respectively, of the inhabitants, are massed in large towns. The development of trade in India in the twentieth, may yet have the effect it had in Europe in the nineteenth, century.

Indeed at the present day Calcutta, with its 1,106,738, is one of the dozen largest cities in the world. Bombay, with 776,000, shows a decrease of 6 per cent. since last census, though there is ground for thinking that, but for the temporary absence of many of the inhabitants owing to fear of plague, there would at least have been no decline from the figures of 1891 to register. Yet the Census Commissioner calculates the total mortality from plague to have been a third of a million, and the result of the famine to have been the loss of a million and a half, the drop in Bombay British territory being 2 per cent., and in the Bombay native States 14 per cent. The Commissioner also confirms the view expressed in the *Times* review of the Indian Famine Report, that immense numbers of refugees from native States came across the border in extreme destitution to seek relief in British territory, upon the death-rate of which such immigration had a very great effect. The same phenomenon occurred in the Central Provinces, and the Census Commissioner, like the Famine Commission, finds that relief operations were in the native States far less successful than in British India. Indeed, no impartial observer, however his natural bias inclined, as mine does, towards the administrative methods of the native States, could arrive at any other conclusion.

Mr. Gait shows very clearly that though an increase of 2·4 per cent. is below what is considered to be a fair increment, yet that the high rates of 13 and 23 per cent. of the previous counts were due to extraordinary circumstances, and cannot be looked upon in any way as normal; nor does he omit to contrast, as I have, and as any one acquainted with Indian history would, the effects of famines in ante-British days, when a half, a third, or a fourth of the population affected was wiped out of existence, with the results of recent widespread failures of crops, which have only availed to reduce the normal increase of the population. This in itself is sufficiently regrettable, not only on humanitarian grounds, but because India, in spite of oft-repeated allegations to the contrary, is not an overcrowded continent. Indeed, two-thirds of the population occupy a quarter, while the remaining third is scattered over three-quarters of the area, which in fact is quite sparsely inhabited, and nowhere contains as many as two hundred persons to the square mile.

There was always *place aux dames* in the nineteenth century, and will be after, but while in Europe they always outnumbered the

males, in India they continue to be thirty-seven short in every thousand; and though in the lower classes women work hard, they are found to be less liable than men to succumb to the effects of insufficient food and disease. The breadwinner is the one who goes down in bad times. The Commissioner errs, I think, in describing the Nayars of the Malabar Coast as polyandrous, if indeed polyandry implies, as I understand, the possession of more than one husband at one and the same time. Nor, if Mr. Gait had enjoyed the privilege of living among the Nayars, would he have accused them of an 'excess of females.' The most beautiful women in India, if numerous, could never be 'excessive.' It is interesting, if unexpected, to learn that enforced widowhood, where it prevails, however wearisome and monotonous, induces greater longevity; not surprising to be told that no conclusions of any value can be drawn from the consideration of so many figures, as to the causes which influence sex at birth; and altogether natural to find that in districts wherein women are scarce, relaxation of the restrictions upon marriage inevitably follows. At a moment when the Licensing Bill provokes strong feeling even in the placid atmosphere of the House of Lords, it is worthy of note that the Census Superintendents, who devoted particular attention to the subject, were unable to trace any connection between the consumption of drugs and spirits and the prevalence of insanity, and that the facts seem 'wholly opposed' to the theory sometimes absurdly propounded, to the effect that enforced widowhood and life in the zenana are prejudicial to the mental equilibrium. Ophthalmia, on the other hand, can be attributed with some certainty to the want of forest and greenery, to heat and drought, and to the pungent smoke of the fires over which the people cook their food. 'As vinegar to the teeth, and as smoke to the eyes,' wrote the Psalmist, of an Eastern country, the conditions of which are in many respects exactly reproduced to this day in India.

Then as to leprosy, the *Times* has recently published letters by Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson, who is convinced that this dread disease is caused by the consumption of rotten or insufficiently cured fish, but is driven to argue that it is more common among Roman Catholics because their Church makes obligatory the consumption of fish—which of course it does not—among people who either eat fish alone as their animal food, in which case the Church slightly reduces the amount of such food consumed, or eat neither fish nor flesh, in which case no such rule can have the effect of occasionally substituting the one for the other.

The Census Commissioner quotes the finding of the Leprosy Commission that no article of diet can be held to cause the disease, remarks that no one has found the bacillus of leprosy in fish or elsewhere, and notes that three inland provinces, wherein the consumption of fish is very small, actually head the leprosy list. The Bengal



census lends, moreover, no support to the theory that the quality rather than the quantity of fish eaten disposes towards this disease. All that the census goes to prove is that leprosy is most common, as sanitation and education are least prevalent, among the lower castes of the people.

On education volumes might be, and indeed are being, written, but for census purposes a literate is one who can both read and write, and of such there are fifty-three per thousand in India. One male in ten, and one woman in 144, possess these qualifications; and of the great provinces Burma, owing to the system of indigenous free education given by Buddhist priests, comes first, while Madras heads the list for India proper, standing above Bombay, on behalf of which Sir William Lee-Warner at the Society of Arts put forward her usual plea for first place, a claim I ventured on the spot to contest. Had he claimed that Bombay, as usual, spent most in proportion to the results, the census would have confirmed him. The most Hindu part is the most educated part, of India; and the native States of Cochin and Travancore, the individuality and exclusively Hindu character of which have never by foreign conquest been, and only of late have otherwise been, impaired, occupy a higher place than any British province; Cochin, wherein women are sufficiently free, in respect of females dividing with Burma, wherein women are as free as air, the honours of the first place. These facts should be remembered when we are told again and again with weary reiteration that all that is best in India came in with the Aryans, whoever and whatever they were, and whensoever they arrived in that family procession described with such precision by the late Professor Max Müller and by other theorists, to whom the concrete facts of a census must come as a cold douche to a heated imagination.

It is where the Mongoloid and Dravidian elements prevail that the people are most Indian and least ignorant. The Indian order of merit for literacy runs thus: Parsees, Jains, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Hindus, Mohammedans, and Animists. It is an amusing and instructive commentary on this class list, headed by a people famous throughout Asia and Europe for humanity and enlightenment, that a recent work published in England, called *Love and Life Behind the Purdah*, was more or less accepted as a picture of present Indian conditions. In one of these tales a Parsee high priest was represented as beating to death—with some reluctance it is true, but as by law and duty bound—his devoted wife, by way of punishment for the pollution she had incurred by suffering their child to expire in her arms in a first-class carriage on the return from a hill station to Bombay. Which is, as the *Times* reviewer remarked, much as if an English bishop were represented as taking the Twopenny Tube to the City in order to burn his wife at Smithfield for a breach of the ceremonial law of Moses. It would be hypocritical to add that among Parsees and

Brahmins, to which classes the tales chiefly relate, a purdah would possess no more significance than a common curtain to anyone anywhere, or a sunshade in July to a lady in London.

Such stories indeed mislead, and from them little or nothing can be gleaned of the true conditions and occupations of our distant fellow-subjects, most of whom, as above stated, stick tight to the land. That nearly three millions, however, are now employed in exotic occupations, such as railways, telegraphs, cotton and jute mills, coal and gold mines, tea and coffee gardens, is no small matter.

A diversity of occupations and relief from the overstocked calling of an agriculturist—

Pater ipse colendi  
Haud facilem esse viam voluit,

however fascinating Virgil and Lord Burghclere make it—in short, new industries being the crying want of India, how well does the tea industry deserve of the country—that occupation to the existence of which we owe it—not only that we drink wholesome and delicious tea in these islands, but that the otherwise backward province of Assam is a glorious exception to the rule that nine poor Indians out of ten follow one or another of a dozen or more simple and overstocked callings!

In recollection of the recent controversy regarding the conditions of the coolies on the tea estates in Assam it is necessary to notice Mr. Gait's statement to the effect that these previously poverty-stricken immigrants prosper greatly in their new home, where many of them settle for good, and whither many of those, who have gone back to their own country, eventually return. The ex-tea garden coolies hold ninety thousand acres of land under Government, and thus help materially to colonise this fertile but backward province. The new Labour Act of 1901 does not work well, and it is devoutly to be hoped that in the near future the planters, who are hard hit by labour difficulties and the excessive and repeated increase of the taxation on tea, may in the not far-distant future be able to get labour immigrants, not under contracts, but free, as the Ceylon planters get them from Madras. *A propos*, Ceylon, which is proud of its position as the premier Crown Colony, will hardly accept Mr. Gait's description of it, as 'to all intents and purposes an integral part of India, though separately administered by the Colonial Office.' Without South Indian labour, however, there would be little in the colony for the Colonial Office to administer.

In the opinion of the Census Superintendent there are many indications that India is entering on a period of great industrial activity, and in no respect is the advance since 1891 more marked than in the development of the supply of coal, the sufficient local production of which will remove the greatest obstacle to local progress, unless indeed that be the unwillingness of the small capitalist to

invest his savings in joint-stock undertakings. The extension of railways and of irrigation, conspicuously in the Punjab, of mill industries in that province and in Bombay, Bengal, and Madras, and the prosperous gold-mining industry of Mysore—'which has not only provided the labouring classes within the State with remunerative employment and greatly augmented the general prosperity of the people, but has stimulated immigration in a remarkable degree'—the rise of the foreign trade by sea from 130,000,000*l.* to 169,000,000*l.*, of the coasting trade from 52,000,000*l.* to 63,000,000*l.*, of the foreign trade by land from five and a half to over nine millions, the increase in the number of joint-stock companies from 950 to 1366, and of their paid-up capital from 266 to 370 millions, all these are signs and portents of a more prosperous future following a chequered but not unfavourable past.

It will surprise many with fixed ideas on India to learn that nearly four millions of her people are occupied in the provision of animal food, chiefly fish, and that the functional castes have to such an extent abandoned their traditional occupations that only 11 per cent., for instance, of the Brahmins of Madras, and 22 per cent. of the Brahmins of Bombay, follow the calling of priest, even if the term be given a sufficiently wide interpretation to include beggar, student, and astrologer.

The languages of India offer little interest to the English reader. Indeed, from the point of view of official promotion and recognition, no subject to which a servant of the Indian Government can turn his attention is likely to prove less remunerative to himself than a study of any one or more of the 145 distinct languages spoken in British India, though without a good colloquial knowledge of the vernacular, no officer can be other than a stranger to the people whose affairs he pretends to administer, and a tool of the staff of subordinates he affects to control. The highest officers in the Indian official hierarchy are almost always men who have spent their lives in the secretariat, and they are not likely to be reminded by their quinquennial master fresh from England of the supreme importance of qualifications, the lack of which has never impeded their own steady ascent to positions in which they practically dispose of the official fortunes of those who have been aptly described of late as the 'men of the plains.' Perhaps one day it will occur to some head of the administration that these men below—if they can speak the languages understood of the people—know more of, and do more for, the country than the men on the mountains. Then will the district officers get nearer to the people, and there will, in fact, be more of that loyalty to England which some affect to believe surges up in the breasts of multitudinous peoples, who have no reason to believe that any Englishman can address a word to them in a language they comprehend. Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., contributes a very interesting and learned chapter on languages. He groups 220 millions as Indo-

European, eleven millions as Indo-Chinese, and fifty-six millions as Dravidians, gives a much-needed but seldom-heeded warning against basing ethnological theories upon linguistic facts, and against classing languages according to their vocabularies, which is, indeed, like classing men according to their clothes. He agrees with that accomplished Oriental scholar, Sir Charles Lyall, in rejecting the vulgarly received account of the origin of Urdu, which is merely that form of Hindustani which is written in the Persian character, and freely borrows Persian, and in a less degree Arabic, words in its vocabulary.

Among the 145 languages are some possessing only a few hundred words, others rivalling English as Dr. Grierson says, or Russian as I would say, in their copiousness; some in which every word is a monosyllable, others in which some are elongated by agglutination till they run to ten syllables, like *da-pa-l-ocho-akan-tahen-tae-tin-a-e—a* Sontali word meaning 'He who belongs to him who belongs to me will continue letting himself be made to fight.' Some of these divers tongues lack verb and noun, others are as complex and systematic as Greek and Latin. There are no truer words in the whole Census Report than those with which Dr. Grierson concludes his chapter, when he says that 'the true India will never be known till the light of the West has been thrown on the hopes, fears, and beliefs of those counted at the present census, for which an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary.' Thus does the distinguished scientific scholar, with characteristic modesty, admit the usefulness of the ordinary language men; and with any small authority which may attach to one who has served for many years as Government translator and examiner in Persian, Hindustani, Tamil, and Telugu, and has qualified by the high standard in Arabic and passed the Russian interpreter test, I would, as a witness from the administrative rather than from the scholarly standpoint, express my complete concurrence in his view.

Upon the religion of the Hindus much has been written, but more than as much remains to write. Mr. Risley defines as Animists those who seek to conciliate the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than good which reside in primæval forest, crumbling hills, rushing river, and spreading tree, which give its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, and walk abroad in the guise of cholera, cattle disease, and smallpox. Nothing could make clearer a term which defies exact definition, and the sportsman will recall illustrations at will from his association with the tribes of the Indian jungles. I have seen them offer sacrifice that I might meet and slay a big tusker, and propitiate the powers which caused me to miss an ibex looking down from its lofty platform on the forest world below. If, then, Animism is the crudest form of religion, in which magic plays a predominant part, what is Hinduism? Sir Alfred Lyall, indisputably the first living

authority, calls it 'the collection of rites, worships, beliefs, traditions, and mythologies sanctioned by the sacred books and ordinances of the Brahmins and propagated by Brahmanic teaching.' Mr. Risley, seizing upon the all-receptive character of this most catholic of Eastern faiths, which Sir Alfred illustrates more fully in his writings than in his definition, goes on to describe Hinduism as 'Animism transformed by philosophy' or 'magic tempered by metaphysics,' and he instances as examples of the survival of magic pure and simple, the festival upon the recurrence of which every man must worship the implements of his trade or insignia of his vocation. Not only does the soldier then worship his sword—just as before the revolution he did, and practically still does, in Japan—and the cultivator his plough, but the messengers of the public offices of the administration adore the office boxes in which they carry about papers. Of these they construct an altar whereon is placed an inkpot, the emblem of Government, around which are arranged different kinds of stationery tied together with red tape. There are infidels, however, among office messengers, and one of these, a drastic reformer a little in advance of his day, was tried and sentenced a year or more ago for lighting his fire throughout the winter with his office records. Transmigration and Karma are subjects almost too vast to touch upon, but Mr. Risley finds, as I have after long investigation of this subject in many directions in India, that it is no part of the Hindu creed that consciousness continues through the successive lives, at the close of each of which a curtain of forgetfulness is, on the contrary, believed to descend. Thus the doctrine is deprived, in a measure, of the moral aspect which to it would otherwise attach. Of the two practical tests of Hinduism one is found to be the acceptance of the caste system, a doctrine I preached myself at the Society of Arts, to the obvious chagrin of several travelled Hindus, who had necessarily renounced the system and its trammels. In fact, caste and Hinduism are almost convertible terms. As to the particular deity worshipped there is infinite toleration, but the actual religious ideas which underlie the outward ceremonial are fairly uniform. There is one supreme god; a man's future life depends upon his actions in his present state; and the code of morality differs little from the real or ideal standards of other countries. There are major and minor deities. Two small grandchildren of an English lady, who had taught them the importance of prayer, were found one day kneeling beside a sofa and saying 'Please, God, let grandmamma find her spectacles.' The Hindu would invoke a minor deity upon such an occasion. Belief in metempsychosis is general, though not universal. Serpent worship survives, and a good snake shrine is as much an attraction in the case of a house on the Malabar Coast as a garden is in the case of a villa at Hampstead or Harrow. Serpents are, however, most unobtrusive, and unless you walk noiseless and barefooted in the dark, as Hindus

do, snake-bite is a most improbable contingency. Of such Hindus are 70 per cent. of the population, the Mohammedans make 21, the Buddhists and Animists proper 3 each, the Christians 1, and the Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, and Jews 1 per cent. between them. Of course, it is hard to say where Animism ends, and Hinduism and Buddhism begin, but some classification is essential. The Burmese, for instance, are at heart more Animist than Buddhist. The followers of the Prophet have increased since 1891 by 8·9 per cent., compared with an increase of 2·4 per cent. for all India. This is partly due to the chief Mohammedan centres having escaped famine, partly to the fact that marriage among them is attended with fewer difficulties, and partly to their more nourishing and varied diet.

Of the Christians, two-thirds are found in Madras and the neighbouring native States. Of the two-thirds, four-fifths of the Christians in Madras proper are found in the southern districts of that presidency, and in Travancore and Cochin they amount to 25 per cent. of the population. As I have served many years in these British districts, and was British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, I may be allowed to express concurrence with the Madras Census Commissioner, Mr. Francis, when he says that converts are recruited almost entirely from the lowest classes of Hindus, who have little to lose in forsaking the creed of their forefathers, and that, so far from anticipating the general conversion of the population expected in certain quarters, there is, on the contrary, reason to believe that the rate of increase will slowly decline as the limit is approached of those to whom the advantages of espousing Christianity appeal. At the same time the increased supply of missionaries familiar with the vernaculars and with the religion and literature their predecessors have too often affected to despise, and the energy, education, intelligence, and improved status of the native Christians, are factors which it would be equally unjust and erroneous to leave out of account. Nor must it be forgotten that more than half of the Christians in all India belong to the Roman Catholic communion, a church belonging to which is very frequently the only Christian place of worship available for the European in India. In one such on the Malabar Coast I have seen a woman in a white sheet kneeling in the aisle during Divine service to do penance for her frailty, and in all such, of the Syrian rite, probably the nearest approach will be found to the ritual and liturgy of the early Christian Church.

Of all religious ceremonies, that which most affects the growth of a people and the character of a nation is marriage, and nowhere is the holy estate at once so universal as in India, or so fenced about with restrictions. Space allows of brief notice of only one or two aspects of this problem. It is useless to inquire whether or not the sacred texts prohibited the marriage of widows. Considerations of property, of spiritual benefit, of sacramental doctrine, the influence of

hypergamy (or the law which compels a woman to marry in a group of equal or superior rank to her own), and the dread of dangerous and experienced competitors—all these factors lead to the extension of this custom, while the sympathy of the advanced classes with the marriage reform party stops short of practising widow remarriage in their own families. The average Hindu sees no reason for a revolutionary change in a system, the admitted evils of which are the subject of habitual and monumental exaggeration. 'To the masses of the uneducated working classes, widow marriage,' says Mr. Risley, 'is a badge of social degradation.'

Let no one be deceived by any palliation or concealment of this position, such as I think can be detected, even in so excellent a picture of Hindu life as is contained in Mr. R. C. Dutt's novel, *The Lake of Palms*.

In like manner the practice of infant marriage, which would, I predicted in this Review in October 1890, be in no wise affected by British legislation in restraint, has, the Commissioner remarks, 'spread much further and taken root more deeply among the lower classes than its social complement, the prohibition of widow remarriage. Both customs, borrowed from higher castes, are now regarded as paths leading to social distinction.' I do not agree with Mr. Risley in thinking that infant marriage is 'almost universal,' though such a statement may be true of Bengal, or that the lowest classes are those which most resort to it. The authority for these statements is not clear. It is, however, as he says, an innate characteristic of a 'caste system proper,' and it is wholly improbable that legislation will avail to prevent it, if, indeed, such is justifiable in the face of the promise made in the royal proclamation to the people of India when the Government was transferred to the Crown. Mr. Risley expresses no very decided view as to the origin of this custom, which, while it leads to abuses in certain quarters, in others evidently does not produce physical degeneration. The fact, moreover, that, calculating the birth-rate on the number of married women aged fifteen to forty-five, it is found to be higher in England than in India, disposes of the theory that the high birth-rate in the latter country is due to the early age of marriage. If the birth-rate of India is high, so likewise is the death-rate, and the difference between the two is not much more than half what it is in England and Wales. The population, therefore, grows at a far less rapid rate than in Europe—a fact which explodes many an oft-repeated fallacy.

Polygamy is, of course, quite exceptional, though the contrary is believed in Britain. Even Mohammedans rarely take a second wife unless the first is childless, and a Hindu in the like case has to obtain the consent of his caste council. This condition may, however, in many parts of India, be regarded as a counsel of perfection.

The chapter on caste, written by Mr. Risley throughout, is the

last and not the least important of the Census Report. Many an article might be based upon its conclusions and suggestions. The author puts his faith in the measurements and shape of the head and nose, and finds that the finer the latter organ the higher—the broader and coarser that organ, the lower—the accepted order of social precedence. It would be a difficult system to work in Europe, and can only be applied to mankind in the mass, and to races, like those of India, more or less unmixed, and so lending themselves to anthropometrical treatment. Mr. Risley—and his readers on this account, too, may rise up and bless him—declines all discussion of the Aryan controversy, and suggests that the immigrants of the so-called Indo-Aryan type came from Beluchistan before climatic changes had reduced that country to its present sterile state. What most of Seistan once was, what part still is, that formerly may a great or the greater part of Beluchistan have been. The earliest peaceful immigrants who colonised the Punjab took with them their women; the later invaders did not, but intermarried with the indigenous females. Hence the evolution of the Aryo-Dravidian type. In like manner, the Mongoloid and Scythian races, mixing with the Dravidian element, formed Mongolo- and Scytho-Dravidian types. It is not possible here to follow the further elaboration of this thesis. Mr. Risley has been equally enterprising and successful in classifying castes according to social precedence as recognised by Indian public opinion at the present day, with the result that the influence of the traditional system of four original castes was found to be predominant throughout the continent. Everywhere came first the Brahmin; next the castes accepted as representatives of the Kshatriyas or warriors; next the mercantile groups akin to the Vaisyas; lastly, in a more indefinite and less satisfactory sequence, followed the lower castes more or less corresponding with the ideal Sudras. Thus, among Hindus, and Mohammedans alike, foreign descent forms the highest claim to social distinction.

Mr. Risley sees in the Brahminical theory of caste a modified version of the ancient division of society into priests, warriors, cultivators, and artisans of the sacerdotal literature of ancient Persia, but allows that the origin of the system is an insoluble problem. However that may be, it is the bed-rock of Hinduism; and the difficulties of understanding India, her people, religions, habits, and customs experienced in Britain are vastly enhanced by the fact that the Indians who visit England are necessarily the worst possible witnesses in this behalf, and, were they angels from heaven, could not be impartial judges of the merits of systems they have abandoned, of habits and customs they have renounced, and of people by whom they and all their works, however admirable and enterprising, are utterly repudiated.

J. D. REES.



## THE DECLINE OF THE SALON

IN 1765, at a period famous for the wit and brilliancy of its society in the most brilliant capital of Europe, we find Horace Walpole writing from Paris: 'Laughing is as much out of fashion as pantins or bilboquets. Good folks, they have not time to laugh. There is God and the King to be pulled down first, and men and women, one and all, are devoutly employed in the demolition.'

And again: 'Gaiety,' he says, 'whatever it was formerly, is no longer the growth of this country.' Horace Walpole had, as we know, the *entrée* to the most famous salons of that famous day—to the innermost sanctuary of the most exclusive aristocracy of birth and brains alike which has perhaps ever existed. He was the constant guest of those talented ladies who, to quote Sydney Smith, 'violated all the common duties of life and gave very pleasant little suppers.' And that he soon began to enjoy himself exceedingly, in spite of the lack of gaiety, of which he continues somewhat curiously to complain, there is no room to doubt. In spite of those 'pleasant little suppers' his attacks of gout became less frequent, and the British lion, that faithful occupant of every true Englishman's breast, began to roar less loudly at the difference in the manners and customs of the French capital from those of his own. Indeed, the lion—in this case a by no means intractable one—soon lay down to be cajoled and caressed by these charming and witty women, the indelicacy and boldness of whose conversation at first jarred very considerably on the nerves of their English guest. Walpole came from a country where the conversation in the eighteenth century was certainly no whit less coarse, but where the most of it was to be heard in the clubs, from which the feminine element was naturally excluded. In Paris he found no clubs of any social importance; but he found the intellectual life of the country centred in those quiet salons, dimly lighted, innocent of all ostentatious hospitality, where friends met friends evening after evening in closest intercourse and completest comprehension, and where the *Salonière*, from whom emanated a prevailing atmosphere of urbanity, had made a fine art of pleasing. She led the conversation without dominating it, listened with sympathy and intelligence,

concealed her wittiest epigram in subtle flattery, and her keenest criticism in warm encouragement.

Madame Sophie Gay, writing at a later period, maintains, what we can well believe, that to hold a salon successfully was no easy matter. The hostess must have a mind of a high order combined with considerable tact and a power of self-effacement,\* and she must have a decided taste for superiority in every form. Added to this she must have complete repose of manner, a gift obviously less rare in those days than in our own. Birth and fortune are not absolutely essential, but they are desirable. The Salonière should have good looks, but she must not be of an age when her intercourse with the other sex would naturally evoke compliments. Her personality, in fact, must dominate her physical charms. To hold a salon involved some self-sacrifice, for the Salonière had to lead as secluded an existence as the goddess in her temple, sitting at home evening after evening to await her devotees; for never must the altar be found deserted upon which their tribute of devotion was to be laid. She must never stir abroad at night unless it were to attend a Court function or a family gathering of rare importance. Madame Gay, herself a prominent figure in the society of the Restoration and later, observes that the self-imposed slavery of the *grandes dames* of the old *régime*, which consisted in receiving daily and listening to the most brilliant conversationalists in the world, was perhaps less of a *supplice* than some of the social pleasures of her own day!

In any case Horace Walpole was the constant guest of these same great ladies. He admits that he went his own way in truly English fashion, but he began to find Paris extremely agreeable—so agreeable, indeed, that it was with difficulty that he brought himself to leave it for the fogs of his native land. Later, when he had become the absorbing passion of old Madame du Deffand's declining years, we know with what close and sometimes irksome bonds Parisian society was apt to hold him. Already the influence of this vivacious and tyrannical lady made itself felt in his criticisms of her rival Salonières. He pays but a grudging tribute to the amazing 'common-sense' of that wise and clever woman Madame Geoffrin; for had she not incurred the lasting enmity of Madame du Deffand by holding out the hand of friendship to the latter's sometime companion and *protégée*, Mlle. de Lespinasse? Of Mlle. de Lespinasse herself he naturally has little that is favourable to report, though he probably went occasionally to her little salon in the Rue de Belle Chasse, where he would have exchanged views with the most brilliant intellects of the day. Ten years later, indeed, he refers to her in a letter written to his friend H. S. Conway, then in Paris, as a 'pretended *bel esprit*!' a judgment which reads curiously in the light of those other letters which have revealed to us the history of a truly remarkable intelligence, combined with perhaps the most passionate and undisciplined

heart that ever beat. Madame du Deffand was very old and stone-blind when Walpole first became a guest at her little suppers, and he was no doubt attracted by her extraordinary wit and memory, her unerring judgment, and her spirited interest in the thought and literature of the day. And to his hostess this young Englishman of no mean parts represented something new—a fresh escape from that *ennui* which was her consuming terror, and which was probably responsible for the many less creditable episodes in her long and varied career.

Meanwhile Walpole admits that he finds a *douceur* in the society of the women of fashion that captivates him. His admiration of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, the Duchesse de Choiseul, and other great ladies is freely expressed; but, pleasant and hospitable as they all are, he does not apparently find them gay. First impressions, if not always the best, are often instructive, and Walpole's impressions of the tone of Parisian society on his first introduction to it are certainly significant, and are probably not due entirely to the gout or to insular prejudice. 'Several of the women are agreeable,' he writes, 'and some of the men; but the latter are in general vain and ignorant.' In fact he detested the *savants*, the philosophers, the Encyclopædists. 'Every woman,' he complains, 'has one or two planted in her house, and God only knows how they water them!' No doubt the adulation lavished by his old friend upon President Hénault and by all that select *coterie* upon such men as Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and many others, was infinitely tedious to the Englishman, who found their conversation unmitigatedly dull and arid, and was disgusted with their open profession of Atheism. Horace Walpole had to learn that a Frenchman talks his best when the feminine element is not excluded, and perhaps he also had to learn that in congenial company a Frenchman can talk for an almost indefinite number of hours.

'They may be growing wise,' he says, referring to members of a society which, in spite of his criticisms, held him by its charm, 'but the intermediate stage is dulness!' In the light of after events we cannot help wondering how far Walpole realised the cruel wisdom to which all France was growing, due in great measure to that pedantic artificial talk of the Encyclopædists which bored him so consumably. How far did he foresee the terrible harvest which would have to be reaped from the seed so lightly sown amongst the loves and the epigrams of the salons? Was he half unconsciously oppressed by the decadence of a country in which the feminine influence was so paramount? At any rate, we know he was dazzled by the brilliant light of that same feminine influence, the glamour of which we still feel across the horrors of the Revolution and the busy restlessness of the nineteenth century. The moral standard of those wonderful ladies, if they possessed one at all, was not high, but their loves, though undisciplined, were not often light. The objects of their adoration were in some sort officially

recognised. They loved and they hated with equal sincerity and conviction. The intellectual atmosphere of the day, which breathed a spirit of tolerance and liberty, tempted them to throw themselves recklessly along strange paths of which they could not see the end. The philosophy which was talked in so impressive a manner by their encyclopædist lovers taught them to transfer their worship, since worship is the need of every female heart, to these men at whose bidding they had cast off their God and their religion: Alas! at what a price and with what high courage were some of these frail and charming people to pay for their loves and their theories! Meantime for all their wit and elegance they did not laugh—not at least as Horace Walpole understood laughter.

It was just at this date that another salon came into being in which, had he ever frequented it, Walpole would have heard even less of laughter. Madame Necker's salon is one of the most famous in French history, yet it was here that the first death-knell of the salon was sounded. It was not unnatural that the former girl president of the Académie des Eaux at Lausanne should, when opportunity was given her, seek out the lights and leaders of literary thought in Paris. Very soon after her marriage to the great financier a distinguished little circle began to gather round her in the Rue Cléry. M. Necker himself counted for something in the formation of his wife's salon. A rich man's patronage and protection had already been found to be useful to *gens de lettres* and philosophers. Moreover M. Necker in those early days was just what the husband of a Salonière should be. He was present, but he was unobtrusive; a kind and generous host, but not too actively interested in the talk which went on about him. It was the part of the hostess to lead the conversation, to draw out her guests. This, we understand, Madame Necker did with rather too much zeal. Her reception of her friends was, if anything, a little too cordial. It was hardly to be expected that the strenuous daughter of the Swiss pastor who a few months previously had been struggling to earn her bread, should have the repose of manner and the well-bred assurance of the *grandes dames* of Paris, who, even while they criticised, approved and helped to make her salon famous. Madame Necker throughout her life was nervous, excitable, morbidly anxious to do the right thing, and too often said the wrong one. Diderot complained that she persecuted him into attending her salon, and was fatuous enough to mistake the homage which she offered so lavishly to every living writer for tribute to his personal charms. He was not long, however, in finding out his mistake, and was one of the first to bear witness to the extraordinary purity of soul, the chill morality which so offended Grimm, of their mutual hostess. In an age of moral corruption Madame Necker was a faithful and devoted wife and mother. The strength of her religious sentiments was at complete variance with the tone of the society in which she moved, and it speaks much

for the catholicity and width of her intelligence that she felt in no way compelled to exclude the greatest freethinkers of the day from her *entourage*. Buffon and Thomas remained her most intimate friends, and Diderot, in spite of his early protests, continued to represent the encyclopædists in the Rue Cléry in winter, and at the Château of St. Ouen in summer, where even Madame du Deffand came out to sup once a week.

Tactless Madame Necker undoubtedly was, but a kinder and warmer-hearted woman has probably never held a place in the long roll of the *Salonières* of France. Had matters continued in peaceable and orderly fashion, the fame of her salon might have been left to rank with that of Madame Geoffrin, to whom she has been sometimes compared. But this was not to be. The fields were already whitening to the harvest, and those abstract themes, the annihilation of a God and the downfall of a king, which had provided such enjoyable topics of conversation for the encyclopædists, were turning into hard ungraceful facts; and the wife of M. Necker, the popular Controller-General, was the last woman in Paris who could avoid facing them.

Madame Necker's tastes were purely literary: she had no more liking for politics than had old Madame du Deffand herself, who was clever enough to know that politics and society, as society was understood in the salons, could not exist together. When politics step in at the door, mutual confidence, mutual interests, good fellowship, and urbanity are apt to fly out of the window, more especially when the days are evil. Madame Necker's devotion to her husband and her daughter was of a morbidly sensitive and conscientious kind, which gave little enough happiness to herself, and it may be a somewhat tempered satisfaction to its recipients. Her heart undeniably dominated her head, but it was through her intellect that she derived, if unconsciously, her purest pleasures. Of these she was to be in future denied. She shared her husband's power as she shared his banishment, and she was by his side when at the fall of the Bastille he was brought back and conducted in triumph by the mob through the streets of Paris. On his return to power her salon reopened in the Rue Bergère, but the true spirit of the salon, as she and her contemporaries, now mostly dead, had understood it, had gone beyond recall. Madame Necker sighed for the peace and quiet of Coppet, but, it must be added, she was thoroughly dissatisfied when circumstances obliged her to retire thither. Meantime in the Rue Bergère she presided at a political gathering, where M. Necker entirely ceased to hold those admirable qualifications of the husband of a *Salonière*. He became a person of importance in his own house: his plans for the good of his country were discussed and criticised, and distinguished foreigners sought him out. He justly felt that this was no time for the cant of the philosophers, who had already done enough mischief with their talk of freedom and their denial of a God. Literary and

academic questions were henceforth to be in abeyance. Added to this Madame Necker's own position was rapidly usurped by her more famous daughter, to whom politics were as necessary as the air she breathed.

The story of Madame de Staël's three famous salons has passed into history, for there it may truly be said that history was made. Nevertheless, in the true or original conception of the word, Madame de Staël never held a salon at all. To begin with, the time had already gone by for select and intimate gatherings of intimate friends; and, further, this most remarkable and powerful-minded of women had few of the characteristics necessary to a *Salonière*. What, indeed, had she who from the safety and seclusion of her father's house at Coppet raced back to Paris with the cry, 'A Revolution, and I not in it!' in common with the well-bred repose and the equally well-bred courage of those goddesses in their temples? True those same goddesses would travel across Europe to meet their lovers under circumstances which might well make the hardest modern traveller hesitate; but that was a very different thing from throwing themselves into the common herd and the common matters of the day! Madame de Staël was the embodiment of boundless vitality and restless energy. She was herself a product of the thought which had given birth to the Revolution. As a young girl her cry had been for liberty, and her idol that arch-humbler Rousseau. Life and maturity wrought some change in her views, without however modifying their ardour. She was, in fact, no *grande dame*, and, unlike her mother, she had little natural refinement. She was far too busy, too occupied with the big events of the day, with her literary interests, her emotions—for it is undeniable that her heart sometimes ruled her head—to think of refinement. It is noted that she once kept her salon waiting—ye shades of the goddesses!—and that Madame Récamier characteristically stepped into the breach and entertained the company until her arrival. By her own amazing personality she gathered her world-famous circle about her, but she dominated and dictated to it as she would have dominated and dictated to France and to the whole world, had not that other master mind that helped to link the centuries pursued her with relentless persecution. *Ce n'est point un salon, c'est un club*, said Napoleon when, after Benjamin Constant's famous speech on the dawn of tyranny, the conqueror of Italy, suspecting whence it emanated, forcibly closed Madame de Staël's salon of the Consulat and sent its hostess into exile. Probably Napoleon never spoke truer word. That motley gathering could hardly be called a salon where, during the Revolution, Barras complained that every visit cost him a good action, and where Prince Talleyrand, the *toujours ministre*, laid the foundations of his career. It was no salon, again, where plots were hatched and the flag of liberty unfurled and shaken in the very face of the First Consul; nor, as salons were understood in

Madame de Staël's childhood, could the brilliant throng which gathered round her on her triumphant return at the Restoration lay claim to that title. Here Royalists and Republicans, aristocrats and journalists, met and rubbed shoulders with mutual distrust and mutual suspicion. How could confidence flourish when a man felt that his neighbour a few years back would cheerfully have deprived him of his head, or where he walked so weighted with mighty political secrets that he must needs tremble before his fellow guests, and especially before the far-seeing eyes of his hostess? Madame Sophie Gay speaks of the far more important matters that were discussed in the salons of Madame de Staël than in those of previous generations. More important they undoubtedly were, but conversation of world-wide importance does not constitute a salon, and Madame Gay lived too near the times to discriminate between a salon and a political club. The contention remains that one of the most amazing and versatile women the world has ever seen was no *Salonière*.

The harvest had been reaped. Happy indeed were those who had quitted the field before the reapers entered it! France was left shaken to her foundations, but with a new and stronger spirit springing to its birth of virile purpose, if still of stormy and uncertain movement.

One by one those who were left of the old society ventured to return to Paris. Friends met friends, but with what a shadow of death still hanging over them, and with what a haunting sense of personal insecurity! Among the first to creep back when the tide of blood had receded was Pauline de Beaumont. Winged, broken, the 'Swallow,' as she was called by her intimates, had been left to die literally by the roadside when the cart bearing almost every member of her family had rolled on with them to their martyrdom in Paris. Pauline, with her sensitive temperament, seems to have partaken of something of the nature of the swallow in her capacity to skim just above the ground of cruel fact and tragic circumstance. In any case she returned and opened a quiet and unobtrusive salon, very unlike that of her friend Madame de Staël, with Chateaubriand as its hero and Joubert as her protector. Her salon was purely literary, and as such was the most interesting of its day. Here something of the old spirit of trust and confidence lingered amongst the handful of friends who met nightly in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, and combined to distract their hostess from dwelling upon the horrors of the past, and helped one another to look calmly and dispassionately upon the future, with its young hope and ill-defined promise. Politics broke Pauline de Beaumont's friendship with Madame de Staël, since the former became an ardent Bonapartist; but they were not permitted to spoil the tranquillity of her modest salon. A few other equally unobtrusive salons reopened, where an effort was made to maintain the best literary traditions of a former

age. Notable among these was that of Madame d'Houdetot, a sister-in-law of that gay, light-loving Madame d'Epinay, who in her own person represented all the corruption of a country which had required a Revolution for its purification. Madame d'Houdetot will be best remembered as the original of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. She was a friend of Madame Necker's, who probably felt the charm of eternal youth in the woman who to the end of her life could cry, *Le seul être malheureux est celui qui ne peut ni aimer; ni agir, ni mourir*. The Suards, brother and sister, were other literary folk who in these unsettled days took a pleasure in welcoming distinguished men of letters, and especially Englishmen, within their walls.

But it soon became apparent that any salon other than literary or artistic had no longer the vitality to flourish. The Princesse de Poix, who had herself been in such deadly peril during the Terror, and had steadfastly resisted Madame de Staël's efforts to save her, tried to gather about her the remnants of the ancient aristocracy. Madame du Tallien made a similar effort with partial success. But the continuity of social life was broken, and the course of impending events was hardly calculated to restore it. Amusing tales are told of the embarrassing position in which a *grande dame* of society sometimes found herself in the salons of the First Empire. On the one hand, a good Republican would be anxious to confide in her his dissatisfaction with the Emperor. At the same moment some Royalist *émigré*, not recognising her companion, would be trying to make her the recipient of his confidences with regard to the past as well as the present. Surely no previous training had prepared even the ladies of the old régime for such an awkward social predicament.

Napoleon fell in his turn, and under the Restoration an effort, to some extent successful, was made to restore the old spirit of urbanity to the social gatherings of the day.

Much has been written by contemporary biographers of the salons of the Restoration, but it is probable that Madame du Deffand would have found much scope for criticism could she have returned to visit them. *Le glas de la haute société sonne*, said Prince Talleyrand to one of the greater personages of the First Empire, *et le premier coup qui l'a tuée est le mot moderne de 'femme comme il faut.'* The true Salonière had no longer time to exist. The modern spirit of bustle and enterprise had indeed arrived, and arrived to stay. During the Republic society had opened its doors to all and sundry, and had grown much too large and unwieldy a monster to be confined to select and exclusive *coteries*. Madame Ancelot, herself a young woman at the time of the Restoration, speaks of the difficulty of the rising generation in identifying itself with those who had lived and loved under the old régime. The admiration felt by the younger people for these social veterans, who were individually a power, was intense. Their literary and artistic sympathies were identical; but



by what an impassable gulf of experience were they separated! Unity was a thing of the past. Madame Vigée le Brun, the charming court painter of an earlier day, whose love for her art kept her heart and mind eternally young, gathered about her the *débris* of her former aristocratic patrons, and the remnant of the philosophers whose views had gone out of fashion since the publication of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*. Her gatherings were well attended also by the society of the new *régime*; and so crowded were they, it is said, that the Marshals of France not infrequently had to sit on the floor. Nevertheless she could not reanimate what she felt to be the spirit of the old salon, and after the revolution of 1830 she abandoned the attempt. Throughout the political changes and chances which swept over France in the succeeding years, the Government of July, the reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Empire, there was a succession of literary and artistic salons of some note, oases in the busy life of public affairs with which men's minds were most naturally occupied.

Madame Merlin, herself a musician, forbade all reference to politics and entertained her guests with the best music and literature of the day. Madame Girardin, a poet and a daughter of Sophie Gay, failed to keep her salon together because she had herself a weakness for the aristocracy, and she could not persuade either the Orleanists or the Legitimists to meet the journalists and writers who were her regular *habitués*.

The Marquise d'Ormonde, though a daughter of the people, behaved with so much dignity that the doors of the noble Faubourg—how much more exclusive since equality had been proclaimed law!—were thrown open to her, and she succeeded in entertaining a heterogeneous collection of society folk even after the revolution of 1848. But the feminine element was ceasing to have the same importance. Clubs were opening in Paris, and if they never quite assumed the same significance that they hold in London, they certainly provided a common meeting-ground for men who wished to meet the friends of their own sex and to discuss business, politics, or sport. The salon gave a final flicker of life in Madame Récamier's cell in the Abbaye aux Bois. Here, indeed, was a temple slipped accidentally as it were into the nineteenth century, where incense was burnt continually before this goddess of beauty and her hero Chateaubriand. But it was the worship of pure loveliness or, as age advanced, of tact and charm, for Madame Récamier never professed to have intellect or indeed much *esprit*. True all the greater literary lights of the time came to pay their homage in subdued voices in this dimly lit salon, but they did not always return. Perhaps they found Chateaubriand tiresome; for, like many another spoilt lion of a lady's drawing-room, he played with the cat when he was bored, and entirely monopolised the conversation when it pleased him. The fact remains,

however, that Madame Récamier's salon retained to the last a polish, a grace, and a fragrance which most surely owed their birth to the eighteenth century.

*On a tant parlé en France pendant cinquante ans*, complains a writer of the fifties, *que l'on n'y cause presque plus*. And, indeed, had there not been enough to talk about? Sainte-Beuve, in his *Regrets*, laments the spirit of doubt, suspicion, and resentment which had invaded society. While the Reign of Terror lasted, he affirms, there were courage, good sense, and philosophy to be found among the aristocracy, but succeeding revolutions and succeeding governments had totally demoralised all social centres.

The salons are gone, and the old French society, with all that it implied of charm, intellect, and suavity, has gone with them. But they have done their work, and who knows whether out of a fresh century of movement, life, and practical interest, a phoenix shall not arise from the dead ashes of an unrivalled past, which will not wholly have forgotten the best social traditions of its forefathers?

ROSE M. BRADLEY.

## HARA-KIRI: ITS REAL SIGNIFICANCE

HARA-KIRI! The word has been before us, 'of late, at every turn. In translating it the English equivalent is often given as 'disembowelling'—a ghastly term, and, moreover, inappropriate. 'Happy despatch' was formerly the phrase employed; it is, as it seems to me, a far better term, though how that expression originated no one seems to know. The matter itself, to the Western notion, is already not an agreeable one to talk about, but the recent translation of the term makes it worse. It may not be wholly without interest for the reader if I try to explain, though with some diffidence from the very nature of the subject, the true signification of the act, and at the same time endeavour in some degree to account for the sensitiveness displayed by my own country-people at the misapprehensions produced by a wrong translation.

Literally, of course, *hara-kiri* is 'belly-cutting,' and this is the expression in common use, but *kappuku*, or more usually *seppuku*, is the word employed by persons of refinement, the actual meaning, however, being the same as *hara-kiri*. *Seppuku* and *kappuku* are expressions coined from Chinese. There are vigorous Anglo-Saxon terms in use in Great Britain which people of taste often prefer to replace—at afternoon tea, for example—by something, perhaps equally forcible, derived from the Latin. The instance is similar.

*Seppuku* was, in the feudal period, an honourable mode of committing suicide. It was unknown to the Japanese of ancient days, and was a custom which grew with the age of chivalry. With us, in the Far East, to hang oneself is looked upon as the most cowardly of all methods of self-destruction, and drowning oneself or taking poison was deemed to be no better. Even to shoot himself was, in a *samurai*, regarded as a base and ignoble way of shuffling off this mortal coil; it was vulgarly spoken of as *teppo-bara*, [*h* is changed into *b* for euphony], an abbreviation of *teppo-hara-kiri*, in other words *hara-kiri* by means of a gun, though in reality the throat, and not the *hara*, was the usual spot assailed in this case.

There was never an instance, so far as can be traced, of *seppuku* by a female, and the honourable equivalent thereof for a *samurai* lady was death by a stab in the throat from her own dirk, a weapon she

generally carried in her girdle to be used in time of need. Where a Roman dame would in ancient times have plunged her dagger into her own heart, a Japanese heroine preferred to thrust the weapon into her neck, and there is no record of either male or female in Japan ending existence in the fashion that is so often depicted in Western novels, and less frequently, perhaps, in real life.

*Seppuku* was not only a mode of self-despatch, but was prescribed as a form of capital punishment for all of *samurai* rank. • Beheading, and still more hanging, were forms of execution that might not be employed in cases of offenders of the military classes, whose position, even to the last of their existence, merited respect; and when, in very extreme cases, the crime of which a *samurai* had been convicted was heinous enough to deserve exemplary punishment by condemnation to an ignominious death, the culprit was first stripped of his rank and privileges as one of the *samurai* class. No *samurai* was ever to be beheaded; still less to be hanged.

Naturally under such conditions the act of *seppuku* came to be invested with much formality, and cases in which the most elaborate etiquette had to be strictly observed were those when a daimio, i.e. a feudal baron, or *samurai* of particularly high standing, was called upon by the proper authorities to despatch himself in this way in expiation of some political offence. A special commissioner was then sent from the proper quarters to witness the due execution of the sentence, and a *kai-shaku-nin* was chosen to assist the principal in ridding himself of the burden of life. This person was selected by the condemned from the circle of his own immediate relatives, friends, or retainers, and the *kai-shaku-nin*'s office was an honourable one; inasmuch as he was thereby privileged to render a last service to his comrade or chief.

There was always a special apartment or pavilion prepared in which the ceremony had to take place; a particular dress, designed for use only on these melancholy occasions, had to be worn; and the dagger, or short sword, was invariably placed before the seat of the condemned on a clean white tray, raised on legs, termed *sambo*, which in the ordinary way is a kind of wooden stand used for keeping sacrifices offered to the gods, or for some similar solemn purposes. The actual cutting open of the body was not essential, a trifling incision in a horizontal line 6 or 7 inches, or rarely in two lines crossing each other—the more superficial the better, as proof of a light and skilful touch—being ordinarily made, followed by a deep cut in the throat. As a rule, however, immediately after making the incision in the abdomen the condemned made a slight movement of his disengaged left hand, and stretched his neck forward, as signs to the *kai-shaku-nin* to do his office; perceiving which, the latter, who stood by with his sword ready poised, instantly struck off his principal's head.

In Japan there is no need to speak directly of either *hara-kiri* or

*seppuku*, as the euphemism 'ku-sun-go-bu' is often employed,—literally nine inches and a half, which was the proper length of the dagger to be used on these occasions. The weapon was always wrapped in some sheets of pure white paper, only the extreme point being exposed, and it was correct to hold it, when making an incision, in the right hand, not by the handle, but by the middle of the paper-wrapped blade. How to sit, how to bow to the spectators when about to commence the awful task, how to unfold reverently the part of the clothing which covers the upper part of the body, how to wrap up the dagger, and how to make the requisite signal to the *kai-shaku-nin*, were all matters on which the utmost nicety was enjoined, and were part of the instruction which every *samurai* was obliged to receive from the master of military ceremonies. *Hara-kiri*, indeed, was to the *samurai* a matter involving an appalling amount of ceremony. The end of the world-famed 'Forty-eight Ronins' was reached by *seppuku* in the same way; each died by his own hand. They were given in charge of three daimios, in three separate groups, and on the appointed day each group killed themselves simultaneously at an appointed hour, but each individual one after another, in specially erected pavilions provided in the gardens of the Yedo residences of the three barons. The tale so often retailed in popular story-books, that they all committed *seppuku* around the tomb of their avenged lord, is fictitious, though it is true that they all were buried there.

Perhaps the most notable instance of *seppuku* was that which occurred at Sakai, near Osaka, just after the establishment of the new régime in Japan, when a number of young *samurai*, some twenty in all, if I remember rightly, who had attacked the French, were ordered by the Government to expiate their crime in this fashion, in the presence of the French Minister, whose rage it was necessary to appease. He begged that the carnage might stop when eleven had thus closed their careers.

I need scarcely add that this form of punishment has totally disappeared from our laws, as the abandonment of the distinctive privileges of *samurai*, and the assimilation of all classes of the Emperor's subjects in regard to civil rights and punishments, were decreed. But the practice did not wholly cease for some years after the Restoration in 1867, and I well remember that there was a case in 1871, when a nobleman who was indicted for high treason was sentenced to *ji-jin*—literally self-ending—which was the same thing as *seppuku*.

When *seppuku* was purely a voluntary act the formalities were necessarily much curtailed, and very often the person who thus conceived himself condemned by fate's decree retired to some secluded spot, and there slew himself in orthodox fashion, without making known his intention beforehand, and merely announcing his reasons by letters which he left by his side for all to read. The principle, however, was always the same, and it was the *samurai's* main endeavour at the last

to observe due decorum and to conform to the rules in every way that was possible.

There were numerous instances in which men of truly noble soul chose this manner of death. Watanabé Kwazan was one of them. He was councillor to a small daimio, a genuine patriot, and a pioneer advocate of the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse. As a painter, though an amateur only, he stood very high. In 1850, seeing that through his views on the subject of Western civilisation his feudal chieftain was bound to be implicated, and that his own self-extermination would be requisite if his lord was to be preserved from the stigma which then attached to any predilection for Occidental methods, Watanabé hesitated not to commit *seppuku*, and thereby saved his master from any such imputations.

Takano Choyei, a sympathiser and active co-operator with Watanabé, being a well-known physician and Dutch scholar, and Koseki Sanyei, who was also a Dutch scholar and assisted Watanabé by translating Dutch books for him, both died by *seppuku* for the same cause.

Kuruhara Riozo, father of the present Marquis Kido who succeeded to the heritage of the house of Kido after the death of his renowned uncle on the maternal side, and received the honour of a marquisate in memory of his relative's splendid services to the nation, was another instance. Kuruhara was a brave *samurai*. When Nagai Uta, an officer of high rank of Chosiu province, about 1862, advocated the definite opening of the country, Kuruhara sided with him. Circumstances compelled him to show that he had not adopted that view from any base motive, and in the furtherance of this attitude he committed *seppuku*. When he was stationed with the garrison of Uraga, the guarding of which place was entrusted to the Prince of Chosiu at the time of the American advent to the Far East, the present Marquis Ito, then a boy of fourteen, was his subordinate, and when, a few years afterwards, he was despatched to Nagasaki at the head of a group of young *samurai* of Chosiu for the purpose of studying the Dutch system of artillery, young Ito was one of them. Ito was in those days a special favourite of Kuruhara, and knew him well. Ito was almost the first person to rush into the room when Kuruhara died. I have often heard the marquis talking with admiration of Kuruhara, saying what a fine chivalrous character he possessed, and how nobly and with what studied observance of formality he died. To preserve a perfect self-possession at any dread hour is the essence of the *samurai* doctrine. By the bye, Nagai, just mentioned above, was himself one of those who committed *seppuku*. He died thereby at the command of his prince, as a consequence of a political dissension. I may perhaps remark here parenthetically that Japan's evolution of Western civilisation was not attained without it costing her much in blood and treasure.

In former days, sometimes, one committed *hara-kiri* by an over-zeal for some cause which he advocated, merely to demonstrate his sincerity. Earnest as they may be, such cases are, of course, more especially discouraged in our own days and gone out of fashion.

The basis on which *seppuku* was prescribed as a mode of capital punishment for *samurai* was that it was unbecoming the dignity and status of one of the warrior rank that he should be subjected under any circumstances to the rough handling of the common executioner, and therefore, when the deed of *seppuku* was a voluntary one, the root idea was the same, for it was undertaken in order to avoid ignominy, and to prevent the family escutcheon being stained by any act towards which the scornful might afterwards point a finger of derision. All that the *samurai* might ask of his proud race—like Don Cæsar de Bazan in *Maritana*—was ‘to die . . . and not disgrace its ancient chivalry,’ and as the chivalric spirit is still, I am glad to think, ardently cherished in Japan, there are occasions, as the readers of ‘war news’ of the day must have discovered, when it yet seems to some to be appropriate to end their days in the fashion of feudal times, though among private individuals this course is now but very rarely resorted to.

To the Chinese and Koreans *seppuku* is unknown. At the capitulation of Wei-hai-Wei, nine years ago, the Chinese Admiral Ting destroyed himself by smoking an immense quantity of opium. He did this, in accordance with Chinese ideas, to save his men from punishment, and in the eyes of his countrymen it was altogether the act of a hero, and so it was. A Japanese, under like conditions, however, would have died, not by poison, but by *seppuku*. The three Chinese of high rank who had been implicated in the Boxer troubles of 1900, and committed suicide at the command of the Emperor in consequence of the joint demand of the Powers, died either by taking poison or by hanging. If the event had taken place in the former days of Japan, the death would have been also by *seppuku*.

Terrible as it unquestionably was to witness, the act of self-sacrifice was so bound up with the revered traditions of our race that it was shorn in great part of the horrors with which it must seem to readers in the twentieth century to have been invested. Exaggerated and loathsome accounts are even to be met with in popular story-books in Japan, scenes in which the victim is depicted as hurling, in a last effort, his intestines at his enemy, who is supposed to have been looking on—a thing in itself quite impossible under ordinary circumstances—and certainly, if it occurred, altogether exceptional. The incision usually made, as I have shown, was quite superficial, a mere flesh wound; and death was due to the injury inflicted in the throat by the suicide’s own hand, or to the good offices of the *kai-shaku-nin*, whose duty as assistant—the idea is perhaps better conveyed by the term ‘second’ in the case of a duel—it was to remove his principal’s head

with the utmost expedition. Thus to translate *hara-kiri* as disembowelling, or embowelling, is both ghastly and inaccurate in the impression that it leaves on the mind.

Suicide in any form is incompatible with Western notions of right and wrong, and it certainly ought not to be encouraged, though there may be conditions, it would seem to us in the East, when it may be wholly or partially excused.

SHYFMATSU.



## THE CORELESS APPLE

THE coreless apple has at last been produced. It is regarded as 'the world's greatest discovery in horticulture,' and in fruit-growing circles is called 'the wonder of the age.' If the fruit is of high quality, of good saleable size and colour, and a late keeper, then it will revolutionise the commercial apple-growing industries everywhere. If it is not a full-sized apple, then, despite the fact that it possesses one-fourth more solid flesh than the seedy apple of equal proportions, it cannot be expected to supersede such mammoth though seedy varieties as the Blenheim Orange, Golden Noble, Bismarck, or Peasgood's Nonsuch. The flavour of the coreless apple is beyond question. If it proves as large as its rivals, trees producing the new wonder, which is a winter variety, will be planted by the million in the commercial fruit fields at home and abroad. Even if the seedless apple justified all that has been said by its best friends in its praise, there is little likelihood of its impeding the profitable sale of ordinary apples of high grade. Its introduction would, however, ruin the sale of common out-of-date varieties of fruit, and ensure the destruction of millions of worn-out, moss-covered, and profitless trees, which for years have encumbered thousands of acres of some of the richest and most productive land in Great Britain. In that sense the coming of the coreless apple would do untold good to many landowners, cultivators, and public consumers combined.

Why should we not possess a coreless and seedless apple, since the seedless orange is unquestionably the largest, most expensive, and best fruit of its class obtainable? The new apple, which is both coreless and seedless, was introduced by an old fruit raiser. For twelve years he experimented to obtain the fruit. As the result of seeking to secure the seedless apple, a blossomless tree has been developed. It bears a stamen and a very small quantity of pollen. The importance of such developments is apparent. The cold spells do not affect the fruit, and the apple grower has little to fear from late spring frosts, which in most years do much harm on the fruit farm.

The tree is described as blossomless, the only thing resembling a blossom being a small cluster of tiny green leaves, which grow around

the newly formed apple, and shelter it. Being devoid of blossoms, it is claimed that the fruit offers no effective hiding-place in which the codlin moth may lay its eggs, which it usually does in the open eye of the fruit. The devastations of the codlin moth are so extensive that in the aggregate they cause losses in Great Britain, the Continent, and the United States exceeding 5,000,000% a year. In some English counties I have known the apple crop to be reduced by over 50 per cent. by the voracious grub of this pest. I am not in strict agreement with the producer of the new apple when he claims absolute immunity from the ravage of the codlin moth on account of the lack of blossoms making it almost impossible for the pest to deposit its eggs in the eye of the apple. In my tests I proved conclusively that the eggs are sometimes laid on the skin of the apple also. But with no petals and the use of insecticides by spraying the grub could readily be destroyed. In the plantations where the coreless apple trees have been grown no codlin moth has made its appearance. It is said that so long as they are isolated from seedy apple trees there is no possibility of the moth attaching itself to them, there being nothing in the way of perfume or flower to attract it.

The colour of the new apple is red, dotted with yellow on the skin. As with the seedless orange, so with the seedless apple, a slightly hardened substance makes its appearance at the navel end. But this can be obliterated by culture. The originator of the coreless apple states that the further 'we get away from' the original five trees the larger and better the fruits become in every way.' Whether the Spencer seedless apple is actually seed-proof time alone can prove. As the result of tests, it has been found absolutely impossible for the coreless apple trees to bear fruits that have seeds in them, that is, of their own accord. Still, when grown in the vicinity of ordinary apple trees, with their branches interlocked with each other, a small percentage of the coreless trees have sometimes produced two or three seeds, though they are just as apt to be found near the skin of the fruit as in the centre of it. A seed has been found within one-eighth of an inch of the rind, right away from the core or the core lines. These fortuitous seeds owe their origin to the transference of the pollen from the blossoms of the seedy apple trees to the stigma of the coreless apple tree. Whether carried by wind or bees, when the pollen is deposited in this way there is the possibility that a few seeds may here and there result, but it cannot be said that necessarily the seed or seeds will be about the tube or even near it.

The appearance of one single variety of seedless apple cannot seriously affect the skilled commercial apple growers of the world. If the introducer of the new fruit can develop seedless varieties of the various leading apples in commerce—and he claims that he can do so—then the coming of the coreless apple may in due course disorganise the industry. But we have not got to that stage yet. Apple culture

is more important even than orange culture. In the United States there are 200,000,000 apple trees in bearing, from which 250,000,000 bushels of fruit are annually harvested. In ten years these trees will give a yield of 400,000,000 bushels.\* At the present time the apple consumption of the United States is 80 lb. per head of the population per year. By bushel measure the American apple crop is four times greater than the entire wheat yield of Great Britain and Ireland. Billions of apple trees are grown in the orchards of the world, and millions of them are still being planted each year. The apple imports of Great Britain alone range between 4,500,000 cwt. and 5,000,000 cwt. In addition, I estimate the census of our apple trees at 20,000,000.

There are now 2,000 of these coreless apple trees available for propagation, to supply the orchards of the world. It is estimated that by 1906 2,500,000 of these trees will be put upon the market. For domestic use a coreless apple will commend itself to every housewife in the country. For evaporating purposes it would prove invaluable.

The time has come when, in the interests of the prosperous commercial fruit-growing industries, the merits of the coreless apple should be considered. The brief announcement that has been made in the press respecting it has already created some stir in fruit-trade circles. I have received communications from leading producers in the four kingdoms, on the Continent, and even in several of our colonies, relative to the claims of this wonderful apple. I am enabled to write reliably upon the subject, my information coming personally from the originator of the seedless apple trees. Already the new comer has been assailed by critics interested in the sale of seedy forms of foreign fruit. But the seedless apple must be judged upon its merits. It is not sufficient to condemn it on the ground that we possess seedy dessert varieties, such as Cox's Orange Pippin or Ribston, which are far superior to it in flavour. Even then there might be a huge field available for distributing the seedless apple, for we use as many culinary as dessert varieties. The word of the cook will have much to do in moulding the final opinion pronounced upon the claims of this pomological curiosity. The Spencer apple is not the first seedless apple that has been grown. During the past sixty years about half a dozen such claimants have made their appearance. But in no instance was it found possible to reproduce trees from them which would bear seedless apples. The stock of 2,000 trees now in the hands of the raiser were obtained from five trees that bore fruit practically without seeds. Trees that have produced crops for eight years successively have all yielded coreless fruits each season.

Though no blossom is at any time visible on the Spencer seedless apple trees, when budded or grafted they ensure trees that will produce coreless apples. They are great bearers, and crop freely in any

country where the ordinary apple tree will fruit. In 1862 Abbé D. Dupuy, Professor of Natural History at Auch, drew attention to the Bon Chrétien d'Auch pear, which at Auch produced fruits without seeds, though when removed to another locality the seeds reappeared in the fruit in the usual way. This fact up to that period had led the fruit-tree distributors to treat the pear in one locality as Bon Chrétien d'Auch, and in another district as the Winter Bon Chrétien. But the Spencer apple remains seedless in any soil. When the coreless apple is cut through the centre of the eye to the stalk, core lines and carpels can be faintly traced. It may be argued from this that the fruit has started from a rudimentary flower. But the corelessness and seedlessness of the novelty is beyond question. The carpels being the seed-cells, if there are no seeds there can be no need for carpels. As the apple develops and matures these core lines become absorbed into the flesh. The nearest approach to what some might be tempted to call a flower is the calyx, but at no time are there any petals attached to it. As a novelty for private gardens, undoubtedly there is room for the sale of millions of these trees at fancy values. The coreless apple will produce as great a sensation when brought before the public as the seedless orange did a few years ago. The orange is a luxury; the aromatic apple has become an absolute necessity.

SAMPSON MORGAN.

## *THE RHODES BEQUEST AND UNIVERSITY FEDERATION*

'If the Colonies are not, in the old phrase, possessions of England, then they must be part of England; and we must adopt this view in earnest. We must cease altogether to say that England is an island off the north-western coast of Europe, that it has an area of 120,000 square miles and a population of thirty odd millions. We must cease to think that emigrants, when they go to colonies, leave England or are lost to England. We must cease to think that the history of England is the history of the Parliament that sits at Westminster, and that affairs which are not discussed there cannot belong to English history. When we have accustomed ourselves to contemplate the whole Empire together and call it all England, we shall see that here, too, is a United States; here, too, is a great homogeneous people—one in blood, language, religion, and laws, but dispersed over a boundless space.' So wrote the late Sir John Seeley in a little book which well deserves to be in the hands of everyone who has at heart one of the most important problems of our time.

In the Rhodes bequest to the University of Oxford, and in the institution of an Imperial Council of Universities, the result of the Allied Colonial Universities Conference held in London last year, we have the foundations, broad and solid, of an alliance and relationship between ourselves and the Colonies unparalleled alike both in their significance and in their potentialities. The significance of the first lies in the fact that one of the most practical and sagacious men of our times discerned clearly that as many as possible of the rising generation in our Colonies could and should be educated as British citizens, should be sentimentally and morally impressed by the traditions and discipline of our university system, and, in his own words, should have 'instilled into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire.' The significance of the second lies in the fact that in every one of our Colonies, hitherto, and very naturally, absorbed in the mercantile development of their material resources and in the practical work of politics and legislation, a growing sense of the importance of higher

education and culture, and of a close and intimate relationship, for the purpose of furthering it, with the great centres of that education and culture in the Mother Country, is finding emphatic expression. It is in the sense of the existence of such needs as these, and in the instinct which turns to the Mother Country to supply them, that we may discern with confidence an earnest and anticipation of closer bonds; for it is the creation of a new tie. The old ties—common blood, a common language, common laws, and a common religion—though strong, in Burke's phrase, as links of iron, did not, as we all know, prove indissoluble. Of the new tie it may be said, without reserve and without exaggeration, that, potent in itself, it adds to the potency of every other tie.

So much for the significance of these movements and institutions. What may reasonably be expected from them, their potentialities, so to speak, will be best seen by giving a brief sketch of what their chief initiator provided. By the Rhodes bequest 162 scholarships, each of the annual value of 300*l.*, tenable for three years, are thus distributed:

—		Total No. appro- priated	To be tenable by students of or from	No. of scholar- ships to be filled up in each year
South Africa . 24	{	9	Rhodesia	3
		3	The South African College School in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope	1
		3	The Stellenbosch College School in the same Colony	1
		3	The Diocesan College School in the same Colony	1
		3	St. Andrew's College School, Grahams- town, in the same Colony	1
		3	The Colony of Natal	1
Australia . 21	{	3	The Colony of New South Wales	1
		3	The Colony of Victoria	1
		3	The Colony of South Australia	1
		3	The Colony of Queensland	1
		3	The Colony of Western Australia	1
		3	The Colony of Tasmania	1
		3	The Colony of New Zealand	1
		3	The Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada	1
Canada . 24	{	3	The Province of Quebec in the Dominion of Canada	1
		3	Nova Scotia	1
		3	New Brunswick	1
		3	Prince Edward Island	1
		3	British Columbia	1
		3	Manitoba	1
Atlantic Islands 6	{	3	North-West Territories	1
		3	The Colony or Island of Newfoundland and its Dependencies	1
West Indies . 3	{	3	The Colony or Islands of the Bermudas	1
		3	The Colony or Island of Jamaica	1
Total . . .		78	Total . . .	26

Such are his provisions for the Colonies, but for the purpose of—

encouraging and fostering an appreciation of the advantages which [he implicitly believed] will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, and to encourage, in the students of the United States of North America who will benefit from the American scholarships, an attachment to the country from which they have sprung, without withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth—

he provided two scholarships, each of the annual value of 300*l.*, tenable for three consecutive years, at any college in the University of Oxford, to each of the following States :

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

The conditions imposed on candidates for the scholarships, who are nominated either by committees of selection or by university councils, are that they must be British citizens (in the case of the American scholarships American citizens), must be between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five, and must be unmarried; and, that they may be competent to proceed at once to the more advanced courses of study at Oxford, they must at least have reached the end of their sophomore or second year work at some recognised degree-granting university or college, and must have qualified themselves for selection by passing an examination corresponding to Responsions. The first Rhodes scholars have in this autumn term come into residence, and a link for ever between Oxford and every centre of the English-speaking race—Colonial and extra-Colonial—has thus been formed.

Almost contemporary with the announcement of the Rhodes bequest the Allied Colonial Universities Conference met in London, 'with two aims'—to quote the words of its Chairman—'to develop the intellectual and moral forces of all the branches of our race wherever they dwell, and therewith also to promote learning, science, and the arts by and through which science is applied to the purposes of life'; and, secondly, 'to strengthen the unity of the British people dispersed throughout the world,' under the conviction that 'the deepest and most permanent source of unity is to be found in those elements in which the essence of national life dwells, identity of thought and feeling, a like attachment to those glorious traditions which link us to the past, a like devotion to those ideals which we have to pursue in the future.' In the constitution of this conference, in the speeches of the delegates representing each university or college, in the attitude assumed by the representatives of our two great

universities and of the other universities, central and provincial, in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the resolutions passed as the result of the conference we have in epitome the whole history of this movement, as well as a precise account both of what has been effected and of what is about to be effected in its present stage of development.

The institutions 'of university rank' which have been established in our Colonial dominions, and which now, without exception, desire federative union with the universities of Great Britain—in other words, a Central Imperial Academic Council, equality of privileges, the interchange of students and teachers, and mutual assistance in the furtherance of post-graduate studies and original research—number, not counting affiliated institutions, about twenty.

Now, there can be nothing offensive and surely nothing unreasonable if we assume that in such a federation there must and should be a hegemony, and that that hegemony belongs to Oxford and Cambridge. It belongs to Oxford and Cambridge because they have a threefold claim to it—an intellectual, a moral, a sentimental. The paramount—the ubiquitous—the all-absorbing energy of science and its votaries must not blind us to the fact that universities, regarded in relation to their essential and peculiar functions, are not primarily centres of scientific instruction. They are the centres of the humanities in the most comprehensive sense of the term, the centres of all that is influential in the study of theology and metaphysics, of moral and political philosophy, of logic, of history, of *belles-lettres* generally, and of the fine arts. These are their primary functions. It is absurd, it is monstrous, to suppose that science can supply, either as a means of intellectual and moral discipline, or as an end equivalent in importance, what these subjects supply. And this is certain: unless the two universities recognise and guard loyally and jealously their peculiar prerogative the consequences cannot fail to be most disastrous. In studies like the humanities, which appeal so directly to the finer instincts and affections, into which sentiment enters so largely, and which owe so much to association and surroundings, it is of immense advantage, of quite uncommon and capital importance, that in any imperial system they should find their centres where for so many ages they have found them—at Oxford and Cambridge. Science creates its own atmosphere; and its own home, and is quite independent of 'towers whispering the last enchantments of the Middle Ages,' or whispering anything else, and, indeed, quite indifferent to them. It certainly gains nothing by selecting the banks of the Isis and of the Cam for centres, and would as certainly lose nothing if it established its chief seminaries on the slag plains of Wolverhampton and the Black Country. In any case, if Oxford and Cambridge are to exercise hegemony in any system of imperial university federation, they will not hold it by virtue of what they have in common with



the universities of McGill, Toronto, and Sydney abroad, and with the universities of London, Leeds, and Manchester at home. Nor is this all. Oxford and Cambridge would themselves be the first to repudiate any claim to pre-eminency—we may perhaps go further and say any claim to particular authority in science—either as legislators or as exponents. Their sole claim, I repeat, to that position which Englishmen, at all events, would wish to see them fill, and which they are fairly entitled to fill in such a system, is based on their relation to the humanities. And here they have a great work to do. Briefly indicated, it is to further and secure such solidarity in all that pertains to the moral, æsthetic, and political education of the citizens of Greater Britain as has been attained in the organisation of scientific instruction. Science may, both as a subject of common interest and as a means of mutual advantage, do much, and very much, to strengthen the ties between ourselves and the Colonies, but the humanities will, as Cecil Rhodes foresaw, do very much more.

And now, before considering the relations which it is proposed to establish, let us see what connection already exists between our chief universities and the universities of the Colonies. With Oxford are affiliated the universities of McGill (Montreal), Toronto, Tasmania, New Brunswick, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, New Zealand, Cape of Good Hope; and, in India, Calcutta, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, and Allahabad. And affiliation confers these privileges. For admittance to a B.A. degree at Oxford a student is obliged to pass three examinations—Responsions, what is called the first public examination (Moderations), and the second public examination, after keeping residence for three academical years, each consisting of three full terms of eight weeks—that is, twelve academical terms. Now if a student belonging to any of these affiliated universities has pursued at his own university a course of study extending over two years, passing all the examinations incident to it, he is exempt from Responsions, and, if he takes honours at Oxford, he is allowed to obtain his degree after keeping eight instead of twelve terms, but, if only a pass, he must complete the full period of residence. But greater privileges are conceded to students of these affiliated universities who have pursued at their own university a course extending over three years, and who have at the end of that course obtained final honours, for they are exempt not only from Responsions but from the first public examination, and, provided they take honours in the final examination at Oxford, they may obtain the B.A. degree after keeping only eight terms—in other words, after two years' residence. By a very wise regulation, which, however, does not, for some reason, apply to Indian students, every Colonial student is obliged to qualify in Greek. In the provisions made for the promotion of post-graduate study and research, for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Letters and of Science, we have another and important point of contact with the

Colonial universities ; for these degrees are open not only to graduates of Oxford but to 'any persons being over the age of twenty-one years who can satisfy the university that they have received a good general education, and that they are fitted to pursue a special line of study or research.' On what constitutes 'a good general education' a very elastic construction is placed, and certainly a diploma obtained in any Colonial university would meet what is required. Subject to these two conditions being satisfied, these degrees may be obtained by advanced work of high merit in almost any branch of knowledge, together with residence for eight terms, which may be kept partly in vacation. Opportunities for instruction and for the prosecution of advanced work are afforded in classics, in philology, in Oriental languages, in philosophy, in ancient and modern history, in the English language and literature, in the theory of education, in theology, philosophy, law, mathematics, natural science, medicine, and in geography and economics. In these studies, pursued under the supervision of the university and under the guidance of specialists, many young men from all parts of Europe, and especially from America and the Colonies, are now engaged.

The same judicious hospitality has been extended by Cambridge, which has, with two exceptions, affiliated all the universities affiliated by Oxford ; and the privileges conferred, speaking generally, correspond to those conferred at Oxford. Thus, Colonial students who have satisfied conditions of residence and study at any of these affiliated universities are, by grace of the Senate, admitted as candidates to a Tripos examination without having passed any part of the Previous examination, and are also allowed to reckon the first term kept by residence as the fourth term of residence. With regard to advanced and research students Cambridge has gone much further than Oxford ; for, in addition to admitting them to the university without any examination and simply on 'satisfactory' testimony that they are qualified to enter on the proposed course, they are not only allowed to proceed at once to the subject in which they desire to specialise, but if, within a specified period, they submit a dissertation which is accepted by the Degree Committee, they are entitled to a certificate of research, and, on keeping six terms of residence, may proceed to a degree. This is, no doubt, highly satisfactory to scientific students, and has led to some edifying remarks, in which the Idols of the Den are a little too conspicuous, by Professor Ewing on the function of research as a method of education. The University of London has, through its examination system, always been in closer touch with the Colonies than any other English university. Some of its examinations—namely, the Intermediate and Bachelors' Degree Pass examinations in theology, arts, laws, science, and economics—may be passed and degrees obtained without residence in England, though residence is required for honour degrees in these faculties. Graduates in

'approved' universities—and under this term are included most of the principal Colonial universities—are exempted from the matriculation examination, and may proceed at once to the Doctorate of the University of London as internal students in any faculty except that of medicine.

To proceed to the 'smaller universities. Durham has affiliated two Colonial colleges—Codrington College, Barbados, and Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone—and members of these colleges are members of the university, eligible, on the same conditions of residence, &c., to the same examinations and degrees as members resident in Durham. The Victoria University, though it has no specified regulations as to the admission of Colonial students, is always willing to consider any applications from such students and to make such concessions as seem fitting in each case, while the research studentships of the Owens and University Colleges are open to them. Privileges similar to those conferred by Cambridge are conferred by the recently established University of Birmingham, which will probably in a few years be the chief centre for the study of applied science, particularly the various branches of engineering, metallurgy, and mining, as well as of economics. Of the Scotch universities, Glasgow and, particularly, Edinburgh have always been more closely in touch with the Colonies than any others in Great Britain, both because of the great number of Colonial students attending them, and because of the fact that so large a percentage of the teaching staffs of the Colonial universities has been supplied by them. At present, in accordance apparently with the general policy of those universities, the concessions made to such students are not so liberal as those made by Cambridge. But almost all the bursaries, prizes, scholarships, and fellowships are open to them, and if the conditions under which the studies requisite for the higher degrees and the regulations for post-graduate study and research are a little more hampering than they need be, there can be little doubt, so strong is the feeling in favour of this movement, that if such a step be authoritatively recommended they will at once be conveniently modified. In the Irish universities, beyond the foundation of some scholarships for South African students, with reference chiefly to medical studies, no direct steps have, I believe, as yet been taken. But Professor Mahaffy, representing Trinity College, Dublin, announced that that university was 'quite ready to fall into line with other older universities, and do all it could to knit together the education of the Colonies with our own,' adding that, though the average number of Colonial students at Trinity was at present small, a rapid increase in their numbers was expected.

Such, then, are the present relations between the Colonial universities and our own. In what way is it proposed to extend them and make them more intimate? The answer will be found in the two resolutions adopted at the conference last year, namely—

that it is desirable that such relations should be established between the principal teaching universities of the Empire as will secure that special or local advantages for study, and in particular for post-graduate study and research, be made as accessible as possible to students from all parts of the King's dominions ;

and

that a Council, consisting in part of representatives of British and Colonial universities, be appointed to promote the objects set out in the previous resolution.

Now, it is in this Council, regarded not in relation to the comparatively contracted sphere expressly specified in the first resolution, but in relation to its extended functions—functions not formally specified, but plainly contemplated, namely, the co-ordination of the higher education throughout the Empire, and the organisation, for the promotion of that object, of an Imperial Council of Universities—that the full significance of what has been initiated reveals itself. What is contemplated cannot, indeed, be put better than in Mr. Bryce's words in his inaugural address :

That which a great university does as the organ of the intellectual life of the nation in each community may, to some extent, be done by a combination of universities for the united national life of the whole British world. The universities may thus be led to feel themselves part of one great whole, and may all the more effectively bend their united energies to the advancement of knowledge and to the discovery of truth.

This strikes the note of the whole thing, and strikes it as a clock strikes the hour.

The benefits and advantages mutually accruing from the coalition which has thus been inaugurated are obvious, and may be regarded from two points of view : in their relation to education generally and in their relation to Imperial Federation. In the first place, it would vitalise and broaden education in our own universities by bringing it still more intimately into contact with civil life and with the needs of civil life, by catholicising its ideals and submitting its methods to practical tests. Whoever will compare the theories and curricula of our universities, on the side of the humanities, before the Extension system became influential, and when they were first freely criticised in the columns of this Review, will have no difficulty in understanding the salutary effect of what this coalition cannot fail to secure on a very much larger scale. It would secure efficiency in teachers as well as efficiency in instruction and curricula, for Colonials, unlike our average undergraduates, know what they want, and, not finding it in one place, would very soon discover where it was to be found. It would enable those who are engaged in the various departments of education—and education, at all events at present, is, in relation to many subjects, largely an experimental science—to interchange experiences and ideas. While in no way interfering with autonomy

and independence, or in any way aiming at the reduction of the several universities to a common type, it would conduce to that solidarity in all that pertains to the humanities which has so long and with such happy results obtained in the organisation of scientific instruction. It would fix, or tend to fix, the highest standards of aim and attainment as general standards. By establishing a sort of informal tribunal, the members of which would be the acknowledged chiefs of the various departments of education wherever education in Great Britain is represented, it would not only stimulate educational activity in all its phases and along the whole line, but would direct it aright and keep it steadily and healthily progressive. It would secure it from abuses, and adjust, or tend to adjust, its equilibrium, now so unevenly and capriciously regulated, by a due regard for the claims of science and the claims of the humanities, as each would or could be adequately represented. By facilitating an interchange of teachers and students it would be of inestimable advantage to both. In the case of Colonial teachers, whether originally educated at our own universities or not, the benefit which would be gained by an occasional visit to them needs no comment. And if they gained they would at the same time impart. Everyone who has had experience of the life and work at Oxford and Cambridge knows how welcome and stimulating are the freshness, the energy, the enthusiasm so essentially, so universally characteristic of Colonial visitors. 'There is,' remarks Professor Ewing in his speech at the conference, 'no part of my work as professor on which I can look with greater satisfaction than that part of it which has brought me into contact with our Colonists. It has been in every way a valuable stimulus to university life to have these men here.' In the case of our own teachers, contact with the Colonial universities would not merely tend to counteract, but probably prevent what is now—and the phrase is not too strong—the curse of our academic system, the tendency to get into grooves and ruts, to become purely mechanical and prematurely stereotyped. On every important university is impressed a peculiar character, and the teachers whom it has educated will be pre-eminently distinguished by particular qualities and in particular subjects of study—I am here speaking of the humanities. It is so with Oxford, it is so with Cambridge, it is so with the great universities of the Continent, and it will probably be so, though in a less degree, with the universities of the future, whether in the Colonies or elsewhere. Now, nothing is more important than that there should be a free interchange of these teachers, to leaven where leaven is needed. Nor should we lose sight of another aspect of this question. Nothing can be more important in university education, and assuredly nothing is less considered, than the constitution of the teaching staffs; in other words, the selection, not of men who have proved by their degrees that they know how to acquire knowledge, but the selection of men who have given some evidence

that they know how to impart it. What a famous Spanish writer has called *la ciencia de las ciencias*, the science of sciences—in other words, the art of teaching—is about the last thing that our universities consider. The late Professor Nichol bitterly complained that ‘men take to education as they take to drinking’; it is the last refuge of the failures, of clergymen who cannot get livings, of barristers who cannot get briefs, of scribblers who cannot get their manuscripts accepted, or of less aspiring impotents who can turn to nothing else. I may be putting the case a little too strongly, but what is no exaggeration is that, speaking generally of the teaching staffs of our universities, nothing can often be more deplorable than the contrast between the learning of many of those who are engaged in this work and their utter inability to vitalise it and make it influential. A high degree, at all times a most fallacious test even of intellectual efficiency, is no test at all of qualifications for teaching. One of the greatest advantages of the proposed federation will be the explosion of a fallacy which has probably affected education quite as deleteriously as the old and now happily all but effete theory of the identification of antiquities with history, and of philology with literature. The federation would have this further advantage: it would not only tend to discover and advance both in the Colonies and in the Mother Country those young men who possess this all-important gift, the union of competent attainments with the power of influentially and inspiringly communicating them, but it would open a career to them. At present there are many, and very many, young men occupying subordinate places on the teaching staffs of our universities, as well as in the universities of the Colonies, peculiarly qualified as well as eager to follow education as a profession, who will be obliged to abandon it because they have no prospect of rising. Some of those who would have done most to advance it are thus constantly lost to education. Were the universities confederated, this misfortune—and a great misfortune it is—would be averted. In their own interests they would endeavour to secure the greatest efficiency in all grades of their teaching staff, and this they would best effect by a free interchange, in cases of vacancy, of the most fitting candidates for promotion. Thus, if a young man had completed his noviciate in a university where there was not, at present at least, a further opening for him, he would be pretty sure to find what he deserved in another where there was. And this, it may be remarked in passing, would be an excellent precedent. All educational appointments directly concerned with teaching should be reserved for those who are by their services as teachers fairly entitled to them, and education in all its branches has, in Great Britain at least, suffered from the fact that this self-evident principle is, apparently on system, ignored.

Such would be some of the obvious advantages of university coalition in relation to teachers; in its relation to students its effects

would be equally beneficial. By encouraging and facilitating an interchange of students, not in the undergraduate stages of their work, for that would be as undesirable certainly in the case of home students as perhaps in the case of Colonial, but at the post-graduate stage of their work, it would be of incalculable benefit. Let us see how. And first let us take the humanities, and next scientific instruction. On the generally beneficial effects of drawing the educational alliance between ourselves and the Colonies closer I have already touched. To come to the more particular. "It is doing the Colonial universities no injustice to say—what their Calendars proclaim aloud—that their instruction on the side of the humanities is, both in theory and practice, on a very much lower level than that obtaining at Oxford and Cambridge. This is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the fact that their undergraduates are on an average some two years junior to those in our universities. Indeed, the relation of their advanced educational system to that of ours is exactly indicated by the conditions imposed by our universities in admitting them to degrees. For this reason, if a Colonial student is to stand on the same plane in educational attainments and culture as his brethren in Great Britain, he must complete his education, so far as these subjects are concerned, in the Mother Country. And the advantages of a residence at Oxford or Cambridge and of being brought into contact with their traditions and chief representatives are too obvious to be specified. Here, no doubt, the advantage will be on the side of the Colonists, and yet not altogether, for their freshness, energy, and alert intelligence, as well as their shrewd and keen sense of what is truly efficient and furthering, will be no unwelcome and unserviceable leaven in our academic centres. But it is in the facilities which will be open to them for literary and historical research, and post-graduate studies in the strict sense of the term, that we may look for the chief results; and important indeed they may be.

It is, however, in relation to post-graduate studies on the scientific side only that the conference laid most stress; indeed, it would not be too much to say that, with some two or three exceptions, the speakers contemplated the proposed federation almost entirely from this point of view. And the importance of such an aspect of the question is of course obvious. As Mr. Bryce well puts it, it is vital for ourselves and the Colonies that we should lay a scientific foundation for every department of industry, and that the development of science in all its branches, and especially in its application to the arts of life, is the most urgent need of our time. Nor would anyone dispute that universities should be the chief centres of scientific instruction and scientific research, and that they should, to the utmost possible degree of efficiency, be equipped with the means of providing such instruction and pursuing such research. By an alliance of such centres of instruction and research, and by a systematic interchange

of their post-graduate students, there can be no doubt that the interests of science and of all that science furthers would be substantially advanced. And here the gain would be reciprocal. To say nothing of mutual stimulus and mutual assistance, some of the Colonial universities afford as many facilities for advanced work as our own. For numerous branches of research, indeed, they have opportunities which we have not, as particularly, for example, in New Zealand, New South Wales, and the Cape. There is probably no branch of applied science which could not be pursued in the Colonies as advantageously as at home, and which would not profit by such association, while some branches, notably mining and forestry, could be better studied there than here. For various reasons, certain universities, both in Great Britain and in Greater Britain, are better adapted for becoming centres for particular branches of post-graduate instruction and research than others. In such subjects these universities might with propriety specialise, as some of them already do, and become the recognised centres of particular departments of instruction and research. Thus would a systematic interchange of post-graduate students be both encouraged and indeed secured, and thus would the first condition of progressive success in the organisation of advanced instruction be fulfilled. By mutual co-operation and by the mutually inspiring stimulus of a spirit of generous emulation alone can the highest efficiency in the advanced educational system of Greater Britain be attained. And at present it is not attained. It is deplorable to know that many hundreds of Colonial students, both graduate and post-graduate, seek in the universities of France and Germany the teaching which they might be expected to seek here.

But the relation of the proposed coalition to education and to the interests of education is not the only aspect in which it has to be considered. It is the wisest and most important step which has ever been taken in the direction of that great consummation of which Tennyson and Seeley were such sanguine and eloquent prophets—the unification of our Empire, imperial federation. Nothing can contribute more towards establishing the relations on which such a union must be based and, indeed, rendered possible than what is here contemplated: relations founded, as Mr. Bryce puts it, upon freedom and equality, upon mutual assistance in the solution of economic, of administrative, of social problems—and those of vital importance to the Colonies and to ourselves; upon drawing closer those intellectual and sentimental ties which, assuming no collision of self-interests, more than anything, perhaps, link man with man and peoples with peoples; upon a communion the conditions and nature of which particularly conduce to enabling those who share it to *understand* one another. Can anyone doubt that the first great schism in our Empire, so soon to become irreparable, was simply the result of mutual misunderstanding—of what would in all probability have been pre-



vented had such relations existed between ourselves and America as the present proposed coalition at least initiates between ourselves and the Colonies still under our flag? But let us make no mistake. However important both to the interests of science itself and as a factor in the coalition from which so much may reasonably be expected, scientific considerations are not the only ones to be regarded. We may safely go further and say that they are not the chief ones. If the Colonists are to be attracted to our universities, they will not be attracted by what they can find in their own; they will not, on principle, exchange at great expense their own class-rooms, laboratories, and apparatus for precisely the same provisions, simply because they are to be found at Oxford and Cambridge. If, in an imperial system of university federation, Oxford is to be what Cecil Rhodes contemplated she should be and what he has done so much to enable her to become, it will not be by virtue of her relation to science that she will hold any title to hegemony. By virtue of their relation to the humanities and by virtue of that relation alone, not by virtue of what they simply share in common with other universities here and over the sea, can Oxford and Cambridge claim that place which every English-speaking nation most gladly and proudly concedes to them. To subordinate the interests of the humanities to the interests of science, as is becoming, perhaps inevitably, more and more the tendency in both universities, is deliberately to dethrone themselves. Science, as I said before, carries with it its own atmosphere, creates its own habitat, and is quite independent of local associations. It is not so with the humanities, as the English-speaking world instinctively feels. As in imperial federation, if it ever be realised, sentiment, both as basis and as energising principle, must very largely enter, so in the federation which is here initiated, and is its anticipation, sentiment in still larger measure enters also. And it is the sentiment which, in the dissolution of every other tie and of every other claim, kept the ancient world loyal in its homage to Athens.

It is a proof of the monopoly which science is everywhere acquiring, as well as of its all-absorbing and ubiquitous energy wherever advanced education is in question, that the proposal for University Federation emanated entirely from representatives of science; that the delegates from almost every university were from the scientific staff; that the question was contemplated almost purely from the point of view of science, and that such considerations as I have here been urging were scarcely even hinted at. Only in the inaugural speech of Mr. Bryce, which was in every way worthy of so memorable an occasion, was this note struck; only in the scholarly and admirable speech of the President of Magdalen was there any plea for the importance of the humanities. The representative of New Zealand, indeed, ventured timidly to observe that 'it would be placing a very narrow construction upon the resolution proposing the establishment of an

alliance between the universities if the incoming Council were to devote their attention solely to scientific objects.' But there was no response. And in the constitution of the committee for nominating the Council it is quite clear from the enormous preponderance of scientific representatives what body will give the ply to the movement.

And now let us consider what duties the Council at present in course of formation may fairly be expected to undertake, and by what provisions they may obviously best further this important movement:

By providing a central institution, such as may be found in the London University or the Colonial Institute, for information, where all that is at work in the various allied universities should be reported, and all the facilities for mutual reciprocity of advantages co-ordinated.

By arranging, at regular intervals, conferences by which the allied universities may be kept in touch with each other, and in which all suggestions and proposals likely to be of mutual benefit should be communicated and discussed.

By facilitating in every way interchanges of students and, when desirable, of teachers, and by registering, with their records, all such graduates as are qualified for progressive staff appointments, in order that those who have proved their qualifications for lecturing and teaching may, where vacancies occur, be selected to fill them.

By encouraging such universities as happen to have special facilities for particular branches of post-graduate studies to specialise in those subjects.

By endeavouring to secure or further a uniformity of standards, especially in relation to entrance tests and, if possible, in relation to pass-degrees, so that each university might enable students to proceed at once to post-graduate study and research.

By organising research scholarships and fellowships on the model of the Playfair 1851 Scholarships, not merely for science, but for history, economics, and the humanities generally, and undertaking the nomination to those scholarships and fellowships.

By offering prizes, such as the Imperial Institute offered some years ago, for important original contributions to any branch of study, preferably to such studies as relate to history, politics, and economics as they bear on imperial questions and interests.

By bringing pressure on the Government to recognise the energies now awake both at home and in the Colonies, and to realise the importance of co-ordinating them, and by making every effort to obtain, both from Government and from private philanthropy and patriotism, adequate financial support, the necessity of which would thus, urged as it would be by an Imperial Council, be authoritatively and impressively demonstrated.

And I cannot forbear adding that the Council would undoubtedly

have to extend its attention to the educational needs of a portion of our Empire which is not strictly included in the question discussed here, and which was not represented in the conference. Nothing could be more radically inadequate, nothing more deplorable, than the present regulations for the education of our Indian subjects.

In conclusion, let me return to what I said when I began. The real significance of this Federation of Universities is not its relation to education, though that is of immense importance, but its relation to a problem of more vital and pressing concern to us than any other problem which has defined itself in our time—the consolidation and unification of our Empire. A most wise step has been taken, it would be premature to say more; golden opportunities are open to us, but they may be lost. It depends on ourselves. But this is certain, that all which is at present contemplated is within our reach, and will be realised or not realised as our universities shall determine. It is open to them to assume that hegemony in a system of education and co-operative educational activity co-extensive with the Empire, which, after much reluctance and grudging, they at last assumed in a system co-extensive with this country. They will not assume it, it will not be conceded to them, I repeat, by virtue of their relation to science and scientific instruction, but in virtue of their relation to the humanities. Let them, therefore, complete and perfect their curricula on this side. Let them provide, for example, as adequately for the interpretation of our own national classics, those golden links between every community of the English-speaking races, as they have for most other branches of the humanities. It is satisfactory and of happy augury to learn that Oxford has, by the recent establishment of a Chair of English Literature—in the proper sense of the term—prepared to do so, and that the Rhodes scholars have not found the university maimed and disgraced by such a conception of the constitution and functions of a Chair of Literature as has till lately obtained, and as still, unhappily, obtains in the sister university. And assuredly, too, encouragement might with propriety be given to the study of our Colonial Empire, to its history, to its economics, to the various relations in which it stands to the Mother Country—a branch of instruction at present absolutely unrepresented in both of our universities. That study would at least be initiated by the foundation of a Chair of Colonial History—a suggestion which may be recommended with confidence to the consideration of the Rhodes Trustees.

J. CHURTON COLLINS.

*[As this article was passing through the press, the realisation of its final suggestion was publicly announced. Mr. Alfred Beit has offered to found a Professorship of Colonial History at Oxford, and his munificent gift has been accepted by the university.—ED. Nineteenth Century and After.]*

## *PALMISTRY IN CHINA*

WITH the Chinese, palmistry is a branch of an ancient art which includes physiognomy, phrenology, and general inspection of the human body. Its origin has been assigned to prehistoric times—the third millennium before Christ.

The object of this art is twofold : (1) to ascertain the mental and moral characteristics of persons, and (2) to foretell happiness or misfortune, success or failure, disease, and death. An instance is given of a young lady of the tenth century A.D., who had no brothers and was obliged to perform some of the mourning ceremonies before the image of her dead father. While thus occupied she was observed by a visitor who had come to condole. ‘I did not see her face,’ he said, ‘but when she grasped the incense-burner I noticed that her hands gave promise of a high position.’ Later on this visitor married the young lady, and rose to be a Minister of State.

Restricting the inquiry to palmistry only an attempt will be made to show what the Chinese people have to say on a subject which has been much to the front of late years, and especially in the past few weeks.

One writer says :

The presence of lines in the hand may be compared with the grain of wood. If the grain of wood is beautiful, that wood becomes known as excellent material ; and if the lines in the hand are beautiful, that hand is obviously well constituted. Therefore a hand cannot but have lines on it, those which have lines being of a higher order than those which have none. Fine and deep lines mean success ; coarse and shallow lines mean failure. Of the three lines on the palm, the uppermost answers to heaven ; it connotes sovereign or father, and determines station in life. The middle line answers to man ; it connotes wisdom or folly, and determines poverty or wealth. The lowest line answers to earth ; it connotes subject or mother, and determines length of days. If these three lines are well defined and unbroken, they are an augury of happiness and wealth. Vertical lines in excess mean a rebellious nature and calamity : horizontal lines in excess mean a foolish nature and ill-success. A vertical line running up the finger means that all plans will turn out well ; random lines, which cross the creases of the fingers, mean that they will fail. Lines which are fine and resemble silk mean wit and beauty ; coarse lines, like the grain of the scrub oak, mean stupidity and a low estate. Lines like scattered filings mean a bitter life ; lines like sprinkled rice-husks mean a life of joy, &c. &c.

'The hand,' says the author of *The Divine Art*,

is used for taking hold, and this causes lines to appear on it. If these lines are long, the nature will be kindly and generous; if short, mean and grasping. A man whose hand reaches below his knees will top his generation; but one whose hand reaches only to his waist will ever be poor and lowly. A small body and a large hand portend happiness and emolument; a large body and a small hand, purity and poverty.

And so on.

Several illustrations are given of what might be termed the topography of the hand, showing its various elevations and depressions, and indicating the directions in which different influences make themselves felt. The fingers, with their several joints, are each separately mapped out; the commanding finger (thumb), the tasting finger, the middle finger, the nameless finger, and the little finger.

Then follow seventy-two diagrams of hands, each with certain sets of lines, of which an interpretation is given. With these sets



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

will, of course, be found other lines; they are merely characteristic combinations which have a recognised purport, and are given separately for the sake of convenience. It is impossible to reproduce all these diagrams here; a few specimens will no doubt suffice.

The first of these is simply a hand—always the left hand—the palm of which is divided into four regions, upper, lower, right, and left, known as summer, winter, autumn, and spring, respectively. That part of the hand under the influence of spring should be of a greenish hue; summer should be red, autumn white, and winter dark. If autumn is red, winter yellow, spring white, or summer dark, sorrow and disaster will inevitably ensue.

Possession of the 'lyre' hand (fig. 1) is a sign of an honest heart, of skill in composition, and of a large share of Imperial favour in the days to come.

The hand shown in fig. 2 indicates love of good works, placidity of temperament, and strong religious feelings.

Love of flowers (women) and wine is manifested in the middle of

the palm, as seen in fig. 3. The owner of this hand will be too fond of drink, and 'a slave to the charms of twice eight.'

Fig. 4 shows the covetous hand of the unreliable man who will cheat as soon as look at you.

There is also quite a little dictionary of combinations of two or more strokes, such as might occur in any portion of the hand; for



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

instance,  $\times$  and  $\#$ , both of which are really borrowed from characters in the written language, meaning *man* and *a well*, respectively;  $\times$ ,  $\wedge$ , and others.

The Chinese, however, do not confine their investigations to the palm only; they examine carefully the lines on the back of the hand, thus making 'cheiromancy' a better term than palmistry. Nor do they omit the nails, each variety of which has its own signification.



FIG.

Tapering nails mean brains; hard and thick nails mean old age; coarse, stumpy nails mean dulness of wit; broken and sloughing nails mean disease and ill-health; bright yellow nails mean high rank to come; dark thin nails mean obscurity; bright greenish nails mean loyalty and goodness of heart; fresh white nails mean love of ease; nails like sheet copper mean pomp and glory; nails of a half-moon shape mean health and happiness; nails like copper tiles mean skill in arts and crafts; nails like the end of a plank mean staunch

sincerity ; nails with sharp-pointed tips mean cleverness and refinement ; and nails which are rough like stone mean profound stupidity.

The Chinese, again, who are nothing if not thorough, push every investigation of this kind with German minuteness to its logical conclusion. Consequently, when they have exhausted palmistry, they proceed to 'solistry,' and extract indications from the lines on the feet.

Those combinations which augur best are the 'tortoise' and the 'bird' lines, the latter of which is shown in fig. 5.

In conclusion it may be pointed out, in simple justice to the Chinese, that the wonderful system of identification by finger-prints, which is forcing the modern burglar to carry on his trade in gloves, was in force in China many centuries before it was heard of in Scotland Yard. Title-deeds, and other legal instruments, are often found to bear, in addition to signatures, the finger-prints of the parties concerned ; sometimes, indeed, the imprint of the whole hand.

In a small volume, entitled *Omissions from History*, published in the twelfth century, we have the following story :

A favourite concubine of the Emperor Ming Huang (A.D. 713-756), having several times dreamed that she was invited by a man to take wine with him on the sly, spoke about it to the Emperor. 'This is the work of a magician,' said his Majesty ; 'next time you go, take care to leave behind you some record.' That very night she had the same dream ; and accordingly she seized an opportunity of putting her hand on an ink-slab and then pressing it on a screen. When she awaked, she described what had happened ; and on a secret investigation being made, the imprint of her hand was actually found in the Dawn-in-the-East Pavilion outside the palace. The magician, however, was nowhere to be found.

HERBERT A. GILES.

## *QUEEN CHRISTINA'S PICTURES*

QUEEN CHRISTINA of Sweden, the daughter of the Protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus, is best known for having resigned at one and the same time the throne of her father and the faith for which he died. Most people also know that she spent the last thirty years of her life in Rome, and that during a visit to France in 1657 she had her equerry, the Marquis Monaldesco, brutally put to death in the castle of Fontainebleau.

It is less generally known that she was one of the greatest patrons of art of her time, a passionate collector and a fine judge and 'connaisseur.' Her interest in matters of art was as varied as it was deep. Herself a good musician, she kept for years a splendid orchestra and the best singers in Rome. She was the centre of the theatrical world in the Eternal City, and it was chiefly owing to her protection that Roman drama and opera did not succumb under the bigoted persecutions of Innocent the Eleventh. She was a dramatic writer of no mean talent. She started excavations in the hope of finding antique statuary, and eagerly bought what statues were offered to her, as far as her means allowed. Unfortunately she had them restored, too! And as for pictures her enthusiasm knew no bounds, not even those of the purse. In the midst of great financial troubles she did not hesitate to purchase the entire Carlo Imperiali gallery (1667):

That is what she practised. Lofty, duty-bound, half-indifferent patronage was all she professed. This is what she wrote about it:

*La Pinture, la sculpture et tous les autres arts qui en dépendent sont des impostures innocentes, qui plaisent et qui doivent plaire aux gens d'esprit. C'est un défaut à un hôte homme que de ne les aimer pas, mais il faut les aimer raisonnablement.*

She was better than she made herself out to be in that pretentious sentence, and she was universally acknowledged in Rome as a 'connaisseur' of as much taste as erudition. The painter Bazziggi used to say about her that she was unequalled as a judge and critic of art, and that he had never been to see her without learning something from her. This much for the possessor of the collection; now for the pictures composing it.



It was not in her own country that the Swedish Queen had found her treasures. Sweden was then in the midst of her glorious career as a military Power, but she lived still in a state of heroic simplicity which had not yet allowed letters or art to flourish. She was poor, suffering from the exhaustion which her temporary rank as a great power produced, for she had to keep up a state far above her means. She had fostered warriors, but not artists, and she had neither money nor wish to acquire works of art from abroad. It was to the fortune of arms, that Christina owed the collections the royal castle of Stockholm contained. Nearly all her pictures had come there as spoils of war, part of the last but richest loot ever taken during the Thirty Years' War—a spoil of which the world was not destined to see the like until the days of Napoleon.

The first owner of the Queen's artistic wealth had been the Emperor Rudolph the Second. History has not much good to say about this degenerated scion of the Hapsburgs. Weak, false, indolent, and melancholy by nature, he further developed these undesirable qualities by what was then considered a true princely education, for he was brought up by Jesuits at the dull Court of his cousin, Philip the Second of Spain. At twenty he became King of Hungary; four years later, in 1576, Emperor; and he at once showed himself a willing tool of his former masters. He was largely responsible for the Roman Catholic reaction which brought about the Thirty Years' War, and his misgovernment ultimately led to his being compelled to abandon his hereditary territories to his brother Matthias (1611). He died, 1612, at Prague, which city had been his favourite residence, leaving a memory respected by few of his subjects, execrated by many, but cherished by artists, antiquaries, and curiosity dealers. For this bigoted and unmanly prince, who never was young, never married, and seldom smiled, was a passionate collector and a magnificent patron of art.

It was in the spacious halls of the Hradschin Palace at Prague that Rudolph the Second assembled his treasures. He brought thither from Vienna the most precious of the numerous works of art which he had inherited from his father, the Emperor Maximilian the Second, and he at once set to work to increase his collections. His agents were constantly busy hunting up bargains for him. Spain, Italy, and Flanders were ransacked for him in search of pictures, statues, medals, coins, trinkets, jewels, and curios of every description. Year after year the *Rudolphinische Kunst- und Wunderkammer* became richer and more famous, backed as it was by the resources of an imperial purse and the zeal of imperial diplomacy and bureaucracy. The Emperor also called to Prague the principal artists of Germany and the Netherlands, and gave them liberal orders. The sculptor Adrian de Vriez, the engraver Giles Sadeler, and the painters Spranger, Hoefnagel, and Heinz are among the best known of the artistic colony

that settled in the Bohemian capital at his bidding. Diamond-cutters and workers in rock crystal were also in great demand, and, last but not least, alchemists and astrologers.

The only happy hours the Emperor knew were those spent in his museum, and with his artistic and scientific friends. Many of them were anything but first-rate men; some of them were downright rogues and swindlers; but it must be remembered that among those he protected and befriended were also the great pioneers of science, Tycho Brahe and John Kepler. Much might, perhaps, be said about the Emperor's taste. We have not much sympathy now for the art which marks the transition from the late Renaissance to the Barocco period, but it was the fashion in Rudolph the Second's time, and he was a man well able to understand and follow the direction of taste, but not competent to lead the way towards a new one. There were also a good many copies and school pictures among his 'originals.' In some cases he knew it, and did not care much. In others he was deceived, as will unfortunately happen even to the best of connoisseurs. Many of the pictures the Emperor had ordered himself belonged more to the 'wonder' section of the collection than to the artistic one. Such were a set of representations of fabulous animals, dragons, hippogriffs, and the like. These might perhaps be considered as the connecting link between the domains of art and natural history, which the Emperor wished to unite as closely as possible. He had also plenty of stuffed birds and other animals, as well as a great many curiosities which it would be difficult to classify. Where would you put, for instance, a set of teeth and a hand of a mermaid, or a glove made of human skin? Of diamonds and emeralds there was a plentiful supply, something like three thousand dozen, kept in bowls of gold, silver, or crystal, much in the same way as in the imperial secret treasury of Constantinople.

A great many things were lost, or removed, during the stormy years that swept over Prague after the death of Rudolph the Second, but the great bulk of the collections remained at the Hradschin until the very last days of the Thirty Years' War. A Swedish army was besieging Prague even while the plenipotentiaries were already busy drawing up the great treaty of peace at Münster and Osnabrück, and on the morning of the 25th of July 1648 the Swedes under Königs-marck succeeded in occupying part of the city and the Hradschin itself. The town was plundered by the soldiery, but the treasures of the palace were reserved by the victorious general for his young Queen. Königs-marck well knew the passionate interest which Christina took in art and literature, and how welcome these truly royal spoils would be. He only feared he would not have time to send them safely away before peace was proclaimed, and his fears were shared by the Queen, who sent pressing orders not to lose any time in forwarding the collections to Stockholm.

The entrance to the galleries had not been effected without resistance. Königsmark's soldiers found the doors bolted and locked, and the impatient hammering of their pikes elicited no response. The keeper, Eusebius Miseron, one of the finest stone-cutters of his day, was at last found and brought before the captain in command, but he stubbornly refused to give up the keys. He had undertaken to protect what was entrusted to his care, and he meant to keep his word. Threats were of no avail. Torture had to be resorted to before poor faithful Miseron revealed the hiding-place of the keys. I hope there may be somewhere a record of model gallery-keepers with Miseron's name in golden letters at the top of the list.

Carpenters and packers now invaded the Hradschin; pictures were removed from their frames and rolled together, and in a few weeks' time long rows of stout boxes filled the imperial halls. Finally, early in the morning of the 6th of November, before the news of peace had had time to reach Prague, a flotilla of barges was towed up the Elbe northwards. But ice soon blocked the river. The cases were taken overland to Wismar, then a Swedish possession, and stored there during the winter. At the end of May 1649 they arrived in Stockholm, and were carried up to the royal castle.

The young Queen was anxiously awaiting their arrival. At the age of twenty-two, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus was one of the most learned women of Europe, and fully merited the name of 'Pallas of the North,' which her admirers bestowed upon her. And she had neglected no opportunity to cultivate the feeling for and understanding of art which was inborn in her, as in every section of the royal house of Vasa. Until now, however, her opportunities had been few. She knew the names of the great masters and what her books and engravings had told her about them, but that could not be much. At any rate it was not enough for her. We must remember that there were no photographs in 1649, nor any such publications as those which in our days make the artistic treasures of the world the common intellectual property of all lovers of art. Nor were the collections she had found within the walls of the old palace in Stockholm very rich or very interesting. A hundred Dutch, Flemish, or German pictures, a third of which were portraits, that was about all she had inherited from her father. Of sculpture she had hardly seen anything at all, except a wooden group of St. George and the Dragon. True, the palace possessed a good many sets of Flemish tapestries, and a splendid one from Mortlake, but tapestries could hardly satisfy a soul hungering for the sight of masterpieces, the splendour of which she could only divine. Of Swedish art there was none, or at least none to speak of. The Reformation had put an end to the pictorial decoration of churches, and for a long time to come architecture was to be the only form of art that appealed to the Swedish mind. Military enterprise still absorbed too much of the forces of the nation.

Let us fancy Queen Christina impatiently wandering backwards and forwards among the crowd of workmen unpacking her new treasures. In her hands she might carry the catalogue, written in quaint German simplicity, which Königsmarck had sent her from Prague, checking off pictures and statues as they emerged out of boxes and wrappings. What a truly royal pleasure! And to hang and put up everything afterwards! The palace was hardly big enough to hold it all. There were about four hundred and ninety pictures, and to a great many of them were appended the names of Correggio, Titian, Mantegna, Dürer, Leonardo, Michel Angelo, Gio. Bellini, Raphael, Tintoretto, Brueghel, Matsys, &c.; no large statues, but some one hundred and twenty statuettes of bronze, marble, and alabaster. There were also weapons, scientific instruments, mirrors, majolica, banners, embroideries, pearls, silver, clocks, manuscripts, such as the famous Codex Argenteus of Ulfilas, and the no less celebrated 'Gigas Librorum' or Devil's Bible, and, last but not least, a living lion. The transport of the latter article from Prague to Stockholm had not been without its troubles.

To catalogue her pictures the Queen called in from France Marquis Raphael du Fresne, the editor of the great Leonardo's works, but the choice was not a happy one. Du Fresne wrote down very conscientiously where the pictures came from and described as well as he could what they represented, but he neglected every mention of the painters' names. Nor had the inventory sent home by Königsmarck been more explicit. To this regrettable negligence much of the confusion that has arisen regarding the authorship of some of the Queen's pictures is to be attributed.

Du Fresne's work was completed in 1653, four years after the arrival of the Prague collections in Stockholm, and its termination preceded, alas! only by a few months the breaking up of the collection and the removal from Sweden of the best part of the Queen's art-treasures. It is well known that Christina abdicated in June 1654 in order to embrace the Roman Catholic faith and to settle in Rome. She carried with her all the best belongings of the Swedish Crown, for in those days little difference was made between what was owned by the State and what by the Sovereign personally. Besides, the love and regard the Swedes entertained for the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus was too great to allow of any serious opposition. Perhaps also the immense loss she thus caused to the artistic and scientific development of her own country was not sufficiently understood at the time. The Swedish soil was not yet ready for the seeds of art. Let it be remembered that there was in the palace only one picture by a Swede, and that probably a poor one.

Happily for Sweden, the Queen did not care much for the Dutch, German, and Flemish schools, and left the great majority of their paintings at Stockholm, where not a few of them are still found in the

National Museum. She especially cherished her Italian pictures, and of these all the principal ones followed her to Rome. They were, however, first sent to the Netherlands, where the Queen spent the first year after her abdication, and some of them were stored at Antwerp for several years, until Christina had in 1659 definitely selected her abode in the Palazzo Riario. During her stay in Brussels and Antwerp Christina made some new purchases: among others, of some pictures from the collection of the Duke of Buckingham.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until 1662 that the Queen's Roman installation was completed, but from that time until the last years before her death in 1689 she kept on continuously increasing her collections. The largest addition was her purchase in bulk of the Carlo Imperiali collection from Genoa in 1667. There are two catalogues of the pictures extant from this period, one written about 1677,<sup>2</sup> the other shortly after her death,<sup>3</sup> both giving the names of the painters and the dimensions of the pictures, but unfortunately not mentioning their origin. The first of these is the most important one, as it came under the eyes of the Queen herself. We shall follow it here.

Cardinal Azzolino had been Christina's intimate friend and adviser ever since her first arrival in Rome. It had been a case of love at first sight with her, and, what is less frequent, it proved to be the love of a lifetime. She instituted him by her will her universal legatee, bequeathing to him all she possessed, a few special legacies excepted, and thus the famous collections passed, at the death of the Queen, to the Cardinal. Azzolino, however, only survived his friend a few weeks, and at his death in June 1689 his nephew, Marchese Pompeo Azzolino, became the owner of Christina's treasures. But as he inherited very little ready money at the same time, he could not afford to keep them, and in 1696 he sold the bulk of the collections to the Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano, a nephew of Pope Innocent the Eleventh. The price was 123,000 scudi (24,000*l.*), and the number of the pictures was then 240.<sup>4</sup> Of these at least sixty-six, probably more, had originally belonged to Rudolph the Second's gallery in Prague, and had been brought by Christina from Stockholm.

The day of rest had not come yet for these unfortunate paintings. In a few years the princely house of Odescalchi found itself in somewhat straitened circumstances, and began to look out for a buyer of the Queen's 'cabinet,' as art-collections used to be called in those days. Already in 1715 negotiations were begun with the Regent of France, Duke Philip of Orleans, and after a voluminous correspondence he purchased, in January 1721, all the pictures, now stated

<sup>1</sup> Lady Burgholers, *George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Now in the Archivio Azzolino at Empoli. A copy is in the Royal Archives at Stockholm.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Archives of the Vatican.

<sup>4</sup> *Gualtieri Papers*, MS. 20809, British Museum, folio 17.

to be 259, but not the statues, tapestries, medals, &c. Nineteen paintings had thus been added to the collection during its stay in the Palazzo Odescalchi. The pictures were removed from their frames, cleaned, and 'restored' under the personal supervision of the Chevalier Poisson, and finally shipped at Civit  Vecchia in September 1721. They travelled by way of C tte, the Languedoc Canal, Bordeaux, and Nantes, and did not arrive in Paris until the spring of 1722.

The Regent had a special admiration for Correggio, who had not hitherto been represented in his gallery, and it was his desire to acquire some pieces of this great master which originally led to his opening the negotiations. At one time, when these seemed hopeless, he gave orders to his agents in Rome to limit themselves, if his offer for the whole of the Queen's cabinet was rejected, to an offer of 20,000 livres for four Correggios and three Titians. The Correggios were: *Leda*, *Io* (both now in the Royal Museum at Berlin), *Danae* (now in the Borghese Gallery), and *Cupid shaping his Bow* (now in Bridgewater House). This latter was in reality by Parmigianino. The Titians were: *Venus with the Mirror* (now at Cobham Hall), *Venus rising from the Sea* (now in Bridgewater House), and *Venus, Mercury, and Cupid* (now in Stafford House). The last picture is now attributed to Schiavone. If the Regent's advisers were not quite certain as to the names of the painters, their taste at least was sure. These pictures were in fact the gems of the collection, and two of them are to this day numbered among the treasures of the world. When the Borghese collection was purchased by the Italian Government a few years ago, the *Danae* alone was valued at 40,000*l*.

However beautiful and valuable these paintings were, they had still had one defect in the eyes of squeamish seventeenth-century Rome. Never was the nude, and especially the female nude, more gloriously represented. Green curtains were evidently the thing for them! Queen Christina would not hear of any such prudery, but others were less liberal-minded, and Cardinal Odescalchi had in fact ordered curtains to be placed over them. The Regent, of course, shared Christina's ideas, but after his death his son, Duke Louis, returned to the Roman view of the nudity question. The poor pictures had once more to submit to curtains. Worse still, some, among others the *Leda*, were badly mutilated and objectionable parts cut out!

With the exception of this little interlude the Queen's pictures enjoyed seventy years' rest in the halls of the Palais Royal. But in 1792 their wanderings began again. The then Duke of Orleans, the famous Philippe  galit , needed money. His pictures were sold in two great lots. The French and Italian ones were disposed of for 750,000 livres to a banker, who resold them shortly afterwards for 900,000 livres to a certain Laborde de M reville. This gentleman soon had to leave France and seek a refuge in London, whither he also brought his newly acquired collection. After the death of Laborde

the pictures were bought for 43,000*l.* by an association of three English noblemen, the Duke of Bridgewater, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Earl Gower. An exhibition of the paintings was then decided upon. It commenced in December 1798 in the rooms belonging to Mr. Bryan, an art dealer, in Pall Mall and at the Lyceum, and lasted for six months. The three buyers had reserved for themselves a number of pictures, valued at 39,000 guineas; of the remainder part were sold during the exhibition for 31,000 guineas, and the last ones were finally disposed of in 1800 by public auction at Messrs. Peter Coxe, Burrell & Foster's for about 10,000*l.* The Dutch, Flemish, and German pictures of the Orleans Gallery were also disposed of in 1792 to English buyers represented by Mr. T. M. Slade, and were exhibited and sold in London some time afterwards.

Thus the last year of the eighteenth century witnessed the final dispersion of the Emperor Rudolph the Second's and Queen Christina's pictures. About eighty of the latter are believed to be still in England in the hands of various owners.

The National Gallery has nine paintings which have belonged to the Queen. The four large Paolo Veroneses, *Unfaithfulness*, *Scorn*, *Respect*, and *Happy Union*, which are now hanging in the grand hall under the cupola, were in the Palazzo Riario placed on the ceiling of the Queen's great audience-room, which in our days has become the meeting-room of the Accademia dei Lincei. They had plain gilt frames, and around them there was stretched painted canvas showing a rich ornamentation in *grisaille* enlivened by gilding. I cannot help thinking that in these surroundings they appeared more to their advantage than they do now in their showy frames of the late Victorian period and of nondescript style. And it is certainly a mistake to exhibit hanging on a wall paintings intended for ceilings. The foreshortenings then become puzzling. This explains why the otherwise most excellent catalogue of the National Gallery describes the two young women in *Scorn* as 'seated hand in hand,' while in fact they are walking away. The catalogues of the Emperor Rudolph and of Queen Christina had no names for these allegorical groups, but at the time of the sale of the year 1721 the *Happy Union* was described as *Abundance crowning Peace*. The present names were given to the paintings in the Orleans Gallery. They are certainly not very happy, but they are short, and people are rather lazy about finding out the meaning of allegories. Therefore the names are likely to stay.

The audience-room of the Palazzo Riario contained forty-two more pictures, of which seventeen bore the name of Titian, while eight were ascribed to Paolo Veronese, and three to Correggio. Among the forty-two were Titian's *Venus rising from the Sea* and *The Three Ages*, now in Bridgewater House, his *Venus*, *Cupid*, and *Mercury* (Stafford House), and his *L'Esclavonne* (Cook Collection, Richmond). Of the eight Veroneses six are now in England, and one

hangs, as it did 200 years ago, in the neighbourhood of the great ceiling pictures. It is the little sketch of the *Rape of Europa*, now placed under *Respect*; in a rather bad light, I regret to say.

Another of the Queen's pictures is placed under *Respect*. It is the *Death of Peter the Martyr*, now ascribed to Cariani after having long borne the glorious name of Giorgione. It is by no means a great picture, and it is a mystery how it can ever have passed as a work of the fellow-pupil and rival of Titian.

Queen Christina is also indirectly connected with the splendid Correggio of the National Gallery, *Mercury instructing Cupid in the Presence of Venus*, for she owned a copy of it, which came to London with the Orleans collection, and was again sold in Paris in 1832 at the Errard sale. I should hardly think it worth while to mention this were it not that a certain mystery is connected with this copy. It so happened that in the year 1603 Johan von Aachen, one of Rudolph the Second's painters, saw some copies executed in Mantua by Rubens, who was then in the service of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga. Von Aachen praised them so highly to his sovereign that the Emperor begged the duke to let him have reproductions by Rubens of all the Correggios which were then at Mantua. This was done, and the copies were sent to Prague.<sup>5</sup> One of them was the *Mercury and Cupid*. We might therefore suppose that the Queen's copy was by Rubens, but unfortunately it is not quite certain that it came from Prague. She may have bought it later during her stay in Italy. In one of the Queen's catalogues the Venus in the picture is simply described as a 'woman with wings.'

Two other Correggios, *Groups of Heads*, apparently part of a choir of angels, are kept in the basement of the National Gallery. They had belonged to the Queen, but I could not say whether they came from Prague or were purchased in Italy. Their damaged state also renders it difficult to form any opinion as to the hand to which they ought to be attributed. They reproduce parts of Correggio's frescoes in the cupola of the cathedral at Parma, but are they sketches made before or copies made after the frescoes? I do not pretend to answer the question, but at any rate the groups seem to deserve a better treatment than is now bestowed upon them.

Rinaldo Mantovano is at the present date said to be the author of four compositions in the National Gallery (Nos. 643 and 644), representing *The Capture of Carthage*, *The Continence of Scipio*, *The Rape of the Sabines*, and *The Reconciliation between the Romans and the Sabines*. In the Queen's collection these paintings, then still on wood, now on canvas, bore the name of Rinaldo's master, Giulio Romano. They are evidently sketches meant to be carried out in larger dimensions for the decoration of a room, and their artistic value is but small, whether they are by the pupil or by the master.

<sup>5</sup> Emile Michel, *Rubens* (London, 1899), i. 103.



Bridgewater House has become the home of no less than thirteen of Queen Christina's pictures. The best known of these is perhaps Raphael's *Madonna del Passeggio* or *La Belle Vierge*, representing the Madonna standing with the Infant Saviour and St. John in the midst of a beautiful landscape, while St. Joseph is walking away in the background. This famous picture has been much discussed and written about; it now hangs in the sitting-room of the stately palace of the Ellesmeres, together with the Bridgewater *Madonna* and *La Vierge au Palmier*; but much still remains to be known, not only about its early history, but also about its authorship. It is generally admitted that it was originally painted for the Duke of Urbino, and it is nearly certain that it afterwards came to Spain, and probably into the possession of Philip the Second. What is less certain is how it found its way to Queen Christina's gallery. The accepted tradition is that it was given by Philip the Second to Rudolph the Second, and taken by the Swedes at the sacking of Prague. Another, more improbable, version is that it was given by Philip the Third to Gustavus Adolphus. Unfortunately, the catalogues of the Prague and Stockholm collections do not supply us with any means of identifying it with any of the pictures known to have belonged either to the Emperor or to the Swedish King. It is true that a catalogue of the Prague Gallery of 1621<sup>6</sup> speaks of *Ein fürnemes Stück, von Rafael te Urbin* (No. 19), which *might* mean our Madonna; but the indication is too vague for anything but guesswork. What we *do* know is that the picture appears for the first time fully described in the Queen's inventory of (about) 1677. This catalogue, which she had herself seen, expressly mentions that the picture was given to her by the King of Spain. We further know that the Queen received many valuable gifts from Philip the Fourth during her stay (1654-55) in Antwerp and Brussels, where she was living under the special protection of the Spanish king previous to her conversion and departure for Rome. During the following twenty years her relations with Spain were instead rather strained, and her papers mention no exchange of presents with the Court of Madrid. It is also known that during these same years 1654-55 several pictures from the Duke of Buckingham's collection were bought by or for Christina. And in the catalogue<sup>7</sup> of that collection we find the following mention (146/113):

No. 2, Raphael. Une autre ditto de N.D., N. Seigneur et S. Jean dans un paysage. „ Elle a une hauteur 4 pieds et une longueur 2 pieds 10 pouces.

Brian Fairfax's printed translation of the catalogue describes the picture as 'the Virgin Mary, Christ, and St. John in a landskip.' The measures are repeated.

<sup>6</sup> Printed by O. Granberg in *Kejsar Rudolf II.'s Konstkammare*, and in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthum-Vereines zu Wien*, Bd. vii., 1864.

<sup>7</sup> *Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, British Museum MS. 17915, Plut. cxviii. H.

Now these measurements are somewhat larger than those of the Bridgewater picture, but the indications of seventeenth-century catalogues in this respect are, unfortunately, not always to be relied on, especially as it is seldom mentioned whether the measurements are taken within or without the frame. In the present case the difference may be accounted for if the frame was included by the compiler of the Buckingham catalogue, which, it is well to note, appears to have been written after the dispersion of the pictures.

From this we may be allowed to offer as a conjecture that the Bridgewater picture at one time belonged to the Duke of Buckingham's collection at York House, and that it was bought in 1654-55 in the Netherlands for the King of Spain in order to be presented on his behalf to Queen Christina. It was considered by the Queen as one of the gems of her gallery, and she would certainly have laughed to scorn any suggestion that its authenticity might be open to doubt.

But then Queen Christina did not foresee to what heights the art-criticism of the present day was destined to rise. In her time a picture did not require so many credentials. If a king made a present to a queen of a Raphael, it was a Raphael, and there was an end of it. We are a little more particular now, and before recognising a work as belonging to one of the great masters of old, we want to have satisfactory answers to a great many questions. Modern criticism has been especially hard on Raphaels, and specialists will remember how nine years ago an Austrian *savant*<sup>8</sup> boldly ascribed a good half of the works of the Urbinate, among others the famous South Kensington cartoons, to the most insipid of his scholars, Gio. Francesco Penni, generally known as *il Fattore*. The *Madonna del Passeggio* was among those that thus fell to Penni's lot, but it is only just to add that older critics had already expressed their doubt. Waagen,<sup>9</sup> for instance, could 'not agree that it is really by the hand of the master.'

As his objections are largely founded on the colour and execution, it may be of interest to quote what the Chevalier Poerson, Chief of the French Academy in Rome, wrote to the Regent's representative, Cardinal Gualtieri, while he was superintending the cleaning and 'restauration' of the Queen's pictures previous to their being shipped to France :<sup>10</sup>

J'auray l'honneur de luy dire que la belle vierge de Raphaël est entièrement rétablie avec une adresse et une intelligence qui n'a point de pareille. J'y ai toujours assisté sans manquer un instant, et nous continuons de travailler au reste.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann Dollmayr, 'Raffaels Werkstätte,' *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses*, vol. xvi. (Vienna, 1895). Reviewed by Eugene Müntz in the *Athenæum*, July 11, 1896, No. 3585.

<sup>9</sup> *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1854), ii. 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Gualtieri Papers*, MS. 20309, British Museum, folio 207. The letter is not dated, but it was written during the summer of 1721.

To those who know what an 'entire re-establishment' at the hands of eighteenth-century workers means, it will be clear that the present state of the colour and of the execution cannot allow us to judge of the original state of the picture. It certainly cannot allow us to ascribe it to Penni rather than to Raphael.

Less discussed, but more important, are the two Titians—*Venus rising from the Sea* and *The Ages of Human Life*—both once placed in the great audience-room of the Palazzo Riario. The *Ages* belongs to the great Venetian's earlier period, the *Venus* to his period of glorious maturity, and they both still are, as they have always been, reckoned among his best productions. The figure of *Venus* is perhaps not free from a certain sensuousness in its fulness of form, but the expression of the face and the grace of the attitude have an irresistible charm; and in *The Ages of Human Life* the master gives us a scene of idyllic poetry which has only been rivalled in his own time by Giorgione, and in ours by Böcklin.

Both pictures, especially the *Venus*, have suffered not a little from well-meant renovation. In the Queen's time they had the advantage of being seen in plain gilt frames. Let us hope that privilege may some day be restored to them.

Paolo Veronese's *Venus bewailing the Death of Adonis* came from Prague, and was in Christina's palace hung in the audience-room, together with six others of the same master, under the great *plafonds* which are now in the National Gallery. The effect of that series must have been very great, but in its present place in the Bridgewater House gallery the picture is not seen to full advantage, isolated as it is from its proper surroundings.

Correggio's *Vierge au Panier*, of which the original is in the National Gallery, is represented at Bridgewater House by an excellent copy or duplicate. It was acquired by Christina in Italy, and was considered by her, and during its stay in the Orleans Gallery, as an original.

Parmigianino's *Cupid shaping his Bow* has long been considered an original. It is, however, now known that the faithful keeper of the Prague Gallery, Eusebius Miseron, had some of the best pictures, among them Parmigianino's *Cupid*, sent away to Vienna before the city was invested by the Swedes. A copy, said to be executed by Rudolph the Second's favourite painter, Joseph Heinz, was left behind, and fell into the hands of Königsmarck. In Christina's catalogues it is attributed to Parmigianino, but at one time, during the stay of the picture in the Odescalchi collection, it was ascribed to Correggio, and it was offered as such to the Regent. In its present state Heinz's copy is certainly superior to the original in Vienna. The sarcastic glance with which Cupid seems to look on the spectator recalls to the mind the famous verse of Voltaire :

Qui que tu sois, voici ton maître,  
Il l'est, le fut, ou le doit être.

It may amuse the reader to know that in one of the Queen's catalogues this Cupid is described as 'a naked woman seen from behind.'

Another splendid picture is Annibale Caracci's *Danae*. It belonged at one time to the Pamfili family, and was then placed in their magnificent summer-house on the Janiculus, Vigna di Belrespiro, now Villa Donna Pamfili. It was given to the Queen on the occasion of her first visit to the villa, in February 1656, by Don Camillo Pamfili, Prince of Rossano, husband of the beautiful and famous Olimpia Aldobrandini. During its stay in the Palazzo Riario it was somewhat eclipsed by the superior charm of Correggio's *Danae*,<sup>11</sup> but now that it has escaped that dangerous proximity its powerful design and rich colouring might be more appreciated, if only it enjoyed a better light.

The *Portrait of a Doge* in the State drawing-room was acquired by the Queen in Rome as a work of Palma Vecchio. This attribution is, however, not supported by any evidence, and few modern critics would recognise in it the hand of Palma.

Another portrait of *A Gentleman with a Book*, by Tintoretto, came to the Queen from the Buckingham collection, in the catalogue of which it is described as 'No. 7. Tintoret: Le portrait d'un homme assis, haut 4 pieds, large 3.' The colours have now darkened too much to judge of its original state.

The *Christ before Pilate* of Andrea Schiavone, the *Holy Family* of Paris Bordone, and the *Christ at Emmaus* by Starvellino have also belonged to the Queen. The latter came from Rudolph the Second's collection, while the two former were acquired in Italy. Bordone's picture was ascribed to Pordenone in the Queen's catalogue, and to Giorgione at the time of the Regent's purchase. It was sold in London in 1798 under the same illustrious name, to which it certainly is not entitled. Whether the present ascription is the right one I should not like to say.

Last, but not least, Gerard Dou's magnificent *Fiddler* for a few years graced the Queen's collection at Stockholm. It was bought for her from Dou, together with eight others of his best pieces, by Christina's minister-resident at the Hague, Pieter Spiering, but the Queen returned them all to Spiering before her departure for Rome in 1654.

And now let us cross over to Stafford House. The *Venus, Mercury, and Cupid* of Andrea Schiavone came to the Queen from Prague under the name of Titian, which modern critics will not allow it to retain. Cupid is charmingly painted, and the figure of Mercury has both vigour and grace, but it would be difficult to say the same about Venus. The head is especially weak, and there is certainly nothing of Titian about it. It is nevertheless an agreeable picture, which would be seen to better advantage if it were hung a little lower.

The *Mule-driver* of Correggio is more remarkable for the stories

<sup>11</sup> Now in the Villa Borghese, Rome.

that have been circulated about it than for its beauty. It has been said that it was painted by Correggio to pay a debt which he had run up with the keeper of an inn on the Via Flaminia outside Rome; also that it was used as a shutter or blind for a window in the royal stables at Stockholm. Unfortunately, it is equally uncertain whether Correggio really painted the picture or whether it ever was in Stockholm. It seems more likely that the Queen acquired it in Italy. Her catalogue mentions it as a Correggio, but if it is one it certainly is a bad one. A small picture, representing the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, is now ascribed to Agostino Caracci. It came originally from Prague, and when in the Queen's possession went under the name of Guido Reni, while during its stay in the Odescalchi collection it was ascribed to Lodovico Caracci. Of the latter there is an *Ecce Homo*, which the Queen had acquired in Italy. It then bore Annibale Caracci's name, and was described in the Odescalchi catalogue as of 'incomparable beauty.' True, that catalogue was compiled in view of a sale.

Sir Frederick Cook's gallery in Richmond gives its splendid hospitality to one of the gems of Rudolph the Second's and Christina's collections—Titian's famous *L'Esclavonne*. It is now generally presumed to be a portrait of Laura de' Dianti, the beloved mistress of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. At Prague it was called 'a Turkish woman,' probably on account of the head-dress, while in Rome it became known as 'la Schiavona'—a name it is likely to retain. There are several copies in existence, the best known in the museum at Modena, and hypercritical judges have not been wanting who have declared the Richmond picture also to be a copy—after a lost original. It has, however, a broadness of touch which is scarcely ever found in a copy, and a transparency in the shadows which seems to mark it as the handiwork of Titian himself. The picture has suffered some slight damage during its journeys, but it still remains a thing of joy and beauty. It has, besides, the advantage of being most appropriately framed. Queen Christina has also been the owner of Veronese's *Man between Virtue and Vice*, of which Sir F. Cook and Lord Francis Hope, at Deepdene, have each a reproduction. Which of these two is the Queen's I have not been able to ascertain.

The picture gallery of the Earl of Darnley at Cobham Hall contains two of the Queen's old pictures. A copy of *Venus at the Mirror*, by Titian, the original of which is in the Hermitage, came from Prague. The *Tomyris* of Rubens was acquired by the Queen later, perhaps during her stay in the Netherlands. Four other pictures of the Queen's—Pordenone's *Milon of Croton* and *Hercules and Achelous*, and Ribeira's *Heracitus* and *Democritus*—have been sold from Cobham Hall, and I have not been able to trace their whereabouts.

There are still about forty pictures from the Queen's gallery which were last sold in England and are still believed to be here. The most

important of them are Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Cupid*, Titian's *Venus and a Lute-player*, Veronese's *Mercury and Herse*, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, Andrea del Sarto's *Leda*, Veronese's *Mars and Venus*, now at Mr. Wertheimer's, and Rubens's *Venus returning from the Chase*, *Venus weeping over Adonis*, and *Ganymedes*. The others are not particularly interesting.

Palma's *Venus and Cupid* is one of the finest of the Queen's pictures. It was called in her catalogue an *opera assai bella*, and it well deserves that name. There is a quiet majestic grace about the figure of the goddess and a charming naïveté in that of Cupid, eagerly stretching forth his hand for the arrow his mother is giving him. The colouring is rich and harmonious, the modelling of the flesh exquisite, although obtained by the simplest means, and the background shows a delightful piece of landscape. The foliage and flowers of the foreground are the weakest part of the picture, and show traces of repainting. Otherwise the state of preservation is perfect. This truly magnificent specimen of the Venetian school came to the Queen from Rudolph the Second's collection.

Titian's *Venus* has suffered much from repainting and restoration, and in its present state certainly differs very much from what it looked like when it left the master's atelier; that is to say, if it ever was there. There are two similar pictures by Titian in Madrid and in the Uffizi, and one in Dresden, which is now recognised to be a copy by some Flemish artist. Whether the Fitzwilliam replica is a school-picture or simply a copy, I must leave to specialists to decide. I should not be surprised if they ended by deciding to ascribe it to some of the Flemish or German artists that worked for Rudolph the Second. I must add, however, that the Queen's catalogue mentions that the head of Venus was painted by Paul Veronese.

There ought not to be any doubt as to the authenticity of Veronese's *Mercury and Herse*, as it is signed—rather a rare occurrence, by the way—and has the characteristic fine silvery tone, which copyists have found so difficult to imitate. The favourite term of the modern critic, 'school picture,' will probably, nevertheless, be applied to it by some; but it does not seem likely that Veronese, who generally neglected to sign his works, should have gone out of his way to affix his name to a mere school picture. The frame, unfortunately, covers a little of the canvas; otherwise the state of the picture is excellent.

BILDT.

## ONE LESSON FROM THE BECK CASE

THOUGH the results of the pending inquiry in the Adolf Beck case may perhaps be known before these sentences appear in print, I will not be guilty of the impropriety of commenting upon any of the questions which have been referred to the Master of the Rolls' Committee; but there can be nothing unseemly in appealing to public and undisputed facts to point a useful moral.

Sympathy with Mr. Beck, and indignation at the wrongs he has suffered, have been intensified by the fact that he is a stranger in this country, and therefore, in a sense, our guest. Had the victim of these wrongs been an Englishman, it is doubtful if such an inquiry would ever have been held; but, be that as it may, the case is important as affording fresh and striking proof of the need of one of the reforms in criminal procedure which I have for years been advocating in these pages.

Lawyers may differ as to the Common Serjeant's ruling at the 1896 trial, in rejecting certain evidence upon which the counsel for the accused relied to establish his client's innocence. That the admission of that evidence might have led to an acquittal may be conceded; but that it would certainly have had that effect no one would venture to assert. For while it is true that criminals rarely copy one another in the details of their crimes, it is not true that they never do so. An argumentative defence based on the evidence thus ruled out would no doubt have disposed of the charge against the prisoner if the witnesses had been few in number, or if their credit had been damaged by cross-examination; but, in view of the undoubted fact that a number of persons had been robbed, and that their testimony against the prisoner was unhesitating and unshaken, it is by no means certain that the rejected evidence would have cleared him. Neither is it certain, I may remark in passing, that any Court of Criminal Appeal, acting under our present law and practice, would have reversed the verdict. The only inquiry which would certainly have saved the victim of this terrible miscarriage of justice, either at the 1896 trial or at the trial before Mr. Justice Grantham in the present year, would have been an after-verdict inquiry such as I have

been pleading for—an inquiry of a kind now unknown to the criminal law of England.

But I should not sit down to write this article if I had nothing to offer but inferences and arguments based upon the Beck case. What leads me to take up my pen is that a recent Irish case—a case which, though it has received no attention in England, is, in a sense, more interesting and important than the Beck case—affords striking proof of the need and of the practical value of a reform such as I advocate.

In the month of August last year a Mr. Francis du Bedat, well known in business circles in Dublin—he was at one time president of the Dublin Stock Exchange—was tried before Mr. Justice Wright, of the Irish Court of King's Bench, on a charge of fraudulently obtaining money to finance a scheme for the construction of certain works in South Africa, under a concession from the Portuguese Government. The fact of the concession was not in dispute; but it was proved at the trial that it had been cancelled before the accused had applied for and obtained money on account of it. The prisoner was convicted of the offence charged, and sentenced to penal servitude.

Mr. du Bedat having been made bankrupt, the matter on which the criminal charge was founded afterwards came before Mr. Justice Boyd, another judge of the King's Bench, sitting in bankruptcy. Text-books on the law of evidence have no place in proceedings in bankruptcy. The court sets itself to get at the truth and facts of a case without regard to technical rules of evidence or abstract principles of any kind; and as the result of the searching inquiry which was thus held, payments were authorised from the bankrupt's estate in furtherance of the very scheme in respect of which he had been convicted and sentenced. It was not that there was any conflict of jurisdiction, or friction of any kind between the judges. It is more than probable that if the conduct of the bankruptcy proceedings had not rested with an exceptionally strong and fearless judge he would have shirked an inquiry which reopened a *chose jugée*; but the fact was recognised that the evidence which led him to take a favourable view of the bankrupt's action could not have been received at the trial. And yet upon that evidence the Government ordered the discharge of the prisoner, with the full concurrence of the judge who had sentenced him.

Several pages might be filled with details, culled from the Irish newspapers, of this remarkable and interesting case. But space is valuable; and, moreover, such a digression would bring in the name of a well-known public man, whose action, or inaction, was commented on by the judge; and the main facts and salient points of the case are sufficient for my purpose. As I have already said, the granting of the concession, which formed the subject matter of the criminal trial and of the hearing in bankruptcy, was never in doubt. The



fact that the concession had been cancelled was proved by the production of the official gazette of the Portuguese Government; and the evidence at the trial seemed to establish that the accused had knowledge of its cancellation. But there were further facts. The concession contained a clause empowering the Portuguese Government at any time to take over, without compensation, any works constructed under it. This clause, it was understood, would be acted on only in case reasons of State policy demanded it; but its effect was to create such difficulties in obtaining money that the purpose for which the concession was granted was in danger of being frustrated; and the concession was cancelled, not to put an end to the scheme, but with a view to its revival on more favourable terms. Though it was cancelled technically and in law, it was still alive in an equitable sense. And as no works had yet been constructed, no notice of the cancellation was given, save the entry in the gazette; and knowledge of this had never reached Mr. du Bedat.

All this was clearly proved in the Court of Bankruptcy; but the proofs were of such a kind that they could not have been made evidence in the criminal court; and, as a matter of fact, the scheme which, in the absence of these proofs, was adjudged to be fraudulent, has since been revived, and the unfortunate bankrupt has been enabled, by the help of the Court of Bankruptcy, to secure a valuable interest in it.

I cannot conceive how anyone who studies Mr. Justice Grantham's statement to the Master of the Rolls' Committee can doubt that, if after the verdict had been given in the Beck case this year, instead of conferring privately with the lawyers and police officers and writing to the Home Office, he could have proceeded to hold a full and searching inquiry, like that of the Bankruptcy Court, untrammelled by technicalities and rules of evidence, he would have arrived at the truth, and Mr. Beck could have cleared himself of the charge. And I have cited Mr. du Bedat's case as an actual instance of the effect of such an inquiry in rescuing an innocent man from penal servitude. In previous articles<sup>1</sup> I have shown the need of such inquiries to prevent that sort of modified miscarriage of justice which occurs incessantly under our stupid 'punishment of crime' system, in allowing deliberate and dangerous criminals to escape with sentences which afford no adequate protection to the community; and I have explained that the proposal is merely an enlargement and adaptation of a scheme formulated by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in his *History of the Criminal Law of England*. But my special purpose here and now is to call attention to the fact that such inquiries would afford a safeguard against the imprisonment of the innocent.

I have already expressed a doubt whether a Court of Criminal

<sup>1</sup> See, *ex. gr.*, *The Nineteenth Century* of last January, and of March 1903, and my first article of this series, which appeared in February 1901.

Appeal would have saved Mr. Beck either in 1896 or in 1904. It would certainly not have done so in 1896 if the excluded evidence had been heard, and after hearing it the jury had convicted. For if the decision of a competent court on issues of fact, based on the unshaken evidence of a dozen witnesses, is to be set aside on appeal, we may as well abolish trial by jury at once. But how could such a court have saved Mr. du Bedat? There was no question of misdirection or of mistake in law; and a new trial would have been subject to the same rules of evidence that precluded his clearing himself in the trial before Mr. Justice Wright.

The plain fact is that our rules and methods of criminal procedure are devised in the interests of wrong-doers. An innocent man welcomes the fullest and freest inquiry; and such an inquiry is a benefit also to anyone whose only lapse is the particular offence charged against him. Very few of the judges, moreover, now cling to the 'Vicegerent of the Deity' theory—that it is their duty 'to fit the punishment to the sin.' If that be the function of a judge, he ought to have an ecclesiastic, or theologian of some sort, as assessor. But my point is that while our best judges are earnestly desirous to obtain the fullest information about a prisoner's character and antecedents, to enable them to decide what sentence the public interests demand, the law makes no provision for any inquiry to this end. Our methods are a survival of the days when judges had practically no discretion in sentencing prisoners; and, as a conviction for felony was followed by a death sentence, the rules of evidence were framed to give accused persons every chance, not of proving their innocence, but of escaping proof of their guilt. For a judge to go behind the evidence was not only impracticable but useless.

But now that judges have the widest discretion in apportioning sentences, it is almost essential to get behind the evidence; and, as I have shown in preceding articles, the action usually taken for this purpose is very seldom adequate or satisfactory. It is unfair, moreover, even to an habitual criminal, that statements to his prejudice should be sprung upon him at a time and in a manner to preclude his answering them; while in the case of the victim of a false charge it is a monstrous outrage. In his *Fifty Years of Public Service*, Major Griffiths notices the difference in the demeanour of the real culprit and of the innocent person wrongly accused. The one, he says, 'knows the worst, and can count the cost; while the innocent, confused and confounded at the charge brought against him, cannot frame words of defence.' And this is intensified after conviction, when a prisoner has no longer the aid of counsel. Mr. Beck has declared that the effect of his trial and conviction was to reduce him almost to the condition of an imbecile; and what happened to him may happen to others. It is bad enough that professional criminals should so constantly escape the fate they deserve, and that the com-

munity should be so inadequately protected against their depredations; but it is intolerable that methods designed to screen the guilty should operate to entangle and crush the innocent.

Trial by jury is said by some to be derived from the ancient doctrine and practice of trial by those to whom an accused person was known; but, strange to say, one of the essential elements in such a trial to-day is that the jury shall be composed of those to whom the accused is *not* known; and this theory is scrupulously respected even in circumstances that make it the merest fiction. The pedantry of it becomes grotesque when a prominent and well-known financier, on being charged with an offence, loses his individuality and becomes 'a man named Hooley.' And in these days of newspapers it is no less a fiction in the case of every sensational or important crime. For the practice of trying a case twice over, first before a magistrate and then in a superior court, has become so settled and habitual that even the lawyers have come to think it is required by the law of England. I recall a case of public interest and notoriety in which I appeared for the Crown, where a prisoner was committed for one offence and tried for another, in respect of which no evidence whatever had been offered in the magistrate's court. There is nothing in our law to prevent this, and in the case in question it operated entirely in favour of the prisoner.

That the prevailing practice is generally favourable to an accused person may be conceded; but it is sometimes very hard upon an impecunious defendant, and in cases where the 'man named Hooley' theory is of importance to the prisoner it always operates unfairly. It is one thing to put 'a man named John Doe' on his trial for a sensational burglary; but it is another matter, and the case bears a very different aspect, when it is known that 'John Doe' is really a notorious burglar who has served many terms of penal servitude for earlier crimes. Though this information is always before the judge, the jury is supposed to know nothing of it, whereas, in fact, it has been announced openly at Bow Street, and published broadcast, with sensational headlines, in all the halfpenny newspapers.

And mark how this may operate in a case like that which is now before the public. Who can say that some member of the jury that convicted Mr. Beck in 1896 had not learned from the police-court proceedings that Adolf Beck was the John Smith of a previous conviction? Who can say that no one of the jurors who convicted him this year had read the report of the magisterial inquiry which announced that he had been convicted of a precisely similar crime in 1896? Is it likely that out of twelve newspaper readers not one would have noticed the case? And the one would, of course, pass the word to his eleven fellow-jurors.

By all means let us so reform our procedure that even 'Bill Sikes' shall have a fair trial, unprejudiced by any knowledge of his career.

But let the reform include the abandonment of the evil and stupid 'punishment of crime' system under which the wicked and the weak now fare alike, and the innocent are in danger of sharing their common fate. Our present methods of dealing with offenders are, as I have said, the result of mere drifting. Is it too much to expect that, in this much-vaunted twentieth century, the whole question should be reopened in the light of primary principles and of plain facts?

I have more than once argued the matter by supposing the case of a new community in which, after a time, the general peace and confidence become disturbed by the lapse of certain of its members. How are the delinquents to be dealt with? They may, on conviction, be registered, and photographed, and measured, and then, after undergoing certain terms of imprisonment, be released to prey again upon the community, this being repeated every time they return to their evil ways; or they may, after fair warning, be shut up for good, or otherwise got rid of altogether. Would any sane and sensible person hesitate in deciding between these rival methods? Under the one a skilled and costly detective police force must be organised to watch the criminals, and the inhabitants must change their habits, and learn to live, as we do in London, in a modified state of siege, behind bolts and bars. Under the other, the community may continue to enjoy security and peace. If some petty and troublesome minority began to agitate for the system which prevails in England to-day, would not their neighbours raise the question whether a lunatic asylum should not be added to the public establishments?

But, it may be objected, an abstract and *a priori* discussion of a question of this kind is of little value. Let us deal with it, then, in a practical way upon the known facts of the prison population. Take any prison to which prisoners of all classes are committed, and proceed, by the help of prison and police officials, to classify the inmates. They are all criminals, of course; but some of them are criminals only in the sense that they have committed crimes, while others are criminals in the sense that the commission of crime is the habit and business of their lives. As we pursue our inquiries we shall find that some who belong to the former class are registered as 'habitual criminals,' and that the latter class includes some of the worst professional criminals.

'But is that possible?' some one will exclaim. It is not only possible, but not uncommon under our 'punishment of crime' system. 'The sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done;' and so this man yielded to the temptation. Having fallen once, it was easy to fall again; and on this second conviction he became in law an 'habitual,' albeit he struggled to retrieve his character, and was at honest work until his second lapse. But here is another man who never did an honest day's work in his life, and who has been preying

on the community for twenty years. Too clever, however, to be caught, he has never before been convicted, and poses as a first offender.

But, it will be demanded, did not the judge in both instances inquire about all this? Yes; probably to the extent of asking the police officers in charge of the respective cases what was known of the prisoner. But information thus given *ex parte*, in an informal inquiry devoid of legal sanction, affords no adequate basis for a judicial sentence, and judges naturally use it with hesitation and reserve.

But to resume; for I must not turn aside to go over ground fully covered in previous articles. A further examination of the two main divisions of the inmates of a gaol will suggest a further classification. There are some who have the honest wish to break with the past and retrieve their character, and there are others who have neither the intention nor the wish to be reformed. Is it not obvious that men who, of set purpose, intend to use liberty to commit crimes ought not to be set at liberty at all? But how can this purpose be ascertained? In regard to the worst, and in that sense the most important cases, there would be no difficulty in the matter. These really bad criminals are happily but a small minority of the whole, and yet it is they who give most trouble to the police, and cause most loss to the community, and it is by them chiefly that others are drawn into the criminal ranks. I believe that no man is hopelessly incorrigible; but with men of this type, the best, if not the only, prospect of making them lead a useful life is to put it out of their power to lead a mischievous life. Let them have due warning, and every opportunity to profit by it; and if they give proof that they either cannot or will not run straight, then let them be treated as moral lunatics and committed during His Majesty's pleasure. Here I need but refer to my article of last May, begging attention specially to the paragraph endorsed by Mr. Justice Wills. My present purpose is not to repeat what I have previously urged, but to indicate that reforms which I have hitherto advocated for the protection of society would operate powerfully for the protection of innocent persons wrongly charged with crime.

Outside the scope of this article there lie questions of far-reaching reforms in criminology. For the majority of the inmates of every 'local' prison are the wretched victims of the short-sentence craze—prisoners who are committed for terms so brief that in their case reform is impracticable, and the chief effect of their detention is to make them increasingly unfit for liberty. Among these the most to be pitied are the young. Mercy will sometimes unite with justice in demanding their imprisonment; but if a youth must be sent to gaol at all, it should be for a period long enough to give efforts for his reformation a fair chance of success, and imprisonment should be

resorted to only where no more suitable punishment is possible or adequate. A short term of imprisonment makes a hero of the 'hooligan.' Upon a lad of another kind it may leave a brand that will injure his prospects for life. But if the 'hooligan' were flogged in the police-court yard, and then and there turned out among his 'pals,' he would be no hero either to them or to himself. And with the other sort of boy similar treatment would often be not only more effectual, but kinder, than imprisonment. Nine-tenths of the community would endorse this statement, but here in England we seem to be governed in all such matters by aggressive and noisy minorities.

We should seek to check committals to prison, and we should seek also to make imprisonment answer its purpose, whatever that purpose may be. Some offenders need punishment, others reformation, and others, again, are committed with the main object of protecting the community against their misdeeds. But all are now treated alike; for prison discipline, like death, levels all distinctions. In his book already cited, Major Griffiths tells the story of a gunboat which the Admiralty sent to the East with a medicine chest instead of a medical officer on board, ordering the commander to take charge of it, and to use his discretion in doctoring the ship's company. But the captain knew nothing of medicine, so he had all the bottles emptied into a pail, and any man that went sick got a dose of the mixture. for, as he explained, there was bound to be something in it to suit him!

It is on this system we deal with our criminals; and in saying this I am neither unmindful nor unappreciative of the praiseworthy efforts of my friend Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise and his colleagues to introduce reforms, especially in the case of the young; nor is it any fault of theirs that in these respects they resemble the criminals whose struggles to mend their ways are hindered by want of help and inability to break with the past.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

## THE GERMAN NAVY LEAGUE

THE time is not long past when the German people were often reproached, by home as well as by foreign critics, for deficiency of national pride. Though there was perhaps a certain amount of reason for this criticism, the judgment formed rested very largely on externalities, which are apt to deceive. However, of these signs one in particular used to be mentioned by way of illustration. In Great Britain, where, as it is well known, the home-manufactured article is preferred, goods marked, say, 'Made in Germany' have always been looked upon with suspicion, the expression having been introduced with the intention of deterring would-be purchasers from acquiring them. But in Germany, as it is on all hands admitted, the equivalent of 'Made in England' is an advertisement—a mark of superiority, as it were, even though it is pretty generally known that fully 90 per cent. of these wares, if not indeed even more, are the product of German workshops. Conclusions of an adverse character have also been drawn, especially by French critics, from the fact that in almost every large German family two or three of the children have been given a foreign name—Charles, Harry, and John, of English names, being common—just as if there were only comparatively a few good-German christian names to select from. Then it has often been pointed out that when a German takes up his residence in a foreign country, no matter what its political relation to the Fatherland may be, he soon assimilates the habits and manners of that country's nation, and to a very large extent throws off his nationality. Nor does the latter remark apply only to those Germans who have made a foreign country their permanent domicile. Indeed, this mode of adopting foreign customs is, so we are told by the critics of the nation in question, very observable in a German who returns to his own country after, say, two or three years' residence in London, or Paris, or New York. For he more often than not endeavours to introduce into his home some of the customs which he has picked up abroad. Moreover, his relatives, it would seem, show a disposition to give way to him, for, as Bismarck said, he is treated 'as if he wore the epaulettes of an officer,' that is, as if he were some quite superior person.

But, as has already been said, criticism of this kind applies to the

past rather than to the present. German national pride found itself, as it were, in the great days of 1870-71, and, since the establishment of the Empire, Germans, taking them as a whole, have not been by any means wanting in this respect. Bismarck was well familiar with this new and interesting phase in the national tendency, and, indeed, his famous saying, 'We Germans fear God,' but nothing else in the world,' refers to this latter quality of the German character. And, further, he who observes from a distance, but closely, cannot fail to be struck by the yearly growth of pride of country and enthusiasm to see the Fatherland excel in all things. As an indication of this one need only point to the ever-lengthening list of patriotic national institutions and associations, which have been and are being formed in all parts of the Empire. Of these, one in particular stands out most prominently—the German Navy League.

This association of patriots, who take deep and active interest in all matters connected with the progress and well-being of the Fatherland, was formed, under the immediate patronage of Prince Henry of Prussia, as recently as the year 1898—that is to say, some six years ago—yet already there are branches scattered all over the Empire, and even abroad wherever Germans are to be found in any number. They exist not for comradeship only, and for the sake of looking after the Imperial naval affairs, but also—and no doubt mainly—for the purpose of furthering and consolidating the general interests of the Navy as well as those of the Mercantile Marine. Indeed, the object of its existence has been briefly and officially defined as follows: 'To arouse, to stimulate, and to strengthen the interest of the German people in the importance and the duties of a navy: to educate them, and to guide them, as it were.' In connection with this, it is interesting to record that the League was established just at the right moment. Had the idea been acted upon some time previously to 1898, it is, on the whole, to say the least, improbable that it would have been attended with any particular success. For, speaking generally—that is, so far as popular interest is concerned—naval affairs were not then much discussed, at least outside official circles. To explain this, I need only refer to the fact that, from the historical point of view, it was not till 1897 that the Emperor William made manifest the most active and practical interest both in the subject and in the proposal to create a powerful German navy, though, on the other hand, his leaning in this direction had been known to those who stood near him for a considerable number of years previously. Even when he was Prince William he devoted much time to the study of the whole question, in illustration of which the following from a recent publication may be quoted in full:

If people had been aware of the zeal with which the unassuming Prince William, who then appeared to be a long way from the throne, studied and



worked in the privacy of the Potsdam Marble Palace, there would not have been so much surprise at the fact that immediately after he ascended the throne he showed a striking interest in naval matters. By means of untiring industry, a highly developed faculty of grasping facts, and a magnificent adaptability, he has become a first-rate naval expert, and is as familiar with all the details of naval service and naval science as any professional naval officer of long standing. Equipped with this knowledge he has been able to re-organise, modernise, and develop the Navy, and to raise it to that powerful fighting machine which it is to-day.

And, further, the honour which Queen Victoria bestowed on him in 1889 in appointing him Honorary Admiral of the British Navy helped considerably, as there is every reason to assume, to determine him to formulate a strong naval policy. In 1897, owing to political considerations which, however, need not be enlarged upon here, the Kaiser felt that the time had come for the vigorous prosecution of his views, the Navy Bill was introduced into the Reichstag, and every member of the Imperial Parliament had placed into his hand a paper containing a mass of information, which the Emperor had been chiefly instrumental in collecting, together with an elaboration of the scheme which he himself had drawn up. The attention of the whole nation was, therefore, more or less forcibly called to this subject, and immense interest was aroused. This was the time for the foundation of a Navy League, and in April 1898 a number of influential people took the initiative and formed the now famous League which played a considerable part in furthering the Emperor's programme.

But the efforts of the League would have been more quickly effective, if its leaders had from the first clearly defined their political attitude. The names of many of the more prominent members were not such as to give the public any distinct idea of what political colour the association as a whole would be. The consequence was that it did not receive as much support as otherwise it would have done, and, moreover, it was looked upon with a considerable amount of suspicion. Conservatives regarded it as a Liberal or Radical organisation; Liberals feared that it had Conservative proclivities; the Social Democrats denounced it as a Liberal or Conservative institution—as a matter of fact, it did not matter much which; and the press, echoing these widely divergent views, showed a disposition to treat it in what may be mildly described as a grandmotherly way. In order that this situation may be properly understood, it is necessary to point out that political parties in Germany are in a considerably different position as regards the question of Imperialism from what is the case in other countries. Apart from the ordinary political parties, there are two great parties which have no particular name and no special organisation, and are not much heard of out of Germany, but, nevertheless, they exercise enormous influence throughout the Empire. One party holds the opinion that the prosperity and strength of the Empire depend upon the Empire

being developed as a united whole; the other party believes that the peculiarities of each individual State should be specially considered first of all. It is, therefore, not a little difficult for a national association such as the German Navy League to gain the goodwill of all parties, and the Navy League in its earlier days failed altogether to draw up a programme which was generally acceptable. The consequence was that even in 1900, when the Navy Bill was passed in the Reichstag by a large majority, the membership of the League was, comparatively speaking, very small, though, as has already been said, the League did good work in helping to popularise the Emperor's scheme.

But it was not, after all, very long before the Council of the League recognised to the full the difficulty in which they were placed, and the mistaken views which prevailed, and, with the object of amending matters as quickly and as satisfactorily as possible, invoked the aid of the Prussian High Court of Justice. The Court was asked to give judgment—under the law to which the existence and regulation of associations, political and otherwise, are subject—on the status of the Navy League, and, after making a rigid investigation and hearing a large body of evidence, declared 'that the German Navy League is not a political association, but one which aims at influencing public opinion in certain patriotic matters.' This pronouncement on the part of the High Court had an extraordinarily favourable effect upon the German public. The press of all shades of opinion now began to devote much attention to the matter, with which the object of the Navy League was intimately connected; the importance of the existence of the League for the Empire as a whole gave rise to far-reaching discussions in both private and political circles, and the old suspicion was put aside. Finally, there was a huge rush to join the League, with the result that in December 1901—twelve months after the Court had given its decision—the number of members of the League amounted to the enormous total of 626,201. In some cases clubs and institutions joined bodily, and so also did the employes at several manufactories. It is safe to say that if the Council had taken this step earlier—that is, during the height of the interest which was generally manifested in the Navy Bill—millions, not hundreds of thousands, would have joined in 1900. For many Germans, from purely theoretical reasons, refrained from becoming members, though they were in full sympathy with the aims and objects of that institution, because they thought that as the Navy Bill had been passed into law the existence of the Navy League was no longer necessary—a view, as will be seen later on, which is quite erroneous, the Navy League at the present time being engaged in much excellent work.

There are, on the whole, few national institutions which can show, so far as the minutest details, management, and general administration are concerned, such a splendid organisation as the Navy League.

Indeed, it may briefly be said that there is nothing haphazard in it. From the outset, sufficient care has been exercised and the necessary steps without much delay taken that it shall cover the whole Empire. The headquarters are, of course, in Berlin, but each State has a chief branch in the State capital. In direct communication with each of these chief branches are smaller branches in the large cities and towns, and each local branch is a centre for the branches in the small towns, villages, and hamlets in the rural district around. No wonder, therefore, that, by means such as these, a thorough Imperial organisation is maintained, and at the same time the peculiarities of the different districts are properly observed, so that the necessary educational methods and measures can be adequately and in due course carried out. But, in addition to embracing the whole Empire, the Navy League extends its arms beyond the German frontiers, for branches are to be found in the colonies and in countries where considerable numbers of children of the Fatherland reside—in Great Britain and the United States for instance. Some idea of the enthusiasm for the cause shown by oversea members may be gathered from the fact that quite recently they paid, out of their own pockets, for the construction of the gunboat *Fatherland*, which, after being built by one of the oldest shipbuilding firms in Germany—Messrs. P. Schichau, in Elbing—was placed at the disposal of the authorities of the Navy League in Berlin. This warship, it is interesting to add, left Hamburg for Shanghai as recently as on the 4th of February last, her duty being, among other similar objects, to help to protect and to promote German commerce in Chinese waters.

Coming now to the principal aims of the institution in question, it may be pointed out that the chief of the duties which the German Navy League has set for itself is, as has already been mentioned, to arouse, to stimulate, and to maintain the interest of the general public in naval matters. As a matter of fact, no better definition of the main ideas and purposes of the League can be given than by quoting the Emperor himself, who, in reply to a telegraphic announcement of the formation of a provincial committee of the Navy League in Königsberg (which was sent to him by Count Wilhelm von Bismarck, the then Governor of the Province of East Prussia, at the beginning of November 1899), said: 'I express the hope that, assisted by the German Navy League, we shall succeed in convincing the German nation at large more and more of the necessity of a powerful Navy, commensurate with our interests and able to protect them.'

Briefly stated, with this object in view, the League has among other things striven to inculcate into the minds of young men the importance of the Navy, and to induce them to join it or the Mercantile Marine. In order that the interest of as many young men as possible may be obtained and kept alive, practical hints are given to school teachers as to the best means of turning the attention of

their young pupils to the advantages to be derived from adopting a seafaring life. For this purpose a very informative and lucid textbook on the Navy and the Mercantile Marine, written by some of the leading naval experts in Germany, has been issued by the corporation in question, and, though it is only a short time since this book was first published, five large editions have already been exhausted, the total sales amounting to between 35,000 and 40,000 copies. As regards the education of the public at large, this is done by the free distribution of naval literature, by the gift of important works on naval matters to public libraries, by lectures illustrated by limelight and cinematograph views, and by arranging excursions to sea at absurdly low rates for members of the League for the purpose of enabling them to view warships and to be present at certain manœuvres—this last-mentioned undertaking having so far proved to be an unqualified success.

But the League has its philanthropic as well as its educational side, for it supplements, as far as possible, the work of the State in providing for those who have been incapacitated in serving the nation at sea, and for the families of those who have either lost their lives or been prevented by accident from earning a living wage. As an instance of the really useful work being done in this respect, the China Fund of the Navy League may be mentioned. It was formed during the troubles in China in 1900, and every German and his family who took any part whatever in the operations against the Chinese rebels comes within the scope of the fund. If he was injured or killed or died, and the State does not adequately assist him, or those dependent upon him, then the League endeavours to do so, as far as its financial position will permit. And, considering the comparatively short existence of this institution, it is interesting to note that the means which are at present at its disposal for such excellent purposes as those which were just mentioned are on the whole considerable and satisfactory in every respect.

As regards the income of the League, it may be said that this is derived for the most part from the annual subscriptions of members. The subscription, it deserves particularly to be pointed out, is not a uniform one, for the League very wisely leaves it to the members themselves—who are rich and poor, and of all shades of political opinion, Conservative, Liberal, Advanced Radical, and even Social Democrat—what their contribution to the common fund shall be. It follows, therefore, that some subscriptions are large and others very small; but, speaking generally, this arrangement is attended by highly satisfactory results, for the contributions to the funds in question are, on the whole, quite liberal. Apart from this, other contributions are also made, but in kind. It is significant not merely of the interest in the League but of the real desire to further its work in every possible way that a number of its members, shipowners and

rich merchants, have formed themselves into a sort of inner league, and have purchased and equipped several training-ships. Perhaps the best-known of these is the sailing-ship *Elizabeth*, on board of which a great many boys are trained, and from which fully 200 are drafted every year into the merchant service, which service, as is well known, is a splendid recruiting ground for the Navy itself.

I must now revert to the question, so often discussed in Germany, as to whether the existence of the Navy League has been necessary since the passing of the Navy Bill in 1900. When this Bill became law foreign critics in general, and a number of home critics also, were of opinion that the programme which had thus been authorised by the Imperial Parliament was so large that the Naval party could not, even in their most optimistic moments, have hoped for anything better, and, further, that any advance on this programme was out of the question for many years to come. But the more far-sighted of politicians, whose numbers, unfortunately, are very limited indeed, and to whose untiring efforts the success of the Navy Bill in question was mainly due, have by no means shared this opinion, and, needless to say, among these were the leaders of the Navy League. Not long after the passing of the Bill dissatisfaction began to be expressed, and there cannot be much doubt that this dissatisfaction was largely brought about and fostered by the quiet, but persistent, agitation of the Navy League's representatives. To cut a long story short, it was, among other objections raised in regard to the Bill, contended that, in refusing to sanction the augmentation of ships in foreign waters, the Reichstag had acted, to say the least, wrongly, and, in addition, severe comments were made on the decision to extend the active life of cruisers from fifteen to twenty years. Still graver was the view taken of the action of the Reichstag in adopting the Bill and at the same time trying to avoid an immediate increase, as it were, in the annual naval expenditure; for, it was argued, laudable though the desire for economy on the part of those who are concerned in public welfare always is, the avoidance of extra expenditure in the immediate future was folly—that is, so far as this particular case is concerned—inasmuch as it implied that the programme could not be completed till 1917 at the earliest, and probably not till 1920. The Navy League, therefore, considers that the advocacy of these views alone, if indeed there were no others, is quite sufficient to justify its continued existence, and there cannot be any doubt that its activity in this respect has had a pronounced effect on public opinion.

It may, possibly, be not out of place here to point out that the policy with which the German Navy League is identified is almost universally misunderstood outside Germany. This policy is thought to be aggressive for the most part, but anyone who will dispassionately study the German official documents, and will make himself

acquainted with the grounds, as it were, on which the present programme is based and advocated, can scarcely fail to be convinced that it is not only justifiable, but absolutely imperative as well, and this from the point of view of defence alone. Let it be briefly said that the scheme which the Navy League and also the Government favour is necessary, in the first instance, for the protection of the German coast, say, in time of war; secondly, for the protection of German commerce in general; and, thirdly, for the protection of Germans who live beyond the seas. And, further, it will have to be carried out as a condition *sine qua non*, as it were, if Germany is to maintain her relative naval position compared with other nations, and if she is ambitious to become a suitable ally for some strong Naval Power. On this particular matter of German naval policy no one has been more greatly misunderstood than the Emperor William. One is at a loss to comprehend why such utterances as 'Our future lies on the water,' and others of a similar character—such as, for instance, 'A fleet which we so bitterly want'—should be regarded as threats against some foreign nation, particularly Great Britain. The present economic position of Germany shows clearly enough what these expressions really mean. It has more than once been said by political economists, not only German, but French as well, that 'if Germany does not sell goods abroad she will starve.' How perfectly correct this statement is may be gathered from the fact that the German foreign commerce at the present time amounts in value to about 550,000,000*l.* per annum, and of this fully two-thirds is sea-borne. Another very important point is that not less than 300,000,000*l.* of German capital is invested, by way of export of goods considerably more than by that of actual bullion, as it should be added, in foreign countries. And, further, there is another highly weighty factor, often indeed out of sight of, but which must be taken into full consideration, especially when naval matters are discussed—namely, that Germany possesses at the present time what may justly be described as an immense carrying fleet. It is, of course, small as compared with the British Mercantile Marine, but then the latter is known to be the largest in the world; and, consequently, no great surprise was caused by the estimate contained in one of the recently published Blue-books, which is to the effect that the value of the goods imported annually into the United Kingdom, as payment for freight service amounts to 90,000,000*l.* But the case is totally different as regards Germany, for her Mercantile Marine is, comparatively speaking, a quite young one. Hence Herr Lotz's estimate, laid down in an interesting article which he contributed to a recent number of the *Bankarchiv*, that the revenue received by Germany at the present time for freightage is something between 200,000,000 marks (10,000,000*l.*) and 300,000,000 marks (15,000,000*l.*) is, to say the least, deserving of special attention.

Again, the population of the Empire is increasing very rapidly—that is, to the extent of about 850,000 annually. The necessity, indeed the inevitability, of Germany's expansion beyond the seas is therefore perfectly obvious, and, from the economic point of view alone, a strong navy is an arm which Germany cannot possibly dispense with. If Germany now possesses, as can easily be demonstrated on the strength of some recently published official statistics, the second largest Mercantile Marine in the world, it becomes therefore incumbent upon her to take the necessary steps for the purpose of raising the status of her navy to such a position as betokens a powerful nation and the name of Germany, and as becomes the rôle which she plays in what is usually called by German politicians 'Weltpolitik.' Moreover, the Fatherland has in this matter to bear in mind the old truism—usually ascribed to Napoleon, but which, as a matter of fact, can be traced as far back as two centuries ago, namely, to an eminent German (Dessauer)—that 'Providence is generally on the side of the big battalions.' In connection with this, one is also reminded of what the present First Sea-Lord, Sir John Fisher, said, in regard to the historic Hague Conference. 'After all,' remarked that naval delegate to the Conference in question, 'a strong British Navy is the strongest argument for peace.' A further point to be taken into consideration is that since 1900 the economic progress of the world, in which Germany has shared, has advanced considerably, and this has caused an increase of the general desire to afford adequate protection to commerce. The United States gives us a good example of this. American commerce has increased rapidly of late, and the Imperial spirit has grown stronger in the great Republic; and, consequently, although there are few colonies to protect, the United States Navy is being so increased that in a few years it will be much larger than that of Germany. Then there is the case of Russia. Previous to the outbreak of the present war Russia found herself in a position—as she does now, for that matter—of being able to convey her troops overland to any point where she was likely to be attacked, and a fleet, therefore, was unnecessary for the purpose of protecting transports; yet Russia, at the beginning of the present century, adopted a naval programme which was intended to increase very largely the Tsar's power at sea. Great Britain, also, since 1902, has considerably increased her naval expenditure, the estimate for this year amounting to the enormous sum of 34,450,000*l.*, as against an actual outlay of 31,170,000*l.* in 1903. This increase in the British naval programme is often attributed in Great Britain to the adoption in Germany of a bold naval policy; but in German political and naval circles, as it might not be out of place to record here, a quite different view is held, it being more or less generally thought that the reason for the increase lies in the fact that in the course of the naval manoeuvres held, comparatively speaking, quite recently—some three years ago (1901)—in which, as

it is well known, the French fleet participated—the British Navy was shown to be less efficient than was generally believed to be the case. So much so, indeed, that an examination of the comments published at that time in the foreign, especially French, Press will clearly show that the issue of these naval manœuvres was received in France with what may be called undisguised and quite general satisfaction. As a matter of fact, certain well-known French naval authorities went even so far as to say that the prestige of the British fleet was destroyed, at least for a considerable time to come; that there was a chance of the Mediterranean and Channel coming under the supremacy of the French Republic; and, further, that in case of war between the two countries ‘a disembarkation of French troops on the south coast of England was by no means unattainable or beyond the bounds of possibility.’<sup>1</sup>

The enormous reaction which thus ensued in this country in regard to the state of the national fleet as a consequence of the not too fortunate issue of the naval manœuvres in question, German politicians are inclined to regard as the sole and direct cause of the more or less immediate and considerable increase in British naval expenditure. How far this view is correct—that is, as far as actual history is concerned—would be out of place to discuss here. But, as I have already pointed out, the fact deserves to be particularly emphasised that German politicians, taking them as a whole, decline to bring the present British naval policy in any relation with the naval programme recently adopted in the Fatherland.

I have endeavoured in the course of this article to demonstrate that the German naval policy in general, and that of the Navy League in particular, is very far from being aggressive, as some publicists in this country are fond of putting it, but is of a defensive character in the truest sense of the word. Briefly stated, the Imperial Navy is to be developed along the following lines: The first is strictly for home defence; the next is for service in foreign waters near the colonial possessions; the third is for protection and furtherance of the interests of commerce in general.

When the Reichstag passed the Navy Bill in 1900, it was, of course, not aware, nor could it be, as to what the increase of the fighting strength and power of foreign navies would be in the years to come, and, further, it could not very well foresee what political and economic changes would take place meanwhile so as to provide for such eventualities. As will be seen from the figures given below, which are based upon recently published official statistics, both German and foreign, the Imperial Navy, at present the fourth on the list, will, in a few years hence—namely, 1907—occupy the fifth position among the navies of the Great Powers.

<sup>1</sup> See also *Die Internationale Revue über die gesamten Armeen und Flotten*, October 1901.



The position at about the end of 1907 will be :

—	Battleships	Total Tonnage	Cruisers	Total Tonnage
Great Britain .	57 (55 over 10,000 tons)	790,880	71 (30 armoured)	671,870
France . . .	32 (23 " " " )	349,727	28 (23 " " " )	244,191
Russia . . .	32 (26 " " " )	351,241	15 ( 5 " " " )	115,706
United States .	25 (24 " " " )	322,294	16 (13 " " " )	176,155
Germany . . .	21 (20 " " " )	238,805	12 ( 6 " " " )	92,750

Hence there is sufficient reason why the Reichstag should be called upon to reconsider its decision of four years ago, and revise and enlarge the programme then approved, so that the German Navy may ere long be made strong enough for the purposes enumerated above, and rendered equal to the great tasks which unforeseen circumstances may place before it.

Let it be put briefly : this is precisely the very object which the Navy League has in view, and to which end, despite the enormous obstacles which have to be overcome, it is now devoting all its energies, making at the same time extensive use of all accessible and necessary resources. As it was the League which, thanks to the personal efforts of its very able and indefatigable president, Prince Otto zu Salm-Korstmar, and of his collaborators in this scheme—Admiral Kollmann, Freiherr von Würtzburg, Dr. Blum, to mention only a few of many well-known names—so largely helped to create, as it were, public interest in the Navy, it now strives to maintain and increase it—a task far more difficult than the primary work accomplished.

LOUIS ELKIND, M.D.

## *THE RE-FLOW FROM TOWN TO COUNTRY*

It is generally accepted as a fact that the purely agricultural districts of England tend to diminish in population—not from any falling-off in the birth-rate, but from the migration of the inhabitants to other parts, and largely to the towns of the country. From this tendency it is sometimes rather hastily inferred that the population of the island is becoming a population of dwellers in close streets and overcrowded quarters, and is consequently diminishing in vigour. It is reassuring to be told by the recent Committee on Physical Deterioration that, even as regard physique, height, chest-measurement, and such matters, there is as yet no evidence of falling-off, and that such evils as can be traced are confined to a very limited class at the extreme end of the social scale. This is only what one would expect, when due allowance is made for other characteristics of the progress of the nation, and in particular for that counter-current from town to country which, though perfectly familiar in the individual experience of most of us, is apt to be overlooked in the general views which are founded on statistics. Who, with the least knowledge of London, for instance, is not acquainted with the prodigious extension of the capital in recent years over the surrounding rural districts? Not only does London spread as London, but the influence of London affects the whole region within fifty miles or more of Charing Cross. The figures on the subject are most instructive; but let us take a concrete instance. Everyone has heard of Hindhead and the neighbouring district. Twenty years ago an old inn at the top of the long rise on the Portsmouth Road was almost the only habitation on the high ground, while a few scattered farms and small manors nestled in the folds of the many hills which culminate in the wild spot sketched by Turner. Now every ridge and slope is lined with spacious houses; there are two hotels, which, in Germany, would certainly advertise an ‘air-cure’; there are a street of shops, a church, and all the other indications of a communal life; and this although the station which serves the district is three miles away, down a long hill. Haslemere, which provides the station, was a quiet country village less than a quarter of a century since—little changed from the days when, as a borough in the pocket of Lord Lonsdale, it returned two members to Parliament. It is now a busy little centre for the considerable residential

district which has grown up around it—a station of sufficient importance to be made a terminus for many trains. Yet Hindhead and Haslemere are more than forty miles from London, and are served by a railway company which does not trouble to develop places by means of fast trains. They are but typical of other places—Oxted and Limpsfield, for example, which have been suddenly created by a new railway. The rural parts of Surrey alone—omitting all urban districts—increased 20 per cent. between 1891 and 1901. Something of the same kind may probably be said of the north and east of the metropolis. Every railway-served district within fifty miles of London is in a sense a suburb.

Now, what does this mean? It means that a large area of open country—field, meadow, copse, and hill—is planted with inhabitants to a much greater degree than it ever was as an agricultural district. In place of the single farm with its attendant labourers is a multitude of houses, each with its family, its household of servants, its coachman, and its two or three gardeners. To serve these communities come the retail traders, each with his shopmen, messenger-boys, and other assistants, places of worship, schools, and all the establishments which a growing neighbourhood brings into existence, and which act and react in the way of hastening the occupation of the country-side. On the immediate outskirts of a town the process is so rapid that the occupied fields cease to have any rural attribute, and become themselves towns—more unattractive sometimes than the older parts, but still not, as a rule, so densely inhabited. But when the process is carried on at greater distances from the centre, very different results follow. Nothing like the close packing of a town ensues. In the nearer places there are broad roads and detached houses with much garden ground. At greater distances, while socially and economically the character of the district changes, physically its rural attributes are scarcely affected. Woods, commons, parks, and heaths still abound; fields are still tilled, and meadows grazed. Only dotted over the face of the earth are country houses, and here and there a cluster of smaller dwellings. From the point of view of health, nothing has been lost, and probably much gained. For with the advent of a residential population comes a critical attitude towards water-supply and house-drainage which is not natural to the purely agricultural community.

To a large extent, also, the population thus spreading over the country-side is a population which comes from the towns. The householders and their families would, with very few exceptions, live in or near a town if they did not live where they do. They have come from the town, not from the country. And so with their gardeners and coachmen; some of them might be working on farms, if they were not in private service; more of them would be servants in or about towns. The community is mainly made up at the expense, not of the agricultural districts, but of the towns. The very growth

of large towns thus tends to cure itself by the development of a species of centrifugal force. Inhabitants from the centre migrate to the outskirts; those on the outskirts move further away to purely rural districts. When a town is made, it is pleasant for a merchant or a professional man to live near his work; not much more than a generation ago, great lawyers met their clients in consultation at their private residences in the neighbourhood of the Inns of Court, or gave evening appointments at the chambers where they lived as well as worked. Then comes the next stage, when a spacious suburban residence, within easy access to the place of business, becomes the general rule. And then, in a capital like London, which is a city of pleasure as well as of work, comes the day when the successful man wants to combine the pleasures of town and country life, and to have one *pied-à-terre* in the residential quarters of the town, and another, by way of contrast, in some quite rural district. The need of quiet, fresh air, and the sights and sounds of nature, combines with the ever-increasing value of land in the centre of a town to spread its inhabitants outwards further and further from the important business quarters which supply the motive of the town's growth.

This tendency is abundantly proved by figures. In the twenty years from 1881 to 1901, no fewer than 244 urban districts were created. This means two things. It means that, in classifying population as urban and rural, it must be remembered that 244 urban districts have only just ceased to be nominally rural, and are in fact considerable tracts of country with one or two centres around which population is grouped. In other words, the increase in urban population represented by the transfer of the inhabitants of these districts from one side to the other is nominal, not real. It also indicates that in many cases, whether of recent or of older growth, urban districts are not really towns. In the words of the Registrar-General, 'a considerable number of urban districts, though technically urban, are distinctly rural in character, being in many cases small towns in the midst of agricultural areas on which they are dependent for their maintenance as business centres. At the recent Census (1901) there were as many as 215 urban districts with populations below 3000; 211 with populations between 3000 and 5000; and 260 with populations between 5000 and 10,000'—or nearly 700, out of a total of 1122, with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Obviously, in none of these districts does town life, in the sense of life in a densely peopled district, exist. In the 260 districts of 10,000 inhabitants there are on the average fewer than 1500 persons to a square mile, whereas in really large towns, those of more than 250,000 people, there are over 18,000, and in the County of London nearly 39,000. So far as the urban population has increased by the addition of urban districts, the result has been merely to spread the population of the country over a wider area, and thus to people rural districts—not to surfeit towns.

Again, the tendency of large towns to expand rather than to thicken is shown by the rate of increase in towns of different sizes. Thus towns of 20,000 inhabitants increase faster than towns of 10,000, but towns of 250,000 increase much less rapidly. Up to the limit of 100,000, the more populous the district the higher the rate of growth, both during the last and the preceding inter-censal decade. But above the limit of 100,000 the greater the population the lower the rate of growth. In the group of towns with populations between 50,000 and 100,000, the rate is 23·2 per cent. But in towns between 100,000 and 250,000 it is only 17·7 per cent.; in still larger towns it is only 12·1, and in the County of London only 7·3. In the words of the Registrar-General, the figures suggest that 'the slower rate of growth in the larger towns is due to the high degree of density of their population, which would cause an overflow of the population to adjoining areas outside their administrative boundaries.'

The statistics of the growth of London illustrate this process in a very remarkable way. The County of London, formerly the metropolis, is, as we all know, a very wide area extending from Woolwich to Putney, and from Hampstead to Penge. Throughout the last century, until 1881, the population of this area bore a continually increasing proportion to the population of the country at large. Between 1881 and 1891 the proportion for the first time began to fall, and between 1891 and 1901 it fell more rapidly. Thus, while in 1881, 14·75 per cent. of the inhabitants of England and Wales resided in London, in 1901 the proportion was only 13·95. To put the matter in another way, while the rate of increase in the whole country during the last inter-censal decade was 12·2 per cent., in London it was only 7·3. But this diminished rate of increase by no means shows that London is beginning to decline in importance relatively to the rest of the country. It merely shows that London is peopling a wider area. For while in the last decade the County of London only grew by 7·3 per cent., the vast district around it which goes to make up the Metropolitan Police District, or the Greater London of the Registrar-General—an area of some 400 square miles—grew by 45·5 per cent. This district is very roughly described by a radius of fifteen miles round Charing Cross; it comprises, in addition to the county, no fewer than 149 parishes. It numbered in 1901 over two million inhabitants, and, extending into five counties, might be thought to represent the whole area influenced by London. This, however, is not so. The population of London is now overflowing even this outer ring. The rapidity with which this ring has been peopled is shown by the fact that its inhabitants have doubled in each ten years between 1861 and 1881. In the last ten years of the century the rate of increase abated; it was only just over 45 per cent. But during the same period the whole County of Surrey, the outlying parts of which are perhaps most in favour with London for residence, increased by 25 per

cent. and the rural districts, which are almost entirely outside Greater London, increased by 20 per cent. On the other hand, the ten metropolitan boroughs which, in the view of the Registrar-General, form the central area of London, have been steadily decreasing in population for the last thirty years, while boroughs on the edge of the county, like Wandsworth and Fulham, have been rapidly filling up. Everything points to a movement from the centre towards the nearer suburbs, from the nearer suburbs towards the Outer Ring, and even from the Outer Ring towards parts which, until lately, have been completely rural.

It is not suggested that the set of population from purely agricultural districts has ceased. Even here, indeed, the figures are somewhat reassuring. The population of the purely rural districts of England and Wales—those which contain no urban population, even technically so called—diminished steadily from 1861 to 1891, but increased by nearly 2 per cent. in the subsequent decade. This increase is said to have taken place mainly in a few districts where mining is the principal industry, and there are undoubtedly some counties where there has been an absolute decrease of population both in the rural districts technically so-called and in the rural parts which comprise urban districts of fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. But if rural England and Wales is taken as made up broadly of the whole of these districts, the gain of population during the decade has been no less than 5.28 per cent., a figure which may be contrasted without alarm with the 7 per cent. which represents the growth of the County of London. What all the figures tend to show, and what it is the object of the present paper to suggest, is that England is not becoming a country of huge overcrowded towns, surrounded by deserted fields, but of many centres of life round which is grouped a population spreading over wide areas. The loss in the rural districts, where it occurs, is not counterbalanced by a gain in Whitechapel or the slums of Liverpool, but in suburbs like Wimbledon, small towns like Guildford, and rural places like Hindhead. These are the spots which are absorbing the population which ceases to till the fields. And whatever may be thought of the economic effects of the change, it is erroneous to assume that such a shifting of population tends to a deterioration in the health and physique of the race. For good sanitation, good drainage, good roads, and many other incidents of a growing neighbourhood more than outweigh any deleterious effect from a small increase in human beings and human habitations.

Further, it may be questioned whether this is not the natural mode of growth in such a country as England, and whether it is worth while to fight against it. Everything which artificially depopulates the country should no doubt be resisted. It may be that the system of land tenure in England, which has kept estates in few hands, and sometimes in the hands of those who had not the means of doing their best by the land, has been one cause of stagnation in

purely agricultural quarters. The increased powers which the law now gives of dealing with settled estates have supplied a remedy for the worst abuses of this system, and with the advent of the colossal commercial fortunes of the present day the rage for acquiring territory, and with it social position and power, has probably been tempered; money rather than land is now the great moving power. It may be—it probably is the case—that a certain hopelessness attending the lot of the labourers in a purely farming district, the prospect of a long life of work, with little change or advancement from early youth to old age, and a not improbable dependence at the close on the goodness of relations or the bounty of the State, has sent many a young man from the plough to the railway or the town. The inclosure of commons, which the cottager regarded as more or less his own, and from which he gained many small advantages contributing to make life more pleasant, has probably done something to destroy in the labourer the hereditary affection for his country; and the passion for large farms, which in the best days of agriculture influenced land agents and landowners, no doubt destroyed the ladder by which previously the industrious and clever man sometimes rose from day wages to a small property, and so enhanced the monotony of the country-side. By all means let any of these causes of rural depopulation be removed, and the labourer be won back to the soil by every legitimate means. But when all is said and done, it may be questioned whether England has the same advantages for agriculture as she has for mining, manufactures, and commerce. The farmer has to contend against a sunless and capricious climate. It may be a climate which, as someone has said, allows a man to take outdoor exercise with comfort on a maximum number of days in the year; it is temperate beyond a doubt. But it is deficient in sun, and it is absolutely uncertain; and these drawbacks seriously handicap the farmer, and especially the small farmer, who depends on continually turning over his little capital, and cannot conveniently set off bad years against good. The best intelligence and most persistent industry may find themselves defeated by an unkind turn of the seasons, and the energy and ability which may reckon on success in other pursuits are discouraged by the action of forces beyond control. England's magnificent seaboard, her position as an outpost of Europe, her mineral wealth, and the enterprise and activity of her inhabitants place at her command more certain conquests than those of the soil of this little island, and it is probably the play of economic forces which has in the main led to the gradual application of the energies of her sons to other pursuits than those of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The advocates of the Garden City movement recognise that for the establishment of a successful colony something more than agriculture is necessary. It is a leading feature of their scheme that manufactures should find their home amid fields and gardens.

But the land which ceases to be sought after as a productive machine comes into request again as a place of residence. The free interchange of commodities which England has been wise enough to encourage has given a strong impetus to trade, commerce, and mining, and has produced large aggregations of men and women. For a time the towns thus produced grew rankly and without order; but the progress of education, the awakening of a sense of civic responsibility, the growth of a love of the beautiful in nature and in art, have led to a determination on the part of those who spend their working lives in towns at once to improve their surroundings and to escape for at least the leisure hours of their existence into gardens and fields. Hence the movement now on foot, which is re-peopling the country in a natural way, and covering it with houses in place of farms.

The future of such a movement depends largely upon the way in which it is conducted. The proper cultivation of suburbs is perhaps one of the most urgent needs of the present day. Everyone knows how appallingly mean and even squalid a suburb may be. At this moment the suburbs of London are in many places faring badly. The large houses of fifty years ago—often ugly enough in themselves, no doubt—and their ample gardens are being replaced by rows of cottages with no gardens at all. More new houses and new roads were, we believe, built and laid out in the suburbs of London in 1903 than in any preceding year. Trees, green fields, hedgerows are giving way to bricks and mortar. Monotonous streets, with scarcely a suggestion of nature, receive the clerk or the artisan after his hour's journey from his place of work. There is great danger that the unsightliness and squalor of the heart of the town, which everyone now condemns, may be reproduced on a larger scale on the outskirts. The suburbs were formerly the resort, in the main, of well-to-do citizens who could take care of themselves. They might make a dull neighbourhood, but they would not overcrowd. Now that workers of all kinds are being taken out of town by suburban railways and electric trams, it is necessary to see that they are not merely moved over four or five miles to find a repetition of what they have left behind. Good sanitation in their new homes they will doubtless get. Local authorities are now alive to this need; their officers are intelligent and zealous. Good drainage, good water, forty-foot roads, electric light—all these advantages will no doubt be found in most places within ten miles of Charing Cross. But more than this is necessary. As fields and gardens disappear, public open spaces should take their place—not merely a formal playing-field here and there, with its border of shrubs and flowers, though this is valuable enough, but an admixture of trees and greensward with streets and houses throughout the whole colony, trees along the footpaths, sometimes a strip of garden down the middle of a road, small garden sitting-places at the junction of roads, larger open spaces where possible. That one large



open space is not enough may be seen from the case of Wimbledon. This parish, now an urban district of over three thousand acres, has a magnificent common. But the common is on the top of a sharp hill, and below this hill, to the south of the railway, is a network of poor streets, with a rapidly increasing population. The whole district increased by nearly 16,000 inhabitants in the last inter-censal decade. A walk of a mile or so will no doubt take the residents in these streets to a beautiful open space; but the streets themselves suggest Bermondsey or St. Pancras. Croydon, again, which added a third to its population in the last decade, is in many parts hardly distinguishable from a poor quarter of old London. But Croydon in the last century bartered away its open lands, and has ever since been trying to replace them. Wherever there is a natural feature, of any kind—a hill-top, a bit of old woodland, an especially charming private garden which comes into the market (such as Golder's Hill at Hampstead, and Brockwell Park at Dulwich, both happily saved), it should be jealously preserved. Still better, perhaps, if broad, leafy avenues, like the Avenue Longchamps, could radiate from the central parts of a town, and cross now and again belts of garden and open space encircling the city. All this, perhaps, sounds extravagant and in the air; but it must be remembered that the growth of a suburb lets loose the latent value of the land, and there is no reason why a part of this value should not be appropriated by the community (the increase of which confers the whole value) and applied in providing health and the amenities of life. The present writer some years ago advocated in the pages of this Review a special levy on land about to be devoted to building—to take the shape either of a certain portion of the land to be actually set apart as open space, or of money payment to be applied in providing open space elsewhere. The principle of a taxation of land values has now found general acceptance, and it is laid down by high authorities that such a taxation for the purpose of providing open spaces and similar amenities is economically justifiable. Were the means thus afforded, it would only need some breadth of view and enlightenment on the part of local bodies to keep the nearer suburbs of a great city airy and healthy, and refreshing both to mind and to body.

There is an equally strong case for imposing upon new neighbourhoods some general plan of development. At present the powers of a local authority are confined to the width of roads, the height of bridges, and the space to be left around them; they do not embrace the general design of a town extension. In Germany, it seems, when a town shows promise of growth, the municipality (or some higher authority) takes advice of persons who have studied the subject and lays down a scheme for the anticipated new faubourg. Such a power, with proper safeguards for the interests of individual landowners, would seem only reasonable. We do not in England love too much

control. There has lately been a revolt against building by-laws, and with considerable reason. No one would wish to introduce a cast-iron uniformity either into the architecture of our houses or the arrangement of our towns; but, after all, a house is not built for a day, and the arrangement of an aggregation of houses affects not only the builder and the first occupants of his work, but successive generations, perhaps for centuries. Not only the interests of the landowners but those of the whole community may fairly be taken into account when buildings are spread over a new district; and, in point of fact, suburbs are less likely to be wearisomely similar if they are controlled in their formation by a skilled mind, with due regard to the natural features of the land to be occupied, than if the desire to make the last penny out of the land is tempered only by the last fashion in favour with the builder of the day.

Not only districts which are undoubtedly suburbs, and which are being rapidly covered with buildings, but those rural places further afield, which are just beginning to feel the influence of the distant town, would be better if a little foresight regulated their growth. It is ridiculous to treat the country like the town—to enforce, for instance, by-laws which are designed to prevent fire in closely packed districts, in places where each house or cottage stands apart. The utmost freedom compatible with good sanitation should be allowed in such matters as house-building; but there are measures of a different kind which ought to be taken, though it is perhaps difficult to take them otherwise than by voluntary effort. Places at some distance from a town are usually selected for residence because they are especially attractive. Certainly it is so within fifty miles of London. The beauty of the Thames peoples its banks with Londoners. The chalk downs and the sand hills of Surrey and Kent collect groups of residents wherever easy means of access are afforded. The introduction of motors will tend still more to spread the population whose pivot is London over the hills and heaths, and amongst the lanes and copses, of the Home Counties. The first essential for the future of such places is to protect the natural features which constitute their charm. The conspicuous heights, the notable points of view—of course the open commons—should be treated as inviolable, and building should be arranged so as not to destroy that which has brought persons to the spot. There are various means of achieving this object. Local authorities have now large powers of acquiring land for purposes of pleasure, and there are voluntary societies which can step in where local action is difficult. The important thing is to take time by the forelock, and, where land has to be bought, to buy it before it acquires a high value. Land on Hindhead, which is now worth 300*l.* an acre, changed hands within living memory for as little as 2*l.* To regulate the general development of a district is no doubt a more difficult matter. The counsel of perfection would be

the early acquisition of the best building sites by some enlightened association of persons,<sup>2</sup> which would see that they were utilised, in due course, not wholly for large houses, but in such a way that houses of various sizes should, as required, be arranged in such manner as not to injure each other, or to be an eyesore to the general public. It is difficult to suggest a complete remedy for the disfigurement of beautiful country under the spread over its face of that population which flows from the towns ; but it seems likely that the subject will become more and more important with the natural growth and distribution of the inhabitants of the island. Something at least will be done if all open land is jealously preserved, and places of conspicuous charm are secured for the public enjoyment before they are appropriated to private profit.

ROBERT HUNTER.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some chance of an experiment in this direction on the outskirts of London. Eton College has offered to Mrs. Samuel Barnett and half-a-dozen friends the whole of the College estate in Hendon to be developed for building under conditions designed to prevent overcrowding and unsightliness, while all classes are to be accommodated.

## *LAST MONTH*

### I

THE unexpected seems also to be the inevitable in politics. When I closed my chronicle a month ago the startling incident of the Russian outrage in the North Sea had just occurred, but few persons believed that it could become an affair of international importance, or that within a few days it would threaten the peace of Europe. To the minds of Englishmen of every party the action of the Baltic Fleet was so absolutely without excuse, or the shadow of excuse, that it was impossible to believe that the Russian Government would not take the earliest opportunity of making the fullest amends to this country for the murder of the Hull fishermen when engaged in their peaceful though perilous calling on the Dogger Bank. This was, indeed, the view of the whole civilised world, expressed with rare unanimity and emphasis, and it seemed incredible that the Government at St. Petersburg would not make haste to put themselves right in face of a world-wide indignation. No one, therefore, was seriously concerned a month ago by the escapade of the Baltic Fleet. In this country, at any rate, our thoughts were turned to the approaching meeting of the Unionist Associations at Southampton on the 28th of October, and to the manner in which Mr. Balfour would deal with the difficult problem raised by his attitude towards the tariff reformers, and the probable consequences to himself and his party. That when the 28th of October arrived he would make a long speech in which food taxes, tariff reform, and even retaliation would not be so much as mentioned, was the last thing expected by our politicians and journalists. Yet this is precisely what happened, and, thanks to a crisis of national importance, the Prime Minister was enabled once more to escape from the dilemma in which his own mistiness of language and confusion of issues had landed him. All the preparations for that decisive action within the Tory camp which Liberal writers and speakers had anticipated so eagerly, and by which the policy of the Conservative party for the future was to be decided, went for nothing, and, so far as the struggle for supremacy between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain was concerned, the great gathering

at Southampton might just as well never have been held. Such was one of the consequences of the way in which the North Sea incident was developed by the strange action of the Czar and his advisers. That there is such a thing as luck in politics Mr. Balfour at least must acknowledge when he recalls the story of the events dating from that Friday night in October when a horde of panic-struck Russian officers, who could not even keep their vessels on the recognised course through the North Sea, suddenly imagined that a pacific fishing fleet, upon whose lawful ground they had trespassed, was nothing less than a flotilla of Asiatic enemies, and, without warning of any kind, opened on them with all their guns.

It is, however, with its national, and not its party aspect, that Englishmen have to treat the grave question of the Baltic Fleet. It so happens, indeed, that during last month I had an opportunity of looking at it from the international as well as the merely national point of view. Two days before Mr. Balfour spoke at Southampton I left Liverpool, on the magnificent steamer *Cedric* of the White Star Line, for New York, and, like most of my fellow-passengers, I carried with me a certain burden of anxiety as to the course of the crisis England had been so suddenly called upon to face. This uneasiness was not allayed by the latest news we received when calling at Queenstown the following morning. This was distinctly ominous in its character, and it sent us across the stormy Atlantic with minds somewhat perturbed. But if anyone had told us that the peace of the Empire was hanging in jeopardy on that day when we left the shores of Ireland in our wake, he would not have found a man on board to believe him. There is no 'Marconi installation' on board the *Cedric*—in all other respects the finest vessel in which I ever crossed the sea—and for once everybody regretted the fact. We could not hope to pick up news of what was happening in Europe whilst we were traversing the lonely North Atlantic. Once only, as we were approaching the American continent, did any incident of possible significance happen. This was when, in the mist and darkness of a November night, three large men-of-war were discerned crossing our path at a considerable distance ahead. Only their signal lights were visible, and they were evidently manœuvring. There was no clue to their nationality, and naturally a good many persons jumped to the conclusion that they were possible Russian cruisers, engaged in their amiable operations against neutral vessels. They vanished among the tossing waves and the murk of the gloomy night, and we saw them no more. The naval experts on board accounted for their presence in unusual waters on the ground that they were a portion of the British squadron at Halifax making its way to Bermuda. If that were the case, the concentration of the naval forces of the Empire which, when we left, had just commenced at home was evidently being carried on throughout the world. 'There is nothing,' said a distinguished American whom I subse-

quently met in New York, 'that I admire so much in English institutions as the way in which your ships in every ocean move at the word of command like pieces on a chess-board.'

It was the confident expectation of all on board the *Cedric* that we should reach New York to find that Russia had made due apology and reparation for the atrocious misconduct of her admiral, and that the North Sea incident was at an end. To our amazement, we landed in the busy city to find a war scare at its height. The newspaper placards blazoned alarm in the largest of red letters; the headlines in the newspapers themselves could scarcely have been bigger if fighting had actually begun, and the telegrams from London and Paris were full of warlike movements and preparations. Even the 'call boy' who took me to my rooms at my hotel asked eagerly if I thought that war could be avoided. I gathered from the newspaper files that there had been something like a panic the previous week over Mr. Balfour's Southampton speech; and I reached New York to find another panic in full possession of the Press, over an alleged breach by Russia of her provisional agreement with this country for the pacific settlement of the dispute. The detachment caused by distance, equally with that which is due to the lapse of time, enables men to take a more dispassionate view of events than is possible for those who are on the spot and in the midst of exciting occurrences. In New York, 3,000 miles from London, the things which were disturbing the equanimity of my fellow-countrymen at home, and causing the leader-writers of London to inveigh against Russia in terms that were scarcely measured, did not seem quite so serious as to justify the commotion they had caused. Yet it was impossible to doubt their gravity. The central fact was that Admiral Roşjdestvensky, so far from treating the attack on the fishing boats as an accident more or less to be deplored, had practically justified it as a measure made necessary by the orders he had received and by the precautions which the safety of his fleet demanded. This in itself was a startling fact, scarcely anticipated by anyone at the time when I left England. But it was still more startling that this extraordinary view of the position, on which the Press of the civilised world, when it became known, had made haste to pour contempt, had not been at once and decisively repudiated by Russia. No one could fail to feel both surprise and indignation at this attempt to find a justification for an inexcusable outrage, and this sentiment found expression even in the pro-Russian newspapers of New York. On the other hand, it was reassuring to learn that the diplomatists of both countries, with the full support of their respective sovereigns, had lost no time in arranging the basis of a pacific settlement, and that it had been agreed to refer all matters in dispute in connection with the affair to an international tribunal. But here again a cause of disquietude had crept in. The public had been led to believe that until this tribunal had

met and adjudicated upon the question to be submitted to it the luckless Baltic Fleet would not be permitted to proceed on its journey to the Far East, but would remain at Vigo, those officers who were implicated in the affair being recalled to St. Petersburg to give evidence. But hardly had the announcement regarding the reference to a Commission been made than the world learned that the Russian fleet had left Vigo, followed, it was said, by British cruisers; whilst simultaneously it was announced in the New York newspapers that the ships and fortifications of Gibraltar had been placed upon a war footing, and that our naval forces in the Mediterranean were to be concentrated at that point. It was these announcements that caused the second war scare that was flaming out when I reached New York.

Nearly three weeks have passed since then, and I am once more within reach of those sources of information which are focussed in the British capital; but, apparently, matters have not advanced very far from where they were when Mr. Balfour at Southampton told the country of the reference of the question to a Commission. Nay, if anything, things are not quite so favourable as they then seemed to be. There has been a disagreement, we are told, between the two Governments as to the precise meaning of the words in which the reference to the Commission was made. According to the English accounts, published in the first place without any contradiction from Russia, the Commission was to 'deal with' the question of the persons responsible for the attack on the fishing-boats, and the term 'deal with' was understood to imply the punishment of the guilty officers. The word 'punishment' was, indeed, actually used by responsible Ministers in this country in referring to the scope of the Commission. But the Russian Press discovered that this would be an infringement of the sovereign rights of the Czar, and contended that the international Commissioners were to inquire and report only. The dispute is not in itself a very serious one; but it was, unfortunately, characteristic of most attempts to negotiate with Russia. Just as, after we had been promised by our own Ministers that the Baltic Fleet was not to leave Vigo until the persons primarily responsible for the outrage had been discovered and detained—a promise that was certainly not fulfilled by the recall to St. Petersburg of four subordinate officers of the fleet—so now it was shown that, in spite of the reassuring statements made in England, the reference to the International Commission was not to be so complete as we had been led to expect. This disagreement has now, happily, been settled by the adoption of an ingenious form of words which apparently implies that it may have been the lamb rather than the wolf that was to blame in the outrage in the North Sea. Of Russian diplomacy there is no need to say anything here, at least to those acquainted with the history of the last few years in the Far East. The friends of peace rejoice, and properly, at the fact that our diplomatists have

succeeded so far as to open up a way to the pacific solution of a dangerous complication. But it hardly seems that either Mr. Balfour or Lord Lansdowne can claim to have achieved anything that can be described as a triumph in their negotiations with the astute Ministers of the Czar. What the final issue of the Commission will be we cannot as yet determine. It is incredible that even Russian diplomacy will either desire or prove able to rob us of the proper satisfaction to which we are entitled for an outrage which no facts that have been brought to light have either justified or excused. We have the opinion of the civilised world on our side, and wise men will be content to abide the result of the promised inquiry with patience; but in the meantime we have had a sharp lesson as to the perils that are involved, even for peaceful neutrals, in the war in Manchuria, and as to the ease with which the Press, here as well as abroad, can arouse a dangerous state of excitement in the public mind. It is not pleasant to reflect that more than once last month we came perilously near to the brink of an unnecessary war.

As for the Russo-Japanese struggle, the curious inaction which has prevailed at the seat of the great conflict in the Manchurian peninsula since the terrific fighting on the Sha-ho seems to have been maintained. I say seems, for we are not allowed to be quite certain of anything that is happening there. Great events are promised in the immediate future; but for the moment nothing of importance takes place, and both armies are probably only now beginning to recover from the exhaustion brought upon them by such fighting as the modern world had not witnessed before. One stubborn fact is, indeed, clear to everybody. That is that—up to the moment at which I write—Port Arthur still holds out. Its fall, so often promised, has not yet taken place; and though the heroic garrison has now nothing more than a heap of blood-stained ruins to defend, they continue to fulfil their duty in a way that justly commands for them the admiration of mankind.

To revert to home politics, strangely tame compared with the larger outside affairs, I must allude again to the meeting at Southampton at the end of October. Mr. Balfour's silence upon the subject on which he had been expected to say so much can hardly be said to have saved him from the fate with which he was threatened by Mr. Chamberlain. It would be ridiculous to deny that the Tory caucus, in everything but form, adopted the standard of tariff reform, and went over, root and branch, to the great Tariff Reformer, who was discreetly absent from the scene. It is true that, both at Southampton and subsequently, the most fervent declarations of loyalty to the Prime Minister have been forthcoming whenever a Conservative politician, from Cabinet rank downwards, has spoken. But they have been declarations of a kind familiar to the *habitués* of the Divorce Court, where they seem invariably to precede an elopement with the object of the protester's



unlawful passion. The truth is that Mr. Balfour's failure to carry out his own intentions when he spoke at Edinburgh two months ago has brought upon him a just retribution. The plain man in his party no longer pretends to understand him, and manifestly does not care very much whether he does so or not. But he does understand Mr. Chamberlain, and he is evidently prepared to follow the bell-wether, whose note is plain and audible. It thus appears that if the Member for West Birmingham has failed in everything else, he has at least succeeded in capturing the Tory party and its organisation. Not that he has been allowed to do so without some vigorous protests from the Free Fooders of the party, who still cling to Free Trade and the old economic policy. Some of these during the month have had to say unpleasant things of tariff reform and its father; and they have been heartily supported by the leading members of the Opposition, who, from Lord Rosebery downwards, have been energetic in speech-making and uncompromising in their opposition to the Chamberlain heresies. The most important speech of the month, however, was that of the Duke of Devonshire, who, speaking at Rawtenstall, announced that he would support nobody at the next election who favoured Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and urged his friends to follow in his footsteps. It was amusing to observe the disgust to which this speech gave rise in the breasts of the writers for the *Times* and the other acolytes in the temple of tariff reform. Out of doors the path of the Birmingham agitation continues to be marked by the wrecks of Conservative enterprises. Two Parliamentary elections took place, and the results in both showed that the increase in the voting power of the Opposition has been swollen almost equally in Monmouthshire and Sussex. The municipal elections, too, showed a great increase in the strength of the Liberals in our English boroughs; whilst the elections to the Canadian Parliament were disastrous to the party leader who claimed to be Mr. Chamberlain's champion. I was not wholly surprised, during my short stay in New York, to find that most of the politicians to whom I spoke regarded tariff reform as being in almost as hopeless a condition as the silver policy of that extinct volcano, Mr. Bryan.

A great deal of interest has been excited during the month by the change of proprietorship in the *Standard*. Ever since that journal was raised to a position of altogether exceptional influence and prosperity by the genius of its former editor, Mr. Mudford, it has been justly regarded by all parties as one of the most sane and trustworthy organs of English opinion. Its firm adherence to Free Trade and to the economic doctrines under which British prosperity has been raised to its present height has been one of the most striking features of the fiscal controversy, and with the *Standard* in strenuous opposition to his opinions even Mr. Chamberlain could hardly regard his conquest of the Conservative party as complete. The purchase of

the paper by Mr. Pearson, the chairman of the so-called Tariff Reform Commission, is, therefore, a political event of distinct importance. Nobody has any right to quarrel with Mr. Pearson because of his new investment. He is a man of great energy, and, in his own line, of very great ability. But Free Traders, at least, cannot be expected to rejoice at a change which has robbed their cause of its most powerful advocate in the morning Press; nor can those who are intimate with the older and better traditions of English journalism regard this extension of the movement, which is concentrating the control of so many of our newspapers in the hands of one or two individuals whose motives are avowedly mercenary—using the word in its strictly legitimate sense—rather than public or political, with equanimity. The events of the last few years unquestionably prove that independent journalism in this country is passing under the shadow of an eclipse, and that our daily Press is ceasing to furnish a faithful reflection of the opinions of all classes of the community. Most of us are aware of the condition to which the Press of the United States has been brought in consequence of a similar state of things. It is not a good thing for Great Britain that it should have to contemplate the possibility of a like disaster.

The State visit of the King and Queen of Portugal to England as the guests of the King has been one of the events of the month, and has been signalised by the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration between this country and our ancient Portuguese allies. The Anglo-French agreement has been ratified by an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, after a keen and protracted debate. The French Government has triumphed over the Opposition on the question of its Church policy, but has lost one of its leading members, General André, who has been compelled to resign owing to the hostility aroused by some of his measures connected with the army. The most notable death of the month has been that of the Earl of Northbrook, once Viceroy of India, and Cabinet Minister under Mr. Gladstone.

It was my good fortune last month, for the second time in my life, to be in New York at a critical moment in the political history of the United States. Three years ago I witnessed, and described in these pages, the great struggle against the corrupt and degrading forces of Tammany Hall, which resulted in their overthrow and in the deliverance of the greatest of American cities from a cruel and humiliating bondage. This year I found myself in New York during a Presidential election and the days which immediately preceded the decision of the issue. What struck me first was the apparent apathy of the people with regard to the election. They were about to elect the man who was to rule over them for four years, but there were fewer indications of popular excitement than were visible in 1901, when it was not a President of the United States, but a mayor of New York, that was to be elected. Across Broadway and some of

the more important streets, it is true, were hung banners on which were inscribed the names of the Democratic candidates for the various offices; but there were few of those signs of the bustle and activity of rival parties which one would be certain of seeing in any town in this country during a General Election. The dulness of the streets seemed to have descended upon the newspapers; and everywhere people admitted that they had never known before a Presidential contest as tame as this was. The fact was that as time had passed the belief that Mr. Roosevelt would be elected had become almost universal. It is true that for a brief season, after the nomination of Judge Parker by the Democrats, the Republicans were alarmed. The Judge's message, in which he ruthlessly threw over Bryanism, with its doctrines on the subject of silver, and boldly rallied to the gold standard, had made a deep impression upon everybody. It was known that at the previous Presidential election many Democrats had deserted their party and voted for McKinley because of their dread of the Bryanism policy on silver; and not a few Republicans feared that the conversion of Judge Parker to orthodox views on the currency question—he voted, I believe, for Mr. Bryan in 1900—would bring him a large accession of strength from Wall Street. The trusts, again, were understood not to be friendly, in the first instance at least, to President Roosevelt, and a strong effort was made to whip them into line in favour of Judge Parker. This, however, was a doubtful measure of expediency, for, whatever may be the financial and mercantile power of the trusts, they are hated by the overwhelming majority of American citizens with an intensity unequalled by any feeling shown in Great Britain on social or economic questions. As time passed the Republicans were reassured, and a week before the day fixed for the election the betting was five to one in favour of Mr. Roosevelt; but suddenly, at the eleventh hour, the general apathy was broken up and disappeared like a field of ice in a thaw, and for four days before the fateful 8th of November the excitement and political passion evoked were equal to anything witnessed in previous elections. The cause of the sudden and unexpected change was a speech by Judge Parker in which he insinuated, if he did not state directly, that his rival had obtained the vast funds required for an election in the United States by blackmailing the great trusts. Such a charge would have been a grave one if brought against the merest political adventurer. When the person against whom it was alleged was the man who had held the supreme office of President for more than three years, it naturally aroused intense feeling among all classes of the public. The ostensible ground upon which Judge Parker based his unprecedented charge against Mr. Roosevelt was that the manager of his election was his former private secretary, Mr. Cortelyou, and that this gentleman had acted as an official of the department appointed by the President to deal with the whole question of trusts.

In this capacity Mr. Cortelyou, it was alleged, had learned the secrets of the various trusts, and armed with this information he had been able to extract as much money as he wanted for the purpose of the Republican campaign from their coffers. This accusation, sprung at the eleventh hour upon the country by a man who had hitherto conducted the contest on his side in a manner to which no exception could be taken, convulsed the nation. President Roosevelt, breaking with long-established precedent, himself stepped into the arena, and with clearness and a dignified emphasis flatly denied the base charge to which he had been subjected. The Democrats professed to be much shocked that Mr. Roosevelt should have disregarded the traditions of his office so far as to take any personal part in the struggle; but even Democratic journals joined the Republican Press in declaring that after the President's plain denial Judge Parker was bound, if he wished to be believed, to bring forward the evidence on which he based his charge against his opponent. This he entirely failed to do. He did, indeed, make a speech on the Saturday night preceding the Tuesday on which the election took place, in which he professed to justify his accusation; but even his warmest supporters in the Press refused to admit that he had done so, and in a moment the feeling of the country became absolutely hostile to him.

This, I take it, was the explanation of the extraordinary 'land-slide,' to use the expressive American phrase, in favour of Mr. Roosevelt which occurred when the electors went to the poll. Most people felt confident of his victory, but nobody dreamt of a triumph so complete, one almost, if not quite, unprecedented in the history of Presidential contests. Judge Parker's ill-advised action in suddenly introducing, at the last moment, a new and personal issue of the most offensive kind into the struggle, instead of ensuring his success, brought upon his head an overwhelming defeat. Apart from any question between Democrat and Republican, the friends of America must be glad that this was the case. Too often in previous political struggles in the United States a desperate card has been played at the last moment by the managers of one of the parties to the campaign, and, unhappily, the card has not always failed to win the trick. That on this occasion it did fail, and fail ignominiously, even when played by one of the principals in the great struggle, is a fact upon which Americans should feel that they have reason to congratulate themselves. When, on the evening of the 8th of November, the electoral results began to appear, and it was known that Mr. Roosevelt's victory was greater and more complete than the most sanguine had anticipated, the people of New York gave themselves up to a carnival of rejoicing which almost seemed to suggest that for the moment no Democrat was to be found within the limits of the Empire City. It recalled Maskeing night in London, though without the blackguardism which accompanied that celebration of evil fame.

Perhaps the nearest approach to it was the scene I witnessed in Paris in October 1877, when the electors, under the leadership of Gambetta, won their great triumph over the insolent forces of reaction, and the Republic was at last established on the broad foundation of the national will. Then, as now, the people of the great city gave vent to a gaiety of heart and spirit that was absolutely intoxicating. To the windows of my room in Holland House there ascended from Fifth Avenue all the noisy tumult of a fair—music, laughter, shouts, the blare of trumpets, and the volleying of cheers. Great processions swept by, following party banners, whilst away in the distance the sky was lightened by the glare of countless bonfires and the brilliancy of the search-lights which flashed the news to every quarter of the compass. Late that night I had to rejoin the *Cedric* for the return voyage to England, and everywhere as I drove, through the streets I encountered rejoicing crowds, some gathered in dense masses in front of the screens on which the results from different States and districts were shown by means of the magic lantern, others watching the bonfires which blazed, despite all police regulations, from the middle of the busy streets; and yet others singing and shouting in accents of unfeigned joy as they surged along the crowded thoroughfares. Whatever of apathy I may have found on my arrival, there was no trace of it when I left; and the strange thing was that no discordant note was struck. Wherever Judge Parker's supporters might have been found, they were certainly not visible on that memorable night in New York. Everybody seemed to be in accord, all were bubbling over with triumphant joy.

I have said nothing as yet of the international aspect of this contest—in other words, of the bearing which Mr. Roosevelt's election is likely to have upon the foreign policy of the United States during his term of office. It is no secret that in this country many persons, who freely acknowledged the President's high personal qualities, felt some alarm at what they regarded as his leaning towards Jingoism—a word, by the way, which seems now to have become acclimatised in the United States. From all that I could learn, not merely from the newspapers, but from personal intercourse with men of undoubted authority, there is no real reason for apprehension as to the President's future policy in foreign affairs. Apart from the fact that he has constantly beside him, in the person of his chief Minister and adviser, Mr. John Hay, one of the sanest and best-balanced intellects not only in America, but in the world, it should be borne in mind that Mr. Roosevelt was the first man in his exalted position to make public acknowledgment of the fact that the Monroe doctrine, beloved of all Americans, not only establishes rights, but imposes duties upon those who maintain it. More than once he has made it clear to South American States, eager to commit some act of international wrong under the shelter of their big brother in the north, that they

need not hope to escape punishment for any misdeed by claiming immunity under the Monroe doctrine. In an admirable statement of his claims and policy issued during the election by that distinguished jurist and diplomatist Mr. David Jayne Hill, for some years Assistant-Secretary of State under Mr. Hay, and now United States Minister to Switzerland, that gentleman gave, as one of the titles of Mr. Roosevelt to the confidence of his fellow-countrymen, the fact that 'his conduct of American foreign relations has emphasised, and will continue to emphasise, those conceptions of peaceful intercourse, equitable treatment, and vigilant action which express the will and convictions of the American people and the spirit of their national existence.' More than this none of us have any right to ask, and we could hardly have the welcome declaration upon authority more conclusive.

WEMYSS REID.

## LAST MONTH

### II

THE last great Tártar throne rests upon secure foundations. We are often told of 'the change that must come,' of the 'growing unrest,' and the 'impending revolution;' but the change does not come, and when we ask for a sign of its coming the answer is as naught. No man can know Russia; but all the world may know this much—that the moujik is unhappy, but he is not intelligent; that there are many intelligent people in Russia, but they are not unhappy; as why should they be? standing, as they do, possessed of all the good things of this world. Between these two—the moujik and the noble—is the student, whose madcap revolts constitute all that apparently moves in Russia, and who is a source of alarm and horror to both noble and peasant.

Over these mutually repellent forces—if forces they can be called—the administration rules supreme, controlling all by means of the army. There, say the sanguine, is its weak point; the army is the moujik. True it is that the rank and file of the army are recruited from the peasantry; and if what we hear were true we should expect to see whole regiments flinging down their arms when face to face with the foe. During the last nine months there have been many occasions when even willing troops might well have been excused for surrendering in thousands. Far from doing so, the Russians have never fought better, and though the casualties of their armies must by now have reached a huge total, the number of prisoners taken is quite insignificant. In fact, as soon as the moujik shoulders his rifle he is a changed being. The administration, therefore, rules; absolute, unchallengeable. The poet's line—

Night hath none but one red star, Tyrannicid—

is but a poet's version of a truth long obscured to many—that Russia is but a great Tartar State, like the State of Timur the Lame, and many others which have known, and still know, no law but force.

It must not, however, be forgotten that the administration has a nominal chief at whose word all is supposed to move—the Emperor.

His predecessor, Alexander the First, is reported to have said—sadly enough—when an admirer congratulated Russia on her monarch: ‘I am only a happy accident.’ Accident or not, all were prepared to welcome the accession of Nicholas the Second as an event of happy augury for many reasons. There was, for example (might one mention it?) the Peace Conference.

Then it was his great happiness to become the father of a long-wished-for son. Readers of this Review do not need to be reminded of Baron Suyematsu’s masterly and dispassionate account of ‘How Russia brought on War.’ From that admirable narrative it is clear that the most charitable explanation of the Emperor’s action, or inaction, is that he was deliberately hoodwinked by designing and interested people, some of them being in very high place. In the joy of his paternity (a joy which all good people shared with him), what more natural than that the author of the Peace Conference should command peace in his son’s name? Such a deed would have been an act of magnanimity worthy of a great Christian monarch. So most of us thought that the Tsar might safely have made his son a Prince of Peace; but he preferred to make him a Colonel of Cossacks. The act was of the highest significance.

Then there was the North Sea outrage.

Even more dramatic than his behaviour on the occasion of the birth of his son was the Emperor’s behaviour on the occasion of the North Sea outrage. Tartar though the impudent assault was, that impudence was transcended by the subsequent attitude of Russia. Even in the midst of our grief and rage we could hardly help laughing at the series of so-called ‘explanations’ with which Russia favoured the world.

But by now we are beginning to understand. There is, thank Heaven, a leaven of righteousness in this Tartar State; and, thanks (so far as the public understand) to Counts Lamsdorff and Benckendorff, it prevailed on this occasion. The scanty satisfaction, which was all that we could get, must have been unspeakably galling to those who had clearly hoped to drive us into war.

The Press of this country has made a point of assuming that it was ‘impossible,’ ‘unthinkable,’ &c., that the North Sea outrage should have been deliberate; but, on the contrary, that is exactly what the face-reading of the facts leads us to conclude must have been the case. ‘Inasmuch as incident A, incident B, &c. (any one of which made a good *casus belli*) cannot drive England into war, let us now give her a *soufflet* in the face of all Europe that she cannot help resenting.’ So must have reasoned the war-makers.

Now England has no reason to fear war with Russia. On the contrary, it is Russia who has everything to lose. The Indian army would enjoy nothing so much as the conflict for which it has thirsted



ever since the days of Sir Charles Napier. If Russia—all sane, intelligent Russia—wants war, she can have it; but we, in England, are of the opinion that all sane, intelligent Russians are furious at the wretched figure their country is made to cut, and while that is the case we do not intend to be driven into war by a crew of brigands in order to gratify an interested third party.

Slowly from some points of view, but with extraordinary rapidity from others, the nations of Western Europe are drawing together in a kind of informal concert that bids fair to become authoritative. Italy and England, France and Italy, France and England, England and Portugal; these are considerable ‘understandings.’ While the ‘peoples’ have chattered and boasted, the Kings have worked, learnt, and acted. In Western Europe there bids fair to arise a temper that will not tolerate indiscriminate militarism—such a temper as rules in private bodies, where a man must ‘behave as a gentleman’ or leave the club. Your Tartar, on the other hand, strikes how and where and when he will, so that he may strike in safety: as witness the massacre of Blagovestchensk, an ‘incident’ too soon forgotten, but which it is necessary to remember. ‘On that occasion,’ to quote Baron Suyematsu, ‘thousands of helpless men, women, and children were drowned or slaughtered by the Russians in compliance with the Russian commander Gribsky’s orders, he acting, as he declared, in consonance with Imperial decree.’ The Imperial authority for these frightful barbarities was repudiated by Count Lamsdorff. But was the shameless ruffian who perpetrated them punished? Not at all: his conduct received Imperial approval and the blessing of the Church. ‘To-day on the Chinese bank of the Amur, on the ashes of Sakalin, a solemn thanksgiving service in memory of the relief of this place by the Russian forces, together with the ceremony of renaming the post Ilinsky, was held, in the presence of the authorities, the army, the English officer Bigham, and a large crowd of people. The High Priest Konoploff said: “Now is the Cross raised on that bank of the Amur which yesterday was Chinese. Mouravieff foretold that sooner or later this bank would be ours.” In a beautiful speech General Gribsky’ (not apparently degraded) ‘congratulated the victorious troops.’<sup>1</sup>

All Christians will agree with Baron Suyematsu that this was an ‘indecent and blasphemous function.’ But, from the Tartar point of view, nothing could be more correct and proper.

Professor Gradowsky, quoted in the *Observer* of the 20th of November, says of his own country that ‘since 1815 Russia has not only herself been plunged in ignorance, slavery, and despotism, but has always obstructed all free and progressive tendencies in Europe.’ He adduces evidence in support of his statement, and what we—England and France in particular—have to realise is that, in spite

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, September 1904, p. 349.

of smooth externals, we are, in fact, face to face with a great barbarous power drawing its strength from slavery and superstition; and that it is nothing less than treason to civilisation to stand by and allow the painfully acquired results of centuries of struggle to be overwhelmed in the avalanche of Russian retrogression. This is what Napoleon meant.

When we consider the part that England has played and is yet, let us hope, to play in this new movement so full of promise, it is with some concern that the thoughtful will read some reflections on our national character by the late Bishop Creighton in his *Life* just published. 'An Englishman is not only without ideas, but he hates an idea when he sees it;' so says the Bishop. The worst enemy of England never said anything more damaging. Was it by hating ideas that Japan acquired the power to administer the tremendous castigation that Russia is now enduring at her hands? Or take this: 'the House of Commons is dearer to us now than it has been at any time, because it is entirely our own and reproduces our own infirmity.' This passion of self-admiration is a most retarding frame of mind; but, in justice to both the nation and the Bishop, it must be noted that this was said seventeen years ago. In that time the nation has come to be rather less satisfied with itself and with its House of Commons. So much for the people; how about 'our natural leaders'? 'I suppose dukes have souls to be helped,' he wrote, 'though it is hard to realise.' These are not the words of some idle club-cynic, but of a man who cared most tenderly both for the souls and the minds of his fellow-countrymen. No dreaming sentimentalist, either, was Creighton; but a man of action who understood thoroughly the responsibilities of public life. 'The administrator has to drive the coach;' he wrote, 'his critics are always urging him to upset it.' He hated gush. Writing of the claptrap phrase 'the heart of the English people,' he called it 'a very nasty place to go to, the last resting-place I should wish to be found in—a sloppy sort of place, I take it.' Of his time, he wrote 'In future times this age of ours, judged by its literature, will be called "the crazy age."'

This is all that fifty years of peace-mongering and 'cheap labour' have left of once-great England. Inarticulate, but still convinced by sad experience that England was no place for them, our best labouring hands have left us, edged out by 'cheap labour,' and have gone to build up the prosperity of countries who know how to cherish their manhood. The ruin of agriculture has helped in the same direction. We have so long been taught that patriotism was unbusinesslike that we have come to believe the wicked falsehood. So-called 'education' has mangled the mind of the country to an incalculable extent. Sickly phrases have made us forget that love is not a moaning sentimentalism. The result is that when a crisis comes the trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound. The course that

England adopted on the occasion of the North Sea outrage was undoubtedly politic, and perhaps the only course possible, all things considered. But there was an alternative. Lord Lansdowne might have said: 'Our business is no longer with the Russian Ambassador; our responsibility is to all the world. Two innocent men have been murdered on the high seas, and somebody is going to stand his trial for the crime. Lord Charles Beresford has his orders.' But bitter experience of public life has probably taught Lord Lansdowne that if he had ventured on such a policy the whole pack of peace-mongers would have been upon his back in twenty-four hours. In Lord Palmerston's day Englishmen still believed in a few things; but let us once more refer to the Bishop:

We are in a period of uncertainty such as history has never witnessed. Science has said its say and has led nowhere; rationalism has led nowhere; materialism has no hopes. In politics machinery has broken down; Liberalism is bankrupt. In international affairs no country has a clear idea of its line of progress. Statesmanship has almost ceased to exist; everyone is conscious of forces which he cannot control, of impulses and instincts generated in the past, not to be regulated by any reasoning which can be framed at present. How things are going to settle down no one can say.

These words were written in the year 1896. If Creighton had lived he would, assuredly, have 'settled down' to the conclusion that, in spite of his interest in and affection for all that was best in Russia, and especially in the Russian Church, England and Russia had come to the parting of the ways. He would have recognised that the real and only 'Yellow Peril' was that Tartar peril which has always been with us—like the east wind: and he would have realised that the national, the European, the Imperial duty of England was to resist it with all our might.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

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